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Section III A

Le Veda-Vedāṅga et l'Avesta entre oralité et écriture

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Veda-Vedāṅga and Avesta between Orality and Writing

Introduction

Veda-Vedāṅga and Avesta between orality and writing

JAN E.M. HOUBEN

In his review *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia: Language, Material Culture, and Ethnicity*, ed. by G. ERDOSY, Gregory POSSEHL (1998: 120, see also 2007) observed:

> Human biology (race), language, and the rest of culture, including material culture, are independent historical variables. This proposition was first critically established in 1940 by Franz Boas in *Race, Language and Culture*. Using an abundance of examples, and ethnohistorical research, the message of Boas' book is that human biology, language, and material culture do not appear to "travel" together as linked historical variables. Rather, human biology, language, and culture tend to diverge and realign over relatively short periods of time. What this means is that ... there is not much of a chance that the [South Asian] Subcontinent received, let alone was invaded by, a group of people with a narrow range of distinctive biological characteristics (Aryans), who all spoke a language that had deep historical roots with their biological ancestors and possessed a characteristic body of material culture.

We need not go into details of the disastrous political implementation (or attempts thereto) of the assumption that race is *the* crucial parameter from the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s, but on the scientific side of the problem it can be said that embracing race as the crucial explanatory parameter was premature, to say the least. First of all, the concept of a human race and consistent subraces which was already contested since the end of the nineteenth century, turns out to be untenable in the light of

modern genetic research.[1] More importantly, other relevant parameters of cultural difference and similarity had not even been considered.

Among these other relevant parameters, the method of knowledge transmission occupies an important position. The discovery that the method of knowledge transmission determines not the content but, in certain respects, the *character* of the ideas, thoughts and insights expressed, has been one of the most significant discoveries in the humanities in the second half of the 20th century. It has, for instance, been argued since the 1970s that the development of scientific thought in Europe both in its positive and negative aspects, is due to, or at least linked to and made possible by, the use of printing, that is, mechanized writing (EISENSTEIN 1979). It has also been argued that rational thought itself was born with the shift from orality to writing in ancient Greece. This thesis has been elaborated with regard to antiquity (E. HAVELOCK), but also with regard to ethnography and anthropology (J. GOODY & I. WATT 1963 and J. GOODY 2000). Impressions regarding the "character" of "Indian thought" which in the past would have been attributed without hesitation to the Indian people's "character" or to their "genius" (even if "the Indian people" is an impossible category in dealing with several millennia of cultural history in which numerous communities of changing dimensions and characteristics were involved, under ever changing conditions), can now be explained, at least partly, with regard to the methods of knowledge that were in vogue in the Indian world (writing and oral memory culture) or that were absent (printing), and this can in turn be compared and contrasted with the conditions in the neighbouring Iranian world.

Classical Indian and Iranian studies blossomed before and during the time that "race" was quite generally considered a crucial parameter, and knowingly or unknowingly old patterns of thinking have been continued in present day classical Indian and Iranian studies. Bucharest, which is firmly located in Europe but as if looking out towards the East, is no doubt an excellent place to have a fresh look at this important

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[1] In physical anthropology it had been customary to distinguish "subraces" of humanity up to the 1960s when Carrleton S. COON proposed his theory of five distinct human subpecies, the Australoid, the Capoid, the Caucasoid, the Congoid and the Mongoloid. The finding that the number of genetic differences *within* populations (that together have been postulated to form a 'subrace') is significantly higher than that *between* putative human 'subraces' took away the very basis for such theories (WELLS 2002: 9-17, referring to studies of R. LEWONTIN, C.S. COON, L.L. CAVALLI-SFORZA).

"other variable": the method of knowledge transmission, which, for ancient and pre-modern India and Iran can be summarized, for the moment, under the headings "orality" and "writing". Two important groups of texts which have determined much of early Iranian and much of early Indian culture, are the Avestan and the Vedic texts, which both have their origin in a thoroughly oral environment, even if Iran was neighbouring to the areas where the earliest systems of syllabic and near-alphabetic writing were developed, Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East.

For both groups of texts, the ancient Indian and the ancient Iranian ones, the literal, phonetic correctness has been considered crucial; and for both groups of texts, methods to guarantee this phonetic correctness seem to have developed already before the shift to written texts had taken place. Also geographically, the earliest forms of these two groups of texts are close neighbours or have even partly overlapping areas. From the Indian side, the Punjab but also Gandhāra, in the north-west of India, were important areas where the currently available R̥g-veda originated. Immediately next to this area, towards the north-west, just across the Hindu Kush, is Bactria, and south of this Arachosia. These two areas, and especially Bactria, one of the candidates for the native place of Zoroaster, were important in the early formation of the Avesta.

From the point of view of India, where a strongly developed oral memory culture made it for a long time almost immune to the introduction of writing (at least in the domain of ritual and philosophical texts), Gandhāra would seem a crucial place. This was pointed out by BRONKHORST in 1982 where he also refers to a remark by WITZEL, who gives more details on his point of view fifteen years later, in 1997 (and in the present volume). Important contributions to the discussion have been made by STAAL 1986, FALK 1993, 2001, BRONKHORST 2002 (and in the present volume), SCHARFE 2002 and 2009. According to some, the general theories that emerged mainly on the basis of the study of antiquity and modern anthropology, should also apply in India. After all, if physical laws such as the law of gravity work both in Europe and in India, why should not social and cultural laws such as the (still disputed, it is true) link between writing and rationality not apply both in Europe and in India? Writing should then be much older than the earliest undisputable evidence for writing in the form of the Aśokan inscriptions. Others argued that India is an important exception to the general theory as it would have both an ancient, purely oral Vedic

tradition *and* early forms of rationality.

The seminar on *Veda-Vedāṅga and Avesta between orality and writing* was organized to deal with these problems of the early, apparently largely oral transmission of the Veda and the Avesta, and their transition to a written version, first of all in the light of philology and second from the point of view of the conflicting theories. Since the Vedic texts were since very early times accompanied by well-developed auxiliary disciplines, the Vedāṅgas, their position between orality and literacy has been taken into account as well.

The contributions in these Proceedings appear in the alphabetical order of the author's name. It would have been possible to group them according to various categories. One division which makes much sense in the light of the subject matter is as follows.

Among the contributions in these Proceedings, several deal with case studies in mainly primary texts of the Veda and Vedāṅga literature, and of the Avesta. S.S. BAHULKAR on aspects of orality, textuality and intertextuality in the Śaunaka tradition of the Atharvaveda; S.L. BAPAT on the oral tradition as reflected in the grammatical texts of the Pāṇinian tradition; M.M. DESHPANDE on the transmission of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, which over time went from oral to written; A.-M. QUILLET on techniques for brevity employed in the Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa, which, in spite of its title, is rather an early form of the sūtra-genre; S. SUMANT on Saṁhitā-mantras in the written and oral traditions of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda. The study of J. KELLENS deals with Indo-Iranian terminology in connection with Sraoša and the exegesis of the Avesta.

For a limited amount of "primary" text, Veda or Vedāṅga, a purely oral transmission is generally felt to be possible. In the case of a commentary it is much more difficult to imagine a sufficiently exact transmission, unless the text was written down from the beginning and next transmitted through regular copying. Another set of contributions deals with these commentaries which constitute an important part, quantitatively and qualitatively, of India's literary production. F. DOBRE-BRAT discusses the ambivalent position of grammar as Vedāṅga and as philosophical-religious system (*darśana*); A.V. KHARE deals with an important commentary on the Atharvaveda, the one ascribed to Sāyaṇa; N. KULKARNI deals with manuscript transmission and discrepancies in interpretation in connection with the Kauśikasūtra and its commentaries; A. PARPOLA gives a detailed study

and annotated translation of the Jaiminīya-Gṛhyasūtra 1,1-4 together with a Malayāḷam manual of the Sāmaveda dealing with the rites of the Pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka; J. ROTARU studies the problems regarding an important commentarial text of the Atharvaveda, the Dārilabhāṣya.

Other contributions have as main purpose to deal with theoretical and historical issues of orality and literacy in India and Iran, or with problems of modeling complex relationships and configurations. In the course of their argument various texts are referred to. J. BRONKHORST studies the problem of orality and literacy in the light of the relationship of brahmins with buddhists and with other sections of the society, and argues that brahmins must have started to write at a much earlier date than generally accepted; C. GALEWICZ explores the motifs specially for copying the Vedas; J.E.M. HOUBEN investigates the role of Vedic ritual as a medium for the transmission of the texts; R.P. KARANJIA studies relatively late Zoroastrian texts which indicate that there must have been very early written versions of the Avesta, antedating the Sassanidian archetype; M. KOLHATKAR explores the characteristic of orality to allow for variation and the (oral) methods to counteract this; B. LARIOS presents the results of an ethnographic-philological study of the Veda Mandir in Nasik, where "sacred sound" becomes "sacred scripture"; A. MISHRA examines methodological aspects of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Prātiśākhya and seeks to contribute to a general framework for their formal representation. A. STOLYAROV presents his digital Diplomatica Indica Data-Base (DIDB), which, when finalized, promisses to be of immense value for future research; partly on the basis of a preliminary version of this database, S. RATH uses epigraphical sources (copper-plates and inscriptions) to get a better knowledge of Vedic education and the movements of the brahmins; in S. RATNAGAR's contribution, pastoral nomadism, tribalism, and language shift are explored on the basis of the archeological conditions of North India but also of Mesopotamia; M. WITZEL elaborates his view on the formation of the Vedic and Zoroastrian canons in Gandhāra, and the relationship of this area with Arachosia and the Kosala-Videha area are indicated.

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Orality, Textuality and and Inter-textuality. Some Observations on the Śaunaka Tradition of the Atharvaveda

SHRIKANT S. BAHULKAR

1. Orality and Textuality: (A) In Relation to the Text of the Śaunaka Saṁhitā

As is well-known, the tradition of the Veda recitation has continued in India at least for the past three thousand years. In this tradition, the text preserved through the oral transmission is generally considered authentic, if compared to that preserved in the manuscript tradition. While editing a Saṁhitā text of a Veda, it is essential to take into consideration the evidence of the actual recitation of that text, for the oral transmission is supposed to have greater authority than the written text. This is true in the case of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā (=ṚV). Max MÜLLER's edition of the ṚV with Sāyaṇa's commentary is a specimen of an excellent edition purely based on the manuscripts evidence. The edition prepared by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Pune has brought out a new critical edition on the basis of some new MSS. Subsequently, SATAVALEKAR prepared a new edition of the ṚV Saṁhitā on the basis of new manuscripts and the testimony of the oral tradition. He recorded the text of the Saṁhitā, in consultation with the best reciters available in India at that time. In the introduction to his edition of the ṚV, he expressed his indebtedness to Max MÜLLER for his monumental work that paved the way for scholars of later generations (Intro., p. 5). The testimony of the oral transmission proved to be fruitful at least at seven places, where SATAVALEKAR corrected the text edited by Max MÜLLER. The variations in the texts edited by those two scholars

were related to the forms of the word syandrā́- and the word mathnā́, which SATAVALEKAR corrected as spandrā́- and mathrā́ (Intro., p. 6). Traditionally, the reciters of the ṚV accept only one variant. Most of them recite maṁścató for māṁśacató (Intro., p. 7).

In the case of the Atharvaveda (=AV), the situation is quite different: there are considerable variations both in the oral tradition and the written text. Both the oral tradition and the manuscripts have not been preserved carefully.

The first critical edition of the Śaunaka Saṁhitā of the AV (=AVŚ) was prepared by ROTH and WHITNEY and was published in 1956 from Berlin. It is known as the Berlin edition. This edition was based on several manuscripts available in India and elsewhere. The methodology adopted by the editors in preparing a correct text was purely based on the manuscripts evidence and had no basis of the oral tradition. After the publication of the Berlin edition, the first edition of the AVŚ with Sāyaṇa's commentary was brought out between 1895-98 by Shankar Pandurang PANDIT and was published from Bombay (now called Mumbai), and is known as the Bombay edition. PANDIT not only collected new manuscripts material, but also paid visits to various places in Gujarat and Maharashtra where the tradition of the Śaunaka Śākhā was still alive. He invited the best Atharvavedins available at that time, recorded the text preserved in the oral tradition and used the variants for his critically edited text of the AVŚ. The testimony of the oral tradition was useful to correct the readings of the manuscripts and also the readings accepted by ROTH and WHITNEY on the basis of the textual evidence of the manuscripts.

In the case of the ṚV, there was and still is a living tradition of the ṚV recitation well-preserved in various parts of India. That tradition could be treated as trustworthy in preference to the manuscript tradition. There are a number of manuscripts that preserve the correct text. The ancillary literature of the ṚV is also very useful for ascertaining a correct reading. Sāyaṇa's commentary and some other commentaries also play an important role in this respect. On the other hand, the tradition of the AVŚ was not preserved meticulously. The manuscripts of the AVŚ have a number of variants. The accent of the text as preserved in those manuscripts is at times irregular. The Pada-text appears to have been prepared arbitrarily. There is no much help from the ancillary texts. The Saṁhitā underlying Sāyaṇa's commentary sometimes differs from the Saṁhitā text represented by the manuscripts. Sāyaṇa's commentary on some Kāṇḍas is unavailable. Unlike the tradition of

the Ṛ̣V or the Yajurveda, there is no well-preserved tradition for the recitation of various mantra modifications (*vikṛtipāṭha),* namely, *krama, jaṭā*, or *ghana.* A few rare manuscripts of these recitational permutations of the AVŚ are available and have recently been edited by Madhav DESHPANDE (2002). The living tradition of the AVŚ was not perfect if compared with that of the ṚV. In these circumstances, it was a formidable task to undertake a critical edition of the AVŚ with the commentary. Fortunately, there lived some good Atharvavedins who were able to recite the entire Saṁhitā as they learnt from their Gurus. After Pandit's edition of the AVŚ, the tradition of that Veda began to decline rapidly. In his Vedavidyā Volume of the Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa, KETKAR informs that there lived some Atharvavedins at some places in the Satara district of Maharashtra, such as Mahuli, on the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Veṇṇā, four miles away from Satara, Khatav and a village called Chindholi between Satara and Wai. He further informs that the Atharvavedins residing at those places have almost got assimilated with the Ṛgvedins (KETKAR 1921:197). In Gujarat, there were some good Atharvavedins whose recitation was of much use for PANDIT. In the past a hundred and thirty years, that tradition too has deteriorated. Varanasi was a place known for the tradition of all the four Vedas. The tradition of the AV has also suffered a setback during the past several decades.[1] Against this background, the work that PANDIT did is of great value. He not only collated a number of good manuscripts, apart from those used by ROTH and WHITNEY; but spared no pains in meeting the Atharvavedins and encouraging them to recite the Saṁhitā. For the purpose of his critical edition of the Saṁhitā with the commentary he consulted in all fifteen manuscripts of the Saṁhitā, six manuscripts of the Pada-text, the text as preserved in Sāyaṇa's commentary and four volumes of the manuscripts of Sāyaṇa's commentary. He also used the text of the Saṁhitā critically edited by ROTH and WHITNEY. He explicitly records his indebtedness to those

[1] In 1976, I visited the village Chinchaner in the Satara district, a native place of Jyotipanta Mahābhāgavata, an Atharvavedin whose name has been mentioned by KETKAR. I also visited the nearby places where the Atharvavedins bearing the family name Kulkarni were residing. They were Atharvavedins just by birth and had no knowledge of their Veda whatsoever. The tradition of the AVŚ had already become extinct. I have also made a survey of the tradition of the Atharvaveda in Varanasi, in my paper "The Tradition of the Atharvaveda in Varanasi" presented at the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, held at Helsinki in 2003. The proceedings of Veda Section of that conference are yet to be published.

two scholars for their great efforts to produce a correct text. PANDIT says:

> **Rw**. This is the text of Atharva Veda Saṁhitā[2] published by Professors R. Roth and W. D. Whitney at Berlin in 1856. I have not considered it as one of my authorities, but it was the text from which I started my collation of the Saṁhitā except as regards Kāṇḍa XIX and the whole of the Pada text. In the former I found collation of the MSS. with the printed text well nigh impossible, because it varies very considerably indeed with the tradition of the MSS. The collation of my MSS. and other authorities was, therefore, made with a transcript which I specially caused to be made of the MS. **A.** already described. **Rw.** has been of great use to me, as showing not only the result of the labours of the two illustrious scholars but as the representative of a collection of other MSS. The text as finally corrected in places in Prof. Whitney's *Index Verborum* has been to me of great importance as showing what has been achieved up to date by the labours of the two scholars in bringing to light a correct version of the Atharva-Saṁhitā. (PANDIT 1894: 10-11).

The authorities who demonstrated their recitation to PANDIT were from Gujarat and Maharashtra. Some of the authorities knew the Saṁhitā-text mostly by heart, knew some part of the *pada* and the *krama* texts. The information regarding the Vaidikas given by PANDIT is reproduced below:

1. Vaidika Bāpuji Jīvaṇrām: A Visanagarā Nāgar of Lūnāvādā, He knew the Saṁhitā text by heart except the latter half. He recited that part with the help of the manuscripts of the Saṁhitā in his possession. He also knew the Pada-text and the Krama-text of the first four kāṇḍas. He was considered one of the best Vaidikas in Gujarat and had been a pupil of Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Dādā of Māhuli. He had not learnt the eighteenth Kāṇḍa, a collection of mantras to be used in funeral rites, as it was supposed to bear inauspicious character. PANDIT says:

> So great was his prejudice against that Kāṇḍa, that he would not even read it from a MS. or hear it read by others in the houses, but I had to go with him to an Araṇya for the purpose, of which there being little in Bombay we considered the Victoria Gardens would answer the purpose, and there we read the Kāṇḍa under an aśoka tree. (PANDIT 1894: 2)

[2] PANDIT uses old-fashioned diacritical marks. They have been converted into the modern, standard ones while reproducing the passages from his text.

2. Keśava Bhaṭ bin Dāji Bhaṭ: He knew the Saṁhitā and Pada texts by heart as also the Krama of the first four Kāṇḍas. He knew the whole Saṁhitā except the inauspicious XVIII[th] Kāṇḍa. His memory of the last two Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa X was defective and his mastery of Kāṇḍa XIX was also imperfect. With these exceptions, his memory of the whole Saṁhitā-text was thorough. PANDIT made him recite each verse line by line and collated his text so recited with the basis of his collations. Keśava Bhaṭ was surprised to see that the sacred Saṁhitā of his Veda had already been published by ROTH and WHITNEY. He was more shocked when he saw several MSS. of the AVŚ with PANDIT that exhibited numerous varieties of reading. He was more horrified when he found that the text he knew by heart and which was as it had been improved by Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Dādā was the worse for the improvements. He wished that the text PANDIT was going to publish should not show that his Pāṭha was incorrect.

> But when he saw that the improvements made by Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Dādā were only one source of incorrectness and variety in reciting or reading, and that in the end in hundreds of instances the traditional text must be admitted to be quite corrupt, he resigned himself to the necessities of the situation and came to change his view of my duties as editor of a sacred text, and wished that with all materials available, as good a text as could be constructed should be obtained for the interpretation of the Veda, though he little hoped the Vaidikas would exchange their corruptions for the corrections. (PANDIT 1894: 6).

3. Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Dādā. He obtained a copy of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the first four Kāṇḍas; but wrongly read the commentary and revised his MS. which PANDIT subsequently used for his edition and designated it as B[h.].

4. Venkaṇ Bhaṭji otherwise known as Venku Dāji.

> He was not only an excellent reciter of the Veda, but was also an Agnihotrī of the same, and practised much of the daily ceremonial as prescribed by the Atharva-Vedins. He knew the whole of the *Saṁhitā* and the *Pada*-text by heart and a considerable portion in the form of *Krama* and *Jaṭā*. He was a cousin of Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Dādā from whom he had learned his texts of the Atharva-veda. Unlike Keśava Bhaṭ he had a slight acquaintance with the Sanskrit language and had all the Saṁhitā-text vividly before his mind's eye. His version contained of course the improvements made by Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Dādā, though in each case he knew also the older reading which he used to give as a variant. (PANDIT 1894: 8)

Besides the authorities mentioned above, PANDIT occasionally consulted Hirālāl Parikshit of Karnaḷi near Baroda, Jaiśaṅkar Bhaṭ of Lūnāvāḍā, Jasbhai Janamejay of Karnaḷi, a relation of Hirālāl. According to PANDIT, among the Gujarāti Atharva-Vaidkas, these two were by far the best.

Having made collation of the MSS. and the oral authorities, the most important work that PANDIT did was the grouping of the MSS and authorities. He divided these sources in three groups. His evaluation of the material and the authorities is important as regards the relation between orality and textuality. The first group of MSS was from Gujarat and was "untainted by any attempts to revise the tradition of the text and probably represented the original form of the true tradition of the text." The second group of MSS was on the other hand representative of the tradition of the Atharva-veda in Maharashtra, where the tradition of the recitation of the AVŚ had come under the influences of the school of the Ṛgvedins and was further subjected to changes in relation to the text of Sāyaṇācārya by Gaṇeś Bhaṭ Dādā after his visit to Śṛṅgerī, and his discovery of Sāyaṇa's commentary. The third group consists of Sāyaṇa's text as found in the MSS of his commentary.

After having grouped the sources in three groups, PANDIT made an important decision in order to ascertain the most genuine group among the three. Except for the Kāṇḍa XIX, he followed the readings of the MSS and the authorities. In the case of the Kāṇḍa XIX, the tradition preserved by the MSS appeared imperfect. As has already been mentioned, the knowledge of the authorities was also imperfect. Therefore PANDIT had to give preference to the readings explained by Sāyaṇa.

Although PANDIT pointed out with all modesty the limitations of his edition of the Atharva-Saṁhitā with the commentary, it must be noted that the readings in the text of the Saṁhitā had been accepted by Max LINDENAU who brought out a second edition of the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā edited by ROTH and WHITNEY (LINDENAU 1924). Later VISHVA BANDHU undertook the work of a new edition of the Atharvaveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary and revised the text edited by PANDIT in the light of some new material. However, there is no substantial change in the methodology adopted by PANDIT or the text he edited. The importance of PANDIT's edition will continue to remain, as there is hardly any possibility of improving upon the text with more reliable sources, except some changes here and there. The critical edition of the Atharvaveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary prepared

by Shankar Pandurang PANDIT thus proves to be a magnificent contribution to the field of Vedic studies.

2. Orality and Textuality: (B) In relation to the First Mantra of the Atharvaveda

It has already been established with ample evidence that there existed as many as nine Śākhās of the AV. At present, there exist only two of them, the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda (=AVP). The first is now considered to be a prominent one. The followers of this Śākhā are found in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. The followers of the Paippalāda Śākhā are found only in Orissa and Jharkhand (the former part of Orissa, now that of Jharkhand). In ancient times, the Paippalāda had been recognized as the foremost one. In his Mahābhāṣya, while mentioning the first mantras of the four Vedas, Patañjali mentions at the outset *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* as the first mantra of the AV, treating that Veda as the first among the four. This mantra is found both in the AVŚ and the AVP. In the AVŚ, it is the first mantra of the sixth hymn of the first Kāṇḍa (AVŚ 1.6.1), while in the AVP, it occurs as the first mantra of the first hymn of the first Kāṇḍa (AVP 1.1.1). It seems therefore that Patañjali quotes the first manta of the AVP, being the first mantra of the AV. There are several other references to this mantra being the first mantra of the AV. For instance, the Brahmayajña of the Ṛgvedins mentions the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* as the first mantra of the AV (cf. BHANDARKAR 1874: 132). The first mantra of the AVŚ is *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti*. In the introduction to his edition of the Kauśika Sūtra (KauśS), BLOOMFIELD (1889: xxxvii), refers to Martin HAUG, *Brahma und die Brahmanen* (p. 45), R.G. BHANDARKAR's article, "The Veda in India", published in *IA* (Vol. III, 1874: 132) and also R. ROTH, *Der Atharva-veda in Kaschmir* (p. 16), and mentions the tradition of the Atharvavedins, according to which, a devotee of the AV, must recite in the morning, when rinsing his mouth, both the mantras *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti* and *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye.* This statement refers to the tradition of the Śaunakīya Śākhā of the Atharvaveda and not to the AVP. One wonders why they recite the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye*, when their Saṁhitā begins with the mantra *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti.*

Here it may be pointed out that although the AVŚ begins with the mantra *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti*, there exists an oral tradition that treats the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* as the first mantra of the AV. It appears that the recitation of the AVŚ began with the mantra *śaṁ*

no devīr abhiṣṭaye, followed by the first mantra of the AVŚ, i. e., *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti*. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (GBr) is the Brāhmaṇa text in the Śaunakīya tradition. It says: *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye ity evam ādau kṛtvā' tharvavedam adhīyate* (GBr. I. 1.29): "(They) recite the Atharvaveda, having placed (the mantra) *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* in the beginning". Scholars have expressed different views regarding the Śākhā to which the GBr belongs. BLOOMFIELD thinks that the Brāhmaṇa belongs to the AVŚ (BLOOMFIELD 1898:11; 1899:107). Martin HAUG mentions that there are MSS of the AVŚ, which actually begin with the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye*, followed by the first mantra of the AVŚ, i. e., *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti* (AVŚ I.1.1) and repeating the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* at its proper place in the AVŚ, i. e., AVŚ. I.6.1. (BLOOMFIELD 1889: xxxvii). This must be the tradition of the followers of the Śaunakīya Śākhā. In 1972, there were some MSS of the Padapāṭha of the AVŚ with (the late) Dr. H. R. DIWEKAR, who had initiated the Kauśika-sūtra Project in Pune and had edited Dārila's Bhāṣya (DB) on the KauśS. The MSS were borrowed from the descendents of the Gwalior Branch of the Gore family belonging to the AVŚ, living in Sangli and Mahuli in the Satara District in Western Maharashtra. One of the MSS of the padapāṭha of the AVŚ began with the Padapāṭha of the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye,* followed by *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti*.[3] There is a manuscript of a text ātharvaṇaśākhīyabrahmayajña, preserved in the manuscript collection of the Oriental Society, Baroda. It is included in a collection of small prayogas according to the Kauśika-sūtra (KauśS) and has a title *Kauśikānusāriprayogāḥ* (section: Gṛhya Prayoga, Acc. no. 38). In the beginning, the author lays emphasis on the importance of the AV tradition and begins to explain the Brahmayajña: *svaśākhādhyayanaṁ yathākrameṇa kuryāt:* "one should study one's own (Vedic) Śākhā as per the order (of the text)". The text first gives the mantra *śaṁ no devīḥ* in full (*sakalapāṭha*), with accents and then the hymn *ye triṣaptāḥ*. The Śaunakīya tradition holds that the hymn beginning with the mantra *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti* is the first hymn in that Saṁhitā. The KauśS designates it as *pūrva* "the first". It gives a *paribhāṣā* only to explain the word *pūrva-* used in that sūtra: *pūrvaṁ triṣaptīyam*

[3] This information is based on my meetings with Dr. H.R. Diwekar at his residence in Pune, between 1973-1975. for reading with him Dārila's bhāṣya (the photographically reproduced MS and the edited text of DB). After the sad demise of Dr. Diwekar on 18 March 1975, the MSS had reportedly been returned to the owners living in Gwalior.

(KauśS 7.8) "(the word) 'first' (employed in the sūtra, denotes) the *triṣaptīya* hymn (i.e., AVŚ I. 1)". The designation *pūrva* is thus employed in the KauśS in connection with a number of rites: *pūrvasya medhājananāni* (KauśS10.1); *pūrvasya brahmacārisāmpadāni* (KauśS11.1); *pūrvasya mamāgne varca iti varcasyāni* (KauśS12.10); *pūrvasya hastitrāsanāni* (KauśS14.1); *pūrvasya pūrvasyāṁ paurṇamāsyām astamita udakānte kṛṣṇacelaparihito nirṛtikarmāṇi prayuṅkte* (KauśS18.1); *pūrvasya citrākarma* (KauśS18.19); *pūrvasyodapātreṇa sampātavatā'ṅkte* (KauśS25.2); and *pūrvasya putrakāmāvatokayoḥ* (KauśS32.28). In his introduction to the commentary on the first hymn, Sāyaṇa quotes all these sūtras prescribing the employment of the first hymn and comments: *tad evam ātharvaṇamantrāṇām aparimitavīryatvapradarśanārtham ādimasūktasya vistarataḥ sarveṣu karmasu upalakṣaṇatvena sūtrakṛtā viniyogo'bhyadhāyi*: "Thus the author of the Sūtra has prescribed the employment of the first hymn, in detail, indicating by that its employment in all the rites, with a view to exhibiting the immeasurable potency of the ātharvaṇa mantras, their being the accomplished mantras". (p. 32). It is to be pointed out here that the word *pūrva* denotes the first hymn and not the first mantra. The first mantra of the first hymn in the AVŚ is nowhere employed as a single mantra in the KauśS.

On the contrary, the first mantra of the AVP has been designated as *Śaṁ-no-devī*, on the basis of the letters in the beginning of that mantra and used by Kauśika, treating the letters as if they form one word: *ubhayataḥ sāvitrī ubhayataḥ śaṁ-no-devī* (KauśS 9.7): "The sāvitrī (mantra) (ṚV. 3. 62.10) and the mantra *śaṁ no devī* (AVŚ I.6.1) (should be employed) at both (the places of the Śāntigaṇa, in the beginning as well as at the end)." The KauśS uses even a declined form of the word *śaṁ no devī*: *śvo bhūte śaṁnodevyāḥ pādair ardharcābhyām ṛcā ṣaṭkṛtvodakam ācāmataḥ*: "The sacrificer and the priest sip the water six times, with the (three) pādas of (the mantra) *śaṁnodevī*, two hemistichs, and (the entire) verse". In his gloss on this sūtra, Dārila, the Bhāṣyakāra of the KauśS, explains the designation *sāvitrī*, but not the *śaṁnodevī*:*...tat savitur vareṇyam iti sāvitrī kartavyā / ubhayataḥ sāvitryāḥ śaṁnodevī /*; "at the two sides (beginning and end) of the *sāvitrī*, one should employ *the śaṁnodevī*." (DB, p. 45). The *sāvitrī* mantra, popularly known as the *gāyatrī* mantra, belongs to the ṚV and also occurs in the Saṁhitās of the other Vedas (Taittirīya Saṁhitā 1.5.6.4; 4.1.11.1; Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā 3.35; 22.9; 30.2; 36.3; Kauthuma Saṁhitā 1462), but not in the AVŚ; however it is denoted by its designation in the KauśS. It shows that the designation needs no explanation, as the mantra is well-

known to the followers of the AVŚ. Similar is the case of the mantra denoted by the designation *śaṁnodevī* also. The mantra is known in the tradition of the AVŚ by its designation. It was well known not only in the tradition of the AV; it also occurs in the other Vedic texts, namely, it also occurs in the other Vedic Saṁhitās (ṚV 10.9.4; Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā 13.15; 38.13; Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā 36.12; Kauthuma Saṁhitā 33); other Vedic texts (Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 1.2.1.1; 2.5.8.5; Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 4.42.4; Sāma Vidhāna Brāhmaṇa 2.3.1; Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 5.4.1; 16.14.1; 16.3; Mānava Śrauta Sūtra 6.1.5; Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra 4.7.11; Hiraṇyakeśī Gṛhya Sūtra 1.5.7); it is also mentioned by *pratīka*: *śaṁ no devīḥ* (Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 1.1.29; Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 4.11.6; 21.19; 8.9.7; Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra 5.3.13; Viṣṇu Smṛti 86.11; Yājñavalkya Dharma Śāstra 1.300; Bṛhatparāśarasaṁhitā 2.135; 9.61, 65, 309; Śāṅkha Saṁhita 8.8; Vṛddhahārītasaṁhitā 8.34; Auśanasa Dharma Śāstra 5.38. It has also been designated as *Śaṁ-no-devī* (Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 4.11.6; Yājñavalkya Dharma Śāstra 1.230; Vṛddhahārītasaṁhitā 8.18).[4]

One may therefore surmise that although the first hymn of the AVŚ is *ye triṣaptāḥ,* the followers of that Śākhā treat the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* as the first mantra even of their Śākhā and thereby follow the tradition of the Paippalādins.

None of the editors of the Saṁhitā of the AVŚ have noted the importance of this first mantra in the oral tradition. It may be argued further that while editing the Saṁhitā of the AVŚ, the mantra *śaṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* should be given in the beginning followed by *ye triṣaptāḥ pariyanti,* the first mantra of the first hymn of the AVŚ. Thus the oral tradition supported by some manuscript evidence should be honoured and followed.

3. Inter-texuality (A): In Relation to the Paippalāda mantras in the KauśS

(1) There are a number of mantras quoted by sakalapāṭhas in the KauśS, most of which are found in the present text of the Paippalāda Saṁhitā, in its Kashmirian and Orissan transmissions. These mantras were probably used by the followers of the Śaunaka Śākhā and were incorporated into the KauśS at the time of its composition or at a later

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[4] The information given above is from BLOOMFIELD's Vedic Concordance and references to the texts are the same as given by him. New editions of some of the texts may differ from the old editions in respect of the references.

stage, in the possible second redaction and enlargement of that Sūtra.[5] Sometimes they were combined with those of the Śaunaka in such a way so that they cannot be easily found in the present edition of the KauśS prepared by BLOOMFIELD. At least one example can be cited here:

At KauśS 33.8 and 9 some mantras are cited by their sakalapāṭhas:

> anyā vo anyām avatv anyānyasyā upāvata /
> sadhrīcīḥ savratā bhūtvāsyā avata vīryam [PS 1.65.4] iti saṁnayati / (KauśS 33.8)
> mā te riṣan khanitā yasmai ca tvā khanāmasi /
> dvipāc catuṣpād asmākaṃ mā riṣad devy oṣadhe // [AVP 1.65.3] (KauśS 33.9)

Then occurs a prose formula: *srajo nāmāsi* followed by another mantra cited in the sakalapāṭha:

> prajāpatiṣ ṭvām akhanad ātmane śalyasraṁsanam /
> tāṃ tvā vayaṃ khanāmasy amuṣmai tvā śalyasraṃsanam //

BLOOMFIELD probably did not recognise that the portion beginning with *prajāpatiṣ ṭvā akhanat* and ending with *śalyasraṁsanam* makes a verse in the anuṣṭubh metre and joined it with the prose formula *srajo nāmāsi*, treating the entire portion as prose. The necessary correction has been made by Arlo GRIFFITHS (2004: 59). The first two verses are found in the AVP (1.65. 4 and 3), while the third is yet untraceable.

(2) Many of the verses quoted in full in the KauśS appear to have been borrowed from the AVP, due to the influence of the oral tradition and the ritualistic employment of those mantras in the AVP tradition. When BLOOMFIELD prepared a critical edition of the KauśS, he was not in a position to trace those mantras from the AVP, quoted in the KauśS by their *sakalapāṭha*. He therefore mentioned in the footnotes that the mantras were not found in any known Saṁhitā. Now, the Saṁhitā text of the AVP has become available. It is possible to trace the mantras in that text and take a fresh look at the mantras in the KauśS. In this connection, an example may be given. A mantra quoted in full at the KauśS 4.1 reads thus:

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[5] It appears that the KauśS has undergone more than one redaction. The first redactor was supposedly Kauśika and the second was known as Yuvan Kauśika. For the redactions of the KauśS, see, BLOOMFIELD (1889: xxii); BAHULKAR (1977: 109ff.)

vṛṣṇe bṛhate svarvide agnaye śulkaṃ harāmi tviṣīmate /
sa na sthirān balavataḥ kṛṇotu jyok ca no jīvātave dadhātu //

It may be pointed out that all the MSS of the KauśS, used by BLOOMFIELD (1889) and BAHULKAR (1990) have the reading *dadhāti* and not *dadhātu*. BLOOMFIELD emends the word, probably because in the third pāda of that mantra he finds the verb *kṛṇotu,* imperative, 3rd person singular and thinks that the verbal form of the root dhā- should also be similar. BARRET's edition of the Kashmirian AV has the following variants:

vṛṣṇe vṛhate svarvide agne śuklaṃ harāmas tviṣīmate /
sa na sthirāṅ balirucaṅs kṛṇotur jyok tan no devātave dadhātu //

RAGHUVIR's Devanāgarī edition of that text reads:

vṛṣṇe vṛhate svarvide agnaye śuklaṃ harāmas tviṣīmate /
sa na[s] sthirāṅ baliruca X? kṛṇotu jyok can no jīvātave dadhātu //

In the AVP Saṁhitā edited by BARRET and that by RAGHUVIR (AVP 19.52.7), we find the reading *dadhātu*. The 19th Kāṇḍa of the AVP in the Orissan transmission is not yet critically edited. However, Arlo GRIFFITHS confirms the reading- *dadhātu* (GRIFFITHS 2004: 56). It appears that the oral tradition of the KauśS had the reading *dadhāti*, which is reflected in the MSS of the KauśS, or, to be precise, the MSS available and used so far. BLOOMFIELD's emendation may be accepted on the basis of the evidence of the AVP. There are a number of instances found in the KauśS, in which case BLOOMFIELD had to emend the readings, putting aside the readings of the MSS. Incidentally, it may be noted that Arlo GRIFFITHS has restored the original reading *dadhāti* in the e-text of the KauśS he has made available on the website of GRETIL.

4. Inter-textuality (B): In Relation to the AVŚ and ṚV

There are also other examples of inter-textuality between the AVŚ and other Vedic Śākhās.

There is a mantra in the Vivāha hymn of the AVŚ (14. 2.17). It reads thus:

ághoracakṣur ápatighnī syonā́ śagmā́ suśévā suyámā gṛhébhyaḥ /
vīrasū́r devákāmā sáṁ tváy aidhiṣīmahi sumanasyámānā //

This verse is followed by another verse of somewhat similar meaning:

ádevṛghny áptighnīh áidhi śivā́ paśúbhyaḥ suyámā suvárcāḥ /
prajā́vatī vīrasū́r devákāmā syonémáṁ agníṁ gā́rhapatyaṁ saparya //

This couplet of mantras has evidently the basis of a verse in the vivāha hymn, i.e. the Sūryāsūkta of the Ṛgveda (10.85.44):

ághoracakṣur ápatighny edhi śivā́ paśúbhyaḥ sumánāḥ suvárcāḥ /
vīrasū́r devákāmā syonā́ śáṁ no bhava dvipáde śáṁ cátuṣpade //

In the manuscripts of the AVŚ, there is found a variant devṛkāmā 'the bride loving her brother-in-law', for the word devakāmā 'the bride loving the gods'. While the variant appears to be slightly different, the meanings of these two words are considerably different from each other. In the Sanskrit introduction to his edition of the AVŚ Saṁhitā, SATAVALEKAR has discussed at a length the variant of the word devakāmā and its implications. The discussion about the readings devakāmā/devṛkāmā is being presented here, summarizing SATAVALEKAR's argument. The AVP Saṁhitā too has the reading devakāmā. There is no variant in the case of the mantra in the Ṛgveda and, consequently, there is no difference of opinion among the reciters of the ṚV, regarding the reading devakāmā. SATAVALEKAR has given a list of the Vedic texts in which the verse occurs and has pointed out that no text other than the AVŚ Saṁhitā has the reading devṛkāmā. He cites the opinion of the reciters of the AVŚ; according to them, the reading devakāmā is rarely found, and the reading devṛkāmā is accepted by a majority. This variance has no relation with the regional differences; the two readings are found in the recitation of both the southerners and northerners. ROTH and WHITNEY, in their Berlin edition of the AVŚ, have accepted the reading devakāmā. However, WHITNEY, in his English translation of the AVŚ, has accepted the reading devṛkāmā and has translated the word as 'loving brother-in-law' with a question mark. GRIFFITHS translates the word as 'husband's father'. It is probably a mistake for 'husband's brother'.

If we see the context, the verse is to be recited as a blessing to the bride at the time of her first entrance to the husband's house. The word devṛkāmā would literally mean 'one longing for her brother-in-law'. It is quite unlikely that she will be addressed in this strange way on that occasion. The variant devṛkāmā is possibly made intentionally

by some reciters who want to hint at the custom of niyoga. However, such a modification is very strange. SATAVALEKAR points out that the custom of niyoga was a way in the absence of the husband, due to death etc. or when the husband is not capable of producing a child. In the mantras quoted above, the bride is called prajāvatī 'possessing progeny' and vīrasū 'capable of giving birth to a hero'. How can there be a possibility of niyoga? Secondly, as Manu says, the niyoga is never praised in the mantras to be employed on the occasion of a marriage (nodvāhikeṣu mantreṣu niyogaḥ kīrtyate kvacit/ Manu Smr. 9.65).

It may be concluded therefore that the mantra under discussion should have the reading devakāmā which was later changed to devṛkāmā for the reason unknown to us. It may be due to the defective oral tradition that caused a changed in the text. However, on the basis of the inter-textuality, the original reading may be restored.

In the end, it may be pointed out that the tradition of the recitation of the AVŚ has been revived in Maharashtra in recent years. There are some young *vedamūrti*s who can recite the entire Saṁhitā. They no longer use the traditional pothi for their study and memorizing; they use a printed text, particularly, the edition prepared by SATAVALEKAR. The oral tradition is thus being preserved on the basis of a printed text which is much free from mistakes and variants. All these vedamūrtis belong to the Ṛgveda and continue the *vrata* of recitation of the AV, following the example of their predecessors.

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Some Aspects of Oral Tradition as Reflected in the Pāṇinian Grammatical Texts

SHREENAND L. BAPAT

Several aspects of learning, especially that of the Brahmanical texts, such as subjects and texts, qualities of teachers and students, time and place of study, etc., appear by the grammarians of the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition.[1] It is Patañjali who has referred to four types of human relations: *ārtha*, financial; *yauna*, pertaining to (one) womb; *maukha*, oral, and *srauva*, pertaining to ladle, i.e. sacrificial, religious (1.1.49.6). Of these *maukha* is explained by Nāgeśabhaṭṭa as teacher-student relationship (*guruśiṣyabhāva*). Though it is not unreasonable to suppose that manuscripts should have been in vogue at least since the last three centuries before Christ, the "reading and reciting" student (*lihitapāṭhaka*) was always looked down upon throughout the tradition. One such instance from the *Mahābhāṣya* which speaks of studying in the light of a cow-dung fire cakes may be construed to pertain to reading matter from written texts.[2] Learning by heart during the night, when others are in slumber, must have caused a great trouble both for the learner and his mates desirous of sleeping.[3] The Bhāṣyakāra supposes that the students who have studied during the night should also be taken to have studied during the day.[4] The Kāśikākāra specially refers to the

[1] Pāṇini the Sūtrakāra, his Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana, Patañjali the Bhāṣyakāra, and the authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, *Pradīpa*, *Udyota*, *Nyāsa*, *Padamañjarī* and *Siddhantakaumudī*.

[2] *kārīṣo 'gnir adhyāpayati iti … kārīṣo 'gnir nivāta ekānte suprajvalito 'dhyayanam prayojayati* - 3.1.26.2. Prof. Madhav Deshpande, during the discussions following the presentation of this paper, rightly suggested that this fire is not meant for light but for warmth during cold nights.

[3] *kā nāma śāyikā 'nyeṣv adhīyāneṣu* - 3.3.108.1-2.154.16.

[4] 2.4.32.4.

students studying in the evening and during the whole night,[5] which most probably was banned, or meant only for religious reasons.

In the illustrations *ācāryād adhīte* etc. it is asked why ablative case is used for the person from whom one learns.[6] It is said that knowledge does not fully qualify the condition of separation from the preceptor.[7] It does not entirely leave the preceptor, but is only duplicated in the pupil. The question is finally disposed of, saying that the words or sounds that are generated from the preceptor's mouth do not return. It is interesting to note that in such cases where no purposeful listening and learning is involved, the genitive case is advised to be employed instead of ablative.[8]

The process of learning has been described to have two levels, learning by heart and understanding, differentiated very clearly from each other:

(1) Demonstration and description: Showing to the pupils a bull by holding its ear or hip is demonstration – *uddeśa*; and description – *upadeśa* – goes without illustration. The illustration of the bison being recognized with the help of the simile of – in fact memory of – the bull should be taken to have come through demonstration.[9]

(2) Learning by heart – *adhyayana* – and knowing or getting acquainted with – *vedana*.[10] Patañjali poses the question whether a person who learns a text by heart should not necessarily be expected to understand it. He replies that it is possible that a person who doesn't learn a matter by heart may be aware of its overall implication. The tradition has compared such a learner with a pole. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* divides texts into those meant for *adhyayana* and *vedana*. It states that texts like *Chandas*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nirukta*, etc. are meant for *adhyayana*. Of the texts pertaining to fortune-telling, astrology and portentary (*nimitta*, *muhūrta* and *utpāta*) it is only the matter that is to be known generally. It seems that these texts were not learnt by heart by all students even during the late centuries of the first millennium AD. The commentators of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, on the other hand, state that a learner is able only to know the word from the text but not necessarily its implication.

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5 *prādoṣika* and *naiśika* – 4.3.52.

6 *ākhyātopayoge* – *Mahābhāṣya* 1.4.29.2.

7 *Mahābhāṣya* 1.4.24.

8 *naṭasya śṛṇoti* – *Mahābhāṣya* 1.4.29.0.

9 *pratyakṣam ākhyānam upadeśaḥ, guṇaiḥ prāpaṇam uddeśaḥ* – *Mahābhāṣya* 1.3.2.0.

10 *Mahābhāṣya* 4.2.59.

Several passages in the *Mahābhāṣya* enumerate the difficulties in learning by heart. It is said that the impediments and sufferings in the learning procedure and the repulsive nature of the preceptors can easily be beheld.[11] It is a common experience that among many who learn with the same objective, only a few reach their goal while the others do not.[12] The same is the case with the relation of effort taken and knowledge gained through the same. Both the components may stand in inverse proportion to one another.[13]

Grammarians define the various classes of preceptors as *ācārya*, *pravaktṛ*, *ākhyātṛ* and *adhyāpaka* as also *upādhyāya*, *guru* and *śikṣaka*.[14] An advanced or retired teacher is termed as *prācārya*. *Ācārya*, in accordance with the Mahābhāṣya, is a teacher to whom a student directly approaches for learning.[15] The commentary *Udyota*[16] brings out the distinction between the two in full, saying that it is incumbent on the *ācārya* to initiate a student and teach him the full text of the Veda; while the *upādhyāya* is supposed to teach only the select portions of texts, or rather those portions of texts that have been entrusted to him by the *ācārya*. AGRAWALA (1963: 283) denotes that *ācārya* is the teacher of the highest status, and *upādhyāya* is entrusted with the task of teaching sacred texts. A lady teacher was *upādhyāyā* or *upādhyāyī*.[17] A furious teacher (*khaṇḍikopādhyāya*) is reported to slap a student who mispronounces an accent.[18] The expression *upādhyāya*, however, seems to have been used loosely in literature, e.g. a disciple addresses Cāṇakya as *upādhyāya* instead of *ācārya*.[19]

A third teacher, *pravaktṛ*, was an exponent of the traditional texts in general, teaching most probably the *prokta* literature, while *adhyāpaka* was an instructor in general.[20] The *Kāśikāvṛtti* here describes teachers as wonderful (*adbhuta*-), best (*parama*-, *su*-), indescribable (*anukta*),

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11 *Mahābhāṣya* 1.4.26.0.

12 *Mahābhāṣya Āhnika* 2 *Vārttika* 15.

13 *phalavatā ca nāma prayatnena bhavitavyam / na ca prayatnaḥ phalād vyatirecyaḥ / vyatireko 'pi vai lakṣyate / dṛśyante hi kṛtaprayatnāś ca apravīṇṇā, akṛtaprayatnāś ca pravīṇāḥ* – *Mahābhāṣya Āhnika* 1 *Vārttika* 8.

14 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.1.65.

15 *upetya adhīyate tasmād upādhyāyaḥ / adhīyate tasminn adhyāyaḥ /* – *Mahābhāṣya* 3.3.20.1.

16 1.1.56.

17 *Mahābhāṣya* 3.3.21.1.

18 *Mahābhāṣya* 1.1.13.1.

19 *Upādhyāya, ājñāpaya* – *Mudrārākṣasa* Act 1.

20 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.1.65.

enormous (*ayuta*), and powerful (*bhṛśa*). An inconsiderate teacher is termed dry like wood (*kāṣṭhādhyāpaka*) (DASH 1996: 490). AGNIHOTRI, however, takes this positively as a stern and firm teacher (1963: 423).

Ākhyātṛ was a teacher in general[21]. Capable preceptors (*guru*-s) have been told to be approached by students residing enormously away, even a hundred *yojana*-s, i.e. a distance over 450 km.[22] Some scholars also take *śrotriya* as a teacher. Though this word appears in association with the other terms for 'teachers', *śrotriya* does not seem to strictly mean so. The Sūtrakāra advises *śrotriya* as a scholar of the Veda – a person who learns the Veda by heart.[23] It should be considered here that Monier WILLIAMS and KATRE do not interpret *śrotriya* as teacher.

Similar is the case of *śikṣaka*, appearing in the *Mahābhāṣya*.[24] He is supposed to teach practical subjects like archery (AGNIHOTRI 1963: 423). However this is doubtful, since the term *śikṣaka* goes better with a learner, than with a teacher.[25] Sore throat or weakening of the voice of a teacher used to hamper teaching.[26]

Several are the instances of contemporary student life. A student was known from: (1) the subject or text he learnt; (2) the school (*caraṇa*), in case he learnt the Veda; and (3) the name of his teacher. Relatively junior students carrying wooden staffs – *daṇḍamāṇava*-s – also are known to Patañjali (4.2.104.23).[27] The *Jātaka* 4.379 comes out with the same connotation of the term. According to the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, *daṇḍa-māṇava*-s are young students who are still not eligible to learn the Veda (*anṛca*-s). The commentary *Tattvabodhinī* on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* further clarifies that *māṇava*-s are students who have not still undergone initiation (*upanayna*), and that some of them were expected to live with alms in spite of their raw age.[28] AGNIHOTRI (1963: 418) further informs that some of the students – most probably the *daṇḍamāṇava*-s – used to reside at home and used to learn like the day-time students of this day. *Antevāsin*-s, on the other hand, are slightly senior and are likely to succeed the preceptor.[29] The senior pupils ones are called

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21 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.29.
22 *Mahābhāṣya* 5.1.74.2.
23 *śrotriyaś chando 'dhīte* – 5.2.84.
24 1.2.20.6.
25 *dhanuṣi sikṣate* – 1.3.21.3.
26 *Upādāstāsya svaraḥ śikṣakasya* – *Mahābhāṣya* 1.1.20.6; 1.1.39.8.
27 4.2.104.23.
28 *bhikṣāmāṇava* – 6.2.69.
29 *Mahābhāṣya* 4.2.104.23.

prāntevāsin-s [2.2.18]. Students who used to learn from their father were known as *pitur antevāsin*-s. A young student quick in learning is specially mentioned as *samarthatara*.[30] Students who have studied well their basics of the language, such as *Samāsacakra*, *Rūpāvali*, *Śikṣā*, etc., have been told to be eligible for recitation of the Veda or grammatical texts.[31]

As regards *vāsantika chātra*, etc., it is said that these expressions qualify students who undergo short courses in specific texts, especially the Vedāṅga-s.[32] This interpretation, however, does not seem to go well with the term *vārṣika* occurring in the same series of illustrations. Along with this definition the *Nyāsa* explains that *vāsantika* should also bear upon texts wherein one finds the description of the spring season. The *Padamañjarī* goes a step ahead putting this second explanation first. The deviation of meaning should be closely seen here.

Completion of a certain portion of a text in a particular duration of time or a distance travelled is evident in *māsam adhīte* and *krośam adhīte* (*Mahābhāṣya* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.3.5-6).[33] In the case of completion of the study in the stipulated portion of time or path, the instrumental case was employed – *māsena / krośena adhīte*. According to the Kāśikākāra if the syllabus is repeated in full during the stipulated portion of time or path, a normal genitive case would be used – *māsasya / krośasya dvir adhīte*.

The relation of the teacher and student, according to the Bhāṣyakāra, is that of an umbrella and its carrier who is covered by it, and also expected to care for that.[34] The *Kāśikā* comes out with a contrast of this, saying that the student is supposed to cover the vices of the preceptor, and thus is called a *chātra*.[35] AGNIHOTRI's interpretation of this

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[30] *samarthataro 'yam māṇavako 'dhyayanāyety ucyata āśutaragrantha it gamyate* – *Mahābhāṣya* 2.1.1.7.

[31] *niṣpannśabdaḥ śiṣyaḥ śāsitavyaḥ* – *Mahābhāṣya* 3.3.133.3.

[32] 4.2.63; *vasantasahacarito 'yaṁ granthaḥ vāsantaḥ, tam adhīte vāsantikaś chātraḥ* – *Mahābhāṣya*. See AGRAWALA 1963: 286 with reference to *Manusmṛti* 4.98.

[33] It will not be out of place to cite here our teacher the late Pt. Wamanshastri Bhagwat. He used to remember the time when he was a student at the Ichalkaranji Pāṭhaśālā. He used to voluntarily recite the *Aṣṭāḍhyāyī* every morning when the pupils walked about a kilometer to the river for bath. Of course this recollection has nothing to do with the illustrations of the grammatical texts.

[34] *guruś chatram / guruṇā śiṣyaś chatravac chādyaḥ*, *śiṣyeṇa ca guruś chatravat paripālyaḥ* – 4.4.62.0.

[35] *chatram śīlam asya chātraḥ / chādanād āvaraṇāc chatram / gurukāryeṣv*

statement (1963: 418) as an expression of downfall of the educational system, however, is not worth taking seriously since it is nothing more than taking the absence of evidence as evidence of absence.

Students have been told to be normally scared of the teacher and had to study in that bad state of mind.[36] A student used to remain hidden from the teacher. He used to be afraid if the teacher would insult him – most probably for not studying – or ask to carry out some laborious work.[37]

Instances of difficulties in learning and good characters of students seem to have been outnumbered by the references to their vices. This should not merely be taken to stand in testimony with the vicious nature of the students, but should also be seen as a sign of the vigilance of the traditional scholars with regard to learning.

It is told that even the most obedient student serves the teacher and studies for his own welfare.[38] The *Kāśikā* informs that students eagerly await the day of non-learning.[39]

Patañjali gives the following terms for bad students:

(1) *tīrthakāka* – a student as unstable as a crow at a ford (2.1.42.0);

(2) *odanapāṇinīya* – a learner of the Pāṇinian grammar learning for getting rice to consume (1.1.73.6);

(3) *ghṛtarauḍhīya* – a student of Rauḍhi who has joined him since he is fond of ghee (1.1.73.6);

(4) *kambalacārāyaṇīya* – a pupil of Cārāyaṇa who is studying there merely for obtaining a blanket (1.1.73.6). Kaiyaṭa, however, interprets this expression as "the student of Cārāyaṇa who himself is fond of blankets." In the absence of clear evidence the question arises whether this should be applied to all the illustrations above.

(5) To this list the *Kāśikā* adds *kumārīdākṣa* (6.2.69), an expression denoting a student seeking early marriage, or joining the preceptor Dakṣa for his daughter.

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avahitaḥ tac-chidrāvaraṇapravṛttaś chatraśīlaḥ śiṣyaś chātraḥ /

[36] *upādhyāyaś ced āgataḥ kṣipram adhyeṣyāmahe / upādhyāyaś ced āgataḥ āśaṁse yukto 'dhīyīya / upādhyāyaś ced āgataḥ kṣipram adhīyīya – Mahābhāṣya* 3.3.133. 2.159.18.

[37] a*ntardhau yenādarśnam icchati / upādhyāyād antardhatte / pśyaty ayaṁ yadi mām upādhyāyaḥ paśyati dhruvaṁ preṣaṇam upālambho vā / sa buddhyā saṁprāpya nivartate – Mahābhāṣya* 1.4.28.0.

[38] *ye tāvad ete guruśuśrūṣavo nāma te 'pi nāma svabhuūtyartham eva pravartante, pāralaukikaṁ ca no bhaviṣyati iha ca naḥ prīto gurur adhyāpayiṣyati iti – Mahābhāṣya* 3.1.26.14.

[39] *chātrapriyo 'nadhyāyaḥ* – 6.2.16.

(6) Similar is *gaurutalpika* or *gurutalpaga* (3.2.48.4), appearing in the Mahābhāṣya, a student desirous of approaching the bed of the preceptor. The interpretation of AGNIHOTRI (1963: 437) and DASH (1996: 493), that this should be taken to be an indication of the fall of the educational system, thus, seems to be far-fetched.

The other bad characters of the students should be enlisted as:

(7) *khaṭvārūḍha* and *khaṭvāpluta* – a lazy student who lies on the bed though prohibited (*Mahābhāṣya* and *Kāśikā* 2.1.26);

(8) Violators of the *anadhyāya* rules are mentioned in the *Kāśikā* (4.4.71) as follows:

(i) *śmāśānika* – one who studies in the graveyard;
(ii) *cātuṣpathika* – studying in an open crossroad;
(iii) *āmāvāsyika* – studying on the new moon day, and
(iv) *cāturdaśika* – studying on the 14th day of a fortnight.

Notwithstanding anything stated by the texts it seems these students should be called defaulters only if they do this at those very places and on those very days. Otherwise they should be considered to be the most virtuous pupils;

(9) The students who commit mistakes in recitation, numbering from one to thirteen, especially during their examination according to the *Kāśikāvritti*;[40]

(10) *chātravyaṁsaka* – according to the *Kāśikā* the student of a deceptive nature (2.1.72);

(11) *vilambitādhyāyin*, a slow learner, and a *sādhvadhyāyin*, a quick learner (6.2.80);

(12) Last but not the least is the illustration of a student who eats rice and travels by a chariot and makes his teacher consume *saktu*-s and travel on foot.[41]

As mentioned above, nothing can be concluded with regard to the ascent or descent of the tradition, since every generation right from Patañjali to the one which we belong, have expressed anguish over the state of the next generation, and since the tradition is nothing but continuity and change occurring in concurrence.

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[40] *aikānyika, dvaiyanyika, traiyanyika, dvādaśānyika, trayodaśānyika* – 4.4.63

[41] *svyaṁ rathena yātī3 = upādhyāyaṁ padātiṁ gamayati / svayam odanam ha bhuṅkte3 = upādhyāyaṁ ha saktūn pāyayati – Kāśikāvṛtti* 8.2.104

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Illiteracy as a socio-cultural marker

JOHANNES BRONKHORST

Brahmanism is a conservative ideology. It has been so from the time it had to find a place in the world for itself after the political unification of northern India by rulers – the Nandas and the Mauryas – who had no sympathy for Brahmanism and no need for its services. Brahmanism preserved for ever after the memory of the good old days, when its services were part of the structure of the state. The new empires had destroyed all that, and the Brahmins did not like it.

Not surprisingly, the Brahmins did not like the new political structures either. Nor did they like any of the new phenomena that accompanied them. The Nanda and Maurya empires had been centred in Magadha, right in the middle of the region where South Asia's second urbanisation was taking place at that time. The Mauryan capital, Pāṭaliputra, was a large city, according to some the world's largest city at its time.[1] Obviously, the Brahmins detested towns and cities. They said so explicitly when forced to talk about them. More often, they adopted a different strategy: they did not mention them, they did as if there were no towns and cities.[2] Where possible, they depicted themselves in a world that was no longer there. In this respect (and to avoid misunderstanding, let me add: only in this respect), their behaviour was not dissimilar to that of another group that was obsessed with the past: the National-Socialists of the Third Reich. In the House of German Art in Munich, opened by Hitler in 1937, there were hundreds of paintings; not one depicted urban and industrial life.[3]

Brahmanical literature of the period concerned, then, presents an

[1] SCHLINGLOFF 1969: 29 f.
[2] BRONKHORST 2007: 251 f.
[3] WATSON 2004: 311-312.

image of an ideal world that no longer existed (even if we assume that it ever existed). However, the presentation of this imaginary world was not only meant to preserve the memory of an idealized past; its other, equally important, purpose was to shape the future in accordance with brahmanical wishes. It is in this period of transition that a new notion pops up in brahmanical literature, that of the brahmanical hermitage (*āśrama*). Brahmins are depicted as living in these simple yet idyllic places, dedicating themselves to their vedic ritual duties, reciting mantras in the process. These hermitages appear in the literature right at the time when also gifts of land to Brahmins – the so-called *agrahāra*s – begin to appear in literature and in the epigraphic record. It only makes sense to connect the two institutions: The literary *āśrama*s functioned as encouragement for rulers and others close to the centres of political power to provide Brahmins with *agrahāra*s, an encouragement that became extraordinarily successful in subsequent centuries. As was to be expected, brahmanical literature never suggests that *āśrama*s were an innovation. Quite on the contrary, literature presents us with the idea that *āśrama*s had always been there. This illustrates the fact that Brahmanism, even where it innovates, never admits that it does so. Brahmanism projects the image of preserving the past, even in cases where historical scholarship can show that it doesn't.

Many other examples could be cited to illustrate Brahmanism's refusal to admit that it innovates, even if it does. I will mention only one more, which I take from a forthcoming article by Madhav M. DESHPANDE:

> While the doctrine of karmayoga 'Yoga of (unselfish) Action' as taught in the Bhagavadgītā may be historically a new post-Vedic development, Kṛṣṇa, at the beginning of the fourth chapter of the Bhagavadgītā, asserts that he as God taught this doctrine to Vivasvān at the beginning of creation, and that very same doctrine, which was handed down by the tradition (*paramparāprāpta*, BG 4.2), had been lost after a long interval (*sa kāleneha mahatā yogo naṣṭaḥ*). The next verse asserts that it is exactly the same ancient (*sanātanaḥ*) doctrine that Kṛṣṇa is now teaching Arjuna.

It will be clear from these and other examples that Brahmanism made a concerted effort to project a certain image of Brahmins and the world they live in. This world was partly based on an idealized memory of the past, partly it represented the present interests of those Brahmins. The ideal Brahmin had no truck with the corruptions of modern life,

such as city dwelling, the use of debased dialects (i.e., of languages other than Sanskrit), and much else. Instead he lived (or presented himself as living, or as wishing to live) in a pure and idyllic *āśrama*, he used Sanskrit, i.e. the original and pure language, and of course, he was not involved in activities such as writing.

This, I repeat, was the idealized picture that much of brahmanical literature projects. It follows that this literature is a rather poor source for those who wish to study ancient India's city life, or the languages spoken, or indeed the use of writing.[4] If we can derive information about these matters from brahmanical literature at all, then in spite of the efforts made by its authors.

Early brahmanical literature, then, is not the most reliable source of information with regard to such matters, and the conclusion that there were no cities when one text was composed, or no writing when another one was composed, simply because neither cities nor writing are mentioned in those texts, is based on very shaky foundations indeed. It would be comparable to the conclusion, based on the absence of depictions of urban and industrial life in the House of German Art in Munich in 1937, that there were no cities or industrial life in Germany at that time. To repeat it once again, this absence is, in both cases, based on ideology, not necessarily on historical fact.

It is in the light of these considerations that we must study early brahmanical literature. We know for sure that Pāṇini was acquainted with the existence of writing (he mentions it), and that not long after him Aśoka left numerous inscriptions all over the Indian subcontinent. If we add to this the disinclination within the brahmanical tradition to refer to writing, all conclusions about the oral nature of extensive brahmanical texts from the succeeding period (such as the Mahābhāṣya and the Mahābhārata, both longer than the Ṛgveda) cannot but be considered shaky and probably based on the desire to grind an axe about the supposedly miraculous mnemonic skills of the Indians of that time (for which no parallels can be cited from the Indian present or from other cultures). What is more, it means falling in the trap laid by the brahmanical tradition itself.

[4] HOUBEN (2009: 82 n. 9) states: "Falk (1993: 255) cite un texte qui montre de façon incontestable que le prêtre n'emploie aucun texte écrit comme 'secours': selon B[audhāyana] Dh[arma] S[ūtra] 3.9.8-9, quelqu'un qui a oublié un passage de la Saṃhitā (et le mot *apratibhāyām* veut vraiment dire que le passage ne vient pas à l'esprit) doit réciter un [autre] texte sacré …" This passage reveals nothing about the use of writing at the time of its composition; it is in perfect agreement with our observation that authors made an effort not to refer to writing.

Since I have dealt with the theme of literacy and illiteracy in ancient India in a published article[5], I will, in the remainder of this lecture, concentrate on what we might call, tongue in cheek, the trap – or rather traps – laid by the brahmanical tradition. The brahmanical tradition (like most traditions) had a vision of its past. Since it succeeded in imposing itself on virtually all parts of the Indian subcontinent (and to some extent on regions in Southeast Asia), the brahmanical vision of the past came to predominate, replacing whatever other visions there may have been. Since most of our sources for the early period are brahmanical, very little remains of those alternative visions. Indeed, there are few sources that would allow us to put the brahmanical vision of the past to the test. It is therefore not surprising that modern scholarship has for a long time taken the brahmanical claims about the past for granted, and more often than not this vision can only be corrected by means of a detailed study of all sources, including the inconvenient ones. For most of its history, modern indological scholarship has not questioned the assumption that brahmanical religion and culture constitute the background for whatever other religious and cultural movements appeared in subsequent centuries. Tracing the vedic sources of this or that phenomenon had become, and to some extent still is, the obligatory first step in the study of all features of Indian civilization. I will briefly discuss one example: the Indian theatre.[6]

The books and other publications that try to trace the origins of the Indian theatre to vedic literature probably fill a book shelf, if not more. It is yet clear that nothing like the classical theatre is referred to in vedic literature, and that all those scholarly studies are far from having created anything like a consensus. It is equally clear that north-western India underwent strong hellenistic influence, due to the presence on Indian soil of the so-called Indo-Greeks during a number of centuries. The fondness of these Indo-Greeks for the theatre is known; their cultural influence in other respects – most notably astronomy and sculpture – uncontested. Scholars yet continue their search for brahmanical antecedents, showing thereby that they have fallen in the brahmanical trap, the claim that the origin of all that is worthwhile in India has to be looked for in the Veda.

Not only modern scholars fell in the trap (if you allow me to continue using this expression). The Brahmins themselves accepted their idealized visions of the past, but this is hardly surprising. It is one

[5] BRONKHORST 2002: 797-831. See further the appendix at the end of this article.

[6] BRONKHORST 2003: 793-811.

of the characteristics of traditions, all traditions, that they share a vision about the past, from which their followers derive a sense of identity. The fact that the Buddhists of North India accepted this vision is much more interesting, for at first sight there was no reason for them to do so.

Buddhism did not arise in brahmanized surroundings. This is clear from an in-depth study of its early sources and a variety of indications found there and elsewhere.[7] Buddhism arose and developed for a number of centuries in largely non-brahmanical surroundings. For half a millennium it expressed itself in Middle-Indic languages different from Sanskrit, and its texts present us a society free from the brahmanical hierarchy into Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Sanskrit, the brahmanical language, was not used in inscriptions either during this period, indicating that the brahmanical influence at the court remained minimal.

Some five hundred years after the death of the Buddha this changed in northern India. Sanskrit started being used in political inscriptions, references to the brahmanical organization of society became frequent and, perhaps most surprisingly, the Buddhists of northern India started using Sanskrit. These and other features suggest that Brahmanism had gained access to the royal courts. Buddhism, which at that time had to look after a considerable number of monasteries, needed royal support to fulfil its obligations. In order to obtain this support, it adopted Sanskrit.[8]

Buddhism did however more than adopting Sanskrit. Along with it, it adopted the brahmanical vision of society. The buddhist authors who expressed themselves in Sanskrit now depicted the Buddha himself as having grown up in brahmanized surroundings, and his father as a king who was surrounded by Brahmin counsellors and who performed sacrifices. In other words, Buddhism adopted a vision of its own past that was not only factually wrong, but invented by Brahmanism.

Consider Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, which may belong to the first generation of Buddhist works directly composed in Sanskrit. It describes the life of the Buddha before his enlightenment. The society, and indeed the family, into which the Buddha is born is, according to this text, completely pervaded by Brahmanical ideas and customs. Not only does his royal father receive Brahmins to pronounce on the greatness of his new-born son,[9] he has the birth ceremony (*jātakarman*) carried out, and

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[7] BRONKHORST 2007.

[8] Most interestingly, Jainism at that same time and roughly in the same part of the subcontinent did not receive royal support and did not adopt Sanskrit; see BRONKHORST, forthcoming a.

[9] Buddhac 1.31 f.

performs Vedic murmurings (*japa*), oblations (*homa*) and auspicious rites (*maṅgala*) to celebrate the event, all this followed by a gift of a hundred thousand cows to Brahmins.[10] Also later he pours oblations into the fire and gives gold and cows to Brahmins, this time to ensure a long life for his son.[11] He drinks soma as enjoined by the Vedas.[12] He performs sacrifices, even though only such as are without violence.[13] He has a purohita,[14] described as "in charge of the sacrifices" (*havya… adhikṛta*).[15] King Śreṇya of Magadha gives friendly advice to the Bodhisattva, counseling him to pursue the triple end of life (*trivarga*), viz., pleasure (*kāma*), wealth (*artha*) and virtue (*dharma*), i.e. the three Brahmanical aims of life. Māra, the Buddha's arch-enemy who tries to prevent him from attaining liberation, calls upon him to follow his *svadharma*.[16] King Śreṇya points out that performing sacrifices is his *kuladharma* "family obligation".[17] These and many other examples show, not just that Aśvaghoṣa was familiar with Brahmanism, but that he and his readers situated the Buddha in fully Brahmanized surroundings.

Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda* paints a similar picture of the Buddha's father. He here studies the highest Brahman,[18] makes the Brahmins press soma[19] which he drinks,[20] sacrifices with the help of Brahmins,[21] and is said to be a follower of the Veda.[22] The *Saundarananda* also emphasizes the martial side of King Śuddhodana, a side which easily fits into a Brahmanical world-view, less smoothly into a Buddhist one. We read, for example, that the king "favoured those who submitted to him [and] waged war on the enemies of his race (*kuladviṣ*)".[23] He "took away from his foes their mighty fame".[24] He "dispersed his foes with his courage";[25] "by his holiness he put down the army of internal foes,

[10] Buddhac 1.82-83.
[11] Buddhac 2.36.
[12] Buddhac 2.37.
[13] Buddhac 2.49.
[14] Buddhac 4.8; 8.82, 87; 9.1 f.
[15] Buddhac 10.1.
[16] Buddhac 13.9.
[17] Buddhac 10.39.
[18] Saund 2.12.
[19] Saund 2.31.
[20] Saund 2.44.
[21] Saund 2.35-36.
[22] Saund 2.44.
[23] Saund 2.10.
[24] Saund 2.16.
[25] Saund 2.29.

and by his courage his external foes".[26] "With the heat of his courage he reduced proud foes to ashes".[27]

As a further example I take the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra, composed probably in the fourth century CE, in Sanskrit.[28] This collection expresses itself more than once critically with regard to Brahmanical ideas about statecraft, yet the ideal king in the *Jātakamālā* behaves in accordance with Brahmanical principles. This is best illustrated in those stories in which the Bodhisattva himself is king. In this elevated position he carries out deeds of great liberality and compassion, which move him forward on his path toward Buddhahood. A king, we learn from these stories, pursues, even if he is an exceptionally good king, the three Brahmanical aims of life, the *trivarga*,[29] i.e., virtue (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*), and desire (*kāma*). In case of adversity, he takes advice from the Brahmin elders headed by his purohita.[30] He has mastered the essence of the triple Veda and of Brahmanical philosophy,[31] has competence in the Vedas along with its Aṅgas and Upavedas.[32] And the result of his perfect rule is that the inhabitants of his kingdom are characterized by love for their own Dharma (*svadharma*).[33] Once again we see that the ideal king, in the *Jātakamālā* as in the *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*, is basically a Brahmanical king, one who follows Brahmanical norms and customs.

These texts composed in Sanskrit contrast with comparable literature composed in Middle Indic. I must be brief with regard to the Suttas of the Pāli canon. They often refer to Brahmins. But these Brahmins live, like everyone else, in essentially non-Brahmanical surroundings. The situation presented in the works of Aśvaghoṣa and Āryaśūra is different: here everyone, including the Buddhists, lives in surroundings that are largely Brahmanized, in the sense that a number of Brahmanical norms and values with regard to kingship and society are the rule.

Aśvaghoṣa's detailed description of the Buddha's father as an ideal Brahmanical king contrasts sharply with other contemporary

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[26] Saund 2.36.

[27] Saund 2.39.

[28] KHOROCHE 1989: xi f.

[29] Jm(V) p. 7 l. 8; p. 71 l. 1 = Jm(H) p. 10 l. 8; p. 97 l. 5.

[30] Jm(V) p. 70 l. 20-21; Jm(H) p. 96 l. 23: *purohitapramukhān brāhmaṇavṛddhān [u]pāyaṃ papraccha*.

[31] Jm(V) p. 55 l. 4; Jm(H) p. 75 l. 4: *trayyānvīkṣikyor upalabdhārthatattva*.

[32] Jm(V) p. 217 l. 7-8: *sāṅgeṣu sopavedeṣu ca vedeṣu vaicakṣaṇyam*.

[33] Jm(V) p. 45 l. 25; p. 55 l. 4 = Jm(H) p. 63 l. 20; p. 75 l. 5.

biographies of the Buddha. The *Mahāvastu*, for all its length, has very little to say about Śuddhodana's accomplishments as a king. And the *Lalitavistara* presents him as an ideal Buddhist king, without using any Brahmanical terminology.[34] Indeed, it would seem that Aśvaghoṣa has himself invented the elaborate descriptions of the ideal kingship of the Buddha's father, perhaps with the conscious purpose of glorifying Brahmanical notions.

Interestingly, the Sanskrit texts of northern Buddhism were the first to reach European scholars when buddhist studies were in their infancy, in the nineteenth century. Eugène BURNOUF's *Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien* was arguably "the single most important work in the history of the academic study of Buddhism" (LOPEZ, 2008: 170). It laid the basis for Buddhist studies in the West, and through it subsequent European scholars were breast-fed, so to say, on the "Sanskritic" vision of Buddhism's past. BURNOUF based himself in this regard on the *Divyāvadāna*[35] and other northern texts, and it is not surprising that he concluded that Buddhism arose in a completely brahmanized society. By the time earlier Buddhist sources came to be studied in depth, this "Sanskritic" vision of Buddhism's past had become deeply anchored, far too deeply to be easily modified. In other words, modern scholarship had once again fallen in the Brahmanical trap, this time through the intermediary of the Buddhists of northern India.

Let me at this point admit that my terminology so far has been somewhat disrespectful and potentially misleading. To the best of our knowledge there were no consciously laid Brahmanical traps. But the examples discussed do show, I believe, that there is much in Brahmanical literature that may lead us astray in the historical investigation of ancient India, whether consciously invented for this purpose or not. As historians, we are obliged to be aware of this, and do what we can to avoid the pitfalls that Brahmanical literature presents us with. On no account are we excused to join the Brahmanical camp in glorifying a past that probably never existed. This is, as it seems to me, a worthwhile reflection when studying Veda -Vedāṅga between Orality and Writing.

[34] Lal(V) p. 17 f.

[35] BURNOUF 1844/1876 : 144: "… j'ai cru que je devais exposer les résultats que m'a donnés la lecture attentive des six cent soixante et quatorze pages du Divya avadana. Je ne crois pas trop m'avancer en disant que si l'on n'y doit pas trouver une exposition tout à fait complète du Buddhisme, on y verra au moins l'histoire fidèle de ses premiers efforts, et comme le tableau exact de son établissement au sein de la société brâhmanique."

With this in mind, let us return to the question of writing in the early Brahmanical texts. Writing is as a rule still not mentioned in Brahmanical texts that were yet composed well after writing had become wide-spread in India, even in Brahmanical circles.[36] This is true of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, better known as *Manusmṛti*. OLIVELLE (2005: 24-25) has argued that this text dates from the 2nd to 3rd centuries CE, and further research confirms that this may indeed be its date.[37] At this time writing was used, also by Brahmanical authors. And yet, the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* only refers to writing as it was used in certain legal documents, never as the means by which it itself had been laid down.[38] Few would conclude from this that the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* was a text that had been composed and was handed down only orally. The text simply continues the tradition of pretending that important Brahmanical compositions had no truck with writing. Similar things could be said about the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, whose chronological relationship to the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* remains obscure. This text, too, refers to written evidence in judicial proceedings, but to no other contexts in which writing had its place (as, presumably, in composing and studying the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*).

Appendix on Pāṇini and writing

Hartmut SCHARFE's recent book *A New Perspective on Pāṇini* (2009) contains a passage whose relevance for the question of Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing justifies it to be quoted at length (pp. 69-71):

> Many of Pāṇini's rules are formulated so dense that it is not easy to see how they could be pronounced, let alone be understood and applied. … VII 2 5 … *hmyanta-kṣaṇa-śvasa-jāgṛ-ṇi-śvy-editām* … must have been recited slowly: *h-m-y-anta* … to be understandable. In VI 1 3 … *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ* … similarly *n-d-rāḥ* must have been recited very slowly. Difficult would also be the distinction of two nasals in VII 2 115 *aco ñṇiti*.
>
> What may be difficult becomes virtually impossible when two stops are involved. In III 4 107 Pāṇini wanted to teach that personal endings beginning with /t/ or /th/ receive an augment /s/ (*su*ᵗ); but

[36] Saraju RATH informs me that the earliest surviving depiction in sculpture of a Brahmanical scribe occurs in Nagarjunakondi and dates from the third century CE.

[37] BRONKHORST forthcoming a, Appendix to chapter III.3.

[38] HOFER 2009.

> a genitive dual *t-th.oḥ would have been more than difficult to pronounce. Rule III 4 107 therefore appears as *suṭ tith.oḥ.* In VIII 2 38 he referred to a suffix beginning with /t/ or /th/ instead with *tath.oḥ* … In VII 2 104 … *ku tih.oḥ* … Here again **t-h.oḥ* would be difficult to pronounce let alone be understood properly. None of the endings referred to in III 4 107 (viz. *–ta*, *-tam*, *-thas*, *-tham*) justifies the '*ti*' of Pāṇini's sūtra, nor do the endings referred to in VII 2 104 (*ku-taḥ*, *ku-tra*, *ku-ha*). If the /i/ in III 4 107 (*ti-th.oḥ*) and in VII 2 104 (*ti-h.oḥ*) do not represent an /i/ in the object language (i.e., Sanskrit), they could be tags, bound to vanish as the Sanskrit words emerge. They would have been marked with a nasal pronunciation that was subsequently lost. No unwanted forms would result, since no tag /i/ is taught except in connection with roots. We would have a vacuous application; the commentators explain the insertion of /i/ as *uccāraṇārtham* "for the sake of pronunciation".
>
> But this explanation would not be acceptable in other cases, e.g. in VI 1 71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* … The augment /t/ is tagged with a ^{k} which indicates that the /t/ is added at the end of the root. But what is the status of /u/ in *tu*^{k}? It is not a valid sound of the word in the object language (i.e., Sanskrit), and it cannot be a tag because of unwanted consequences. A tag ^{u} indicates that a stop denotes its whole class, i.e. *tu* denotes /t, th, d, dh, n/, except when it is a suffix: I 1 69 *aṇ-udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*. Since *tu*^{k} is not a suffix, we would get the undesired form *sarva-jith*, *sarvajid*, etc. along with the correct *sarva-jit*. The correct form of Pāṇini's sūtra should be *hrasvasya piti kṛti t*^{k}.
>
> In the aorist form *apaptat* "he fell" Pāṇini did not recognize the reduplication of the root √*pat*; he assumed an infix /p/ (i.e., *apa[p] tat*) that is tagged with an ^{m} to mark it as a infix: VII 4 19 … *pataḥ pu*^{m} … Again, *pu* would include not only /p/, but also /ph, b, bh, m/ which is not desired. The correct form of Pāṇini's sūtra should be *pataḥ p*^{m}.
>
> In Pāṇini's sūtra III 1 108 *hanas ta ca* … the correct form should be *hanas t ca*. It is obvious, I think, that *hrasvasya piti kṛti tk*, *pataḥ pm* and *hanas t ca* would be difficult to pronounce and even harder to understand – or to apply correctly. But with slow and careful recitation and proper explanation the listener could grasp the meaning of the rules.

As is clear from SCHARFE's last sentence, he proposes that a number of Pāṇinian sūtras were initially not pronounced as they are now.

To explain the present form of these sūtras, he suggests that the process of writing them down at a later time is responsible for the distortions. This is not however true for all of them: some unpronounceable sūtra have survived in their original shape: *hmyanta-* …, … *na ndrāḥ* …, *aco ñṇiti*.

SCHARFE is convinced that Pāṇini composed his grammar orally, without the help of writing. If one considers the option that it may not have been composed orally,[39] another explanation for these noteworthy features becomes possible. In that case one may consider that Pāṇini wrote all these sūtras in their unpronounceable shape, so that none of the difficulties and possible confusions pointed out by SCHARFE presented themselves, because unpronounceability would not be an obstacle.

However, Pāṇini's grammar would also be recited, not least because Brahmanism came to cultivate the image of a tradition independent of writing. And the relative weight given to the recited version of the text may then have turned the oral text into its orthodox version, in spite of the contradictions and potential confusions that could result from this.[40]

This way of viewing the matter frees us from the obligation to postulate that early recitation of Pāṇini's grammar was particularly slow and careful. The supposition that Pāṇini could write unpronounceable sequences such as *tk*, *pm* and *tca* poses no problem once we assume that he could write *hmyanta*, *na ndrāḥ* and *aco ñṇiti* (which we have to if we believe that Pāṇini used writing for composing his grammar).

Abbreviations

Buddhac Aśvaghoṣa, Buddhacarita, ed. and transl. E. H. JOHNSTON, Calcutta 1935;

[39] Note that Michael WITZEL, in his contribution to the conference, proposed a connection between the making of Padapāṭhas (of which at least one, that of the *Ṛgveda*, is older than Pāṇini) and writing, without however going quite to the extent of suggesting (as I had done in 1982; see also 2002) that the Padapāṭha of the *Ṛgveda* was actually its written version.

[40] SCHARFE adds a further example on p. 114: a short *a* is added to four of the five roots enumerated in P. 7.2.57 *kṛta-cṛta-cchṛda-tṛda-nṛtaḥ.* For SCHARFE this short *a* is a non-phonemic sound, for us a sound that the exigencies of recitation added, and which subsequent tradition came to look upon as authoritative.

Jm(H)	Āryaśūra, Jātakamālā, ed. A. HANISCH, Marburg 2005 (IndTib 43/1);
Jm(V)	Āryaśūra, Jātakamālā, ed. P. L. VAIDYA, Darbhanga 1959 (BST 21);
Lal(V)	Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. VAIDYA, Darbhanga 1958 (BST 1);
Saund	Aśvaghoṣa, Saundarananda, ed. and transl. E. H. JOHNSTON, Oxford 1928-32;

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From Orality to Writing: Transmission and Interpretation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī

MADHAV M. DESHPANDE

1. Emergence of writing in ancient India and Pāṇini's knowledge and /or use of writing

During the last two decades, extensive research has appeared dealing with the origin of scripts in ancient India, and the chief participants in this research, namely Harry FALK, Oskar von HINÜBER, and Richard SALOMON, have not only discussed the question of the origin of Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script, but have also considered available literary references in the ancient Indian literature that have been taken by the various authorities to infer an awareness of the art of writing. This includes references in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. Pāṇini knows the word *lipi*, which conventionally refers to script, and teaches (cf. P. 3.2.21) the formation of the term *lipikara*, along with *libikara*, both presumably in the sense of scribes or writers. In another rule (cf. P. 4.1.49), Pāṇini teaches the derivation of the feminine formation *yavanānī*, and according to Kātyāyana's Vārttika (*yavanāl lipyām*), this formation refers to the script of the Yavanas. Oskar von HINÜBER (1989: 57) suggests the meaning of "painter" for the term *lipikara*, but given the later Sanskrit use of *lipi* in the sense of script, and the Old Persian cognate *dipi* in the same sense, it seems most likely that Pāṇini was aware of some form of script used in his vicinity. The most likely scripts in the vicinity are Aramaic and Greek, attested in Aśokan inscriptions in the Gandhāran area, shortly after Pāṇini. While there seems to be an emerging consensus that Brāhmī is a Mauryan invention, it appears that there may have been earlier forms of Kharoṣṭhī in existence in that area for some time before the Mauryas, and, while there is no direct evidence to

support this claim, Pāṇini may have been familiar with some of these early forms of Kharoṣṭhī, along with awareness of scripts like Aramaic and Greek. Richard SALOMON (1998: 11ff) has reviewed the earlier debate regarding Pāṇini's awareness of some form of script, and he sees "no reason to rule out Kharoṣṭhī which therefore may well date back to the mid-fourth century B.C. or quite possibly even earlier" (p. 13). However, even if we were to assume that some earlier form of Kharoṣṭhī was known to Pāṇini, based on our knowledge of the earliest attested forms of this script we can conclude that such an early form of Kharoṣṭhī would only be approximate orthography (e.g., geminates represented by single consonants, vowel length left unmarked) for Sanskrit, and would be largely inadequate to capture the complex oral features of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. In a personal communication to me, SALOMON says: "Anyway, by the time of Patañjali, i.e. 2nd century B.C. (?), neither Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī had developed the sort of refinements that would permit the texts concerned to be recorded in full detail – or rather, that is how it looks on the basis of the epigraphic record, which however is no doubt far from the whole story – it is merely the part of the story that we have, and a rather sparsely documented one for this period for that matter. I find it quite plausible that by Patañjali's time Sanskrit could be written quite adequately, though probably not perfectly, in either script". SALOMON appropriately reminds us that even the later scripts do not represent Pāṇini's metalanguage perfectly.

Among the Pāṇinian scholars, the early Indologists Max MÜLLER, WEBER, ROTH and GOLDSTÜCKER engaged in a long debate on whether Pāṇini not only knew writing, but whether Pāṇini's grammar would even be possible without some form of writing. GOLDSTÜCKER especially saw signs of writing everywhere in Pāṇini's grammar. Not only does he refer to Pāṇini's rules providing for the derivations of *lipikara* and *yavanānī*, he sees allusions to writing in Pāṇini's use of forms of the root *dṛś* "to see" to refer to linguistic phenomena such as deletion (cf. *lopa* "deletion" defined as *adarśana* "becoming invisible", P. 1.1.60 (*adarśanaṃ lopaḥ*), and he understands Pāṇini's term *grantha* (cf. P. 4.3.87, *adhikṛtya kṛte granthe*) as referring to written texts. GOLDSTÜCKER even asserts (1860, 1965: 57): "His [=Pāṇini's] third and last mode [of indicating an *adhikāra*] consists in putting the sign of a *svarita* – **which was not intended for pronunciation**". There are few takers today for GOLDSTÜCKER's interpretations, but that does not violate a judicious assumption that Pāṇini was most likely familiar with some form of early writing, and that, as suggested by scholars

like SALOMON, such an early form of writing was in all probability seriously inadequate to render into writing all the complex details of Pāṇini's oral metalanguage built into the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Among modern scholars of Pāṇini, SCHARFE (2009) has argued this case in great detail. After a detailed investigation, SCHARFE concludes (2009: 29-30): "We might speculate that he used such writing, inadequate as it was, to help in organizing his material; but it is hard to imagine that his grammar could have been written down adequately. The grammar was passed on orally, with pitch accents and nasalized vowel tags (along with consonantal tags) added on as markers. A *svarita* accent marked an *adhikāra* "heading", and roots were marked in the Dhātupāṭha with *udātta*, *anudātta* or *svarita* accents to indicate various peculiar features. Vowels that served as indicative tags (*anubandha* or, in Pāṇini's terminology, *it*) were nasalized. None of these articulative features have survived in our text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. If a written form of the grammar was handed down along with the oral transmission, it would have played a secondary role in backing up the student's memory. There is no way in which the pitch accents and nasalization could have been indicated".[1] While I agree with much of SCHARFE's analysis and conclusions, in what follows, I would like to present a critical survey of how the Pāṇinian tradition responded to the inadequately transmitted text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and how the ambiguities in the text were used as opportunities for attempts to tweak the statements of grammar to derive perceived advantages. I will also show that in spite of the dedicated efforts of the traditional commentators, certain textual ambiguities ultimately cannot be resolved, and that modern efforts to re-engineer an accented text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī do not necessarily take us back to a historical reality.[2]

[1] Also see: SCHARFE (2009: 31): "Did Kātyāyana still have an oral tradition of the accents (*svara*) and nasalized tags (*anubandha*), when he in his vārttika 13 on I 3 1 demanded the recitation of the root list (*dhātu-pāṭha*) to show these technical accents and tags? Or did he only know a Dhātupāṭha in a form similar to the one now commonly attached to the Siddhāntakaumudī, where groups of roots are called "accented and having unaccented tags" etc., i.e. where the inherent characterization by recitation has been replaced by verbal description?"

[2] There are several other issues relating to the transmission of the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī that I am not going to discuss in this paper. For a spectrum of these issues such as interpolations, inconsistencies, textual criticism, etc., see: SCHARFE (1971), BIRWÉ (1958), AKLUJKAR (1983), WITZEL (1986) and (2007), and BRONKHORST (2008) and (2009); also many publications of S.D. JOSHI and ROODBERGEN discussing their idea that several major sections of the Aṣṭādhyāyī

2. Two well-known principles stated by the Kāśikāvṛtti

The two most well known maxims oft-quoted in Pāṇinian commentarial literature are (a) *pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ*, and (b) *pratijñāsvaritāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ.* The first maxim is found in the Kāśikāvṛtti on P.1.3.2 (*upadeśe 'j anunāsika it*). This rule says that nasal vowels (*ac*) found in the grammatical elements provided by Pāṇini are designated as *it* "marker sounds". For example, the verb root *edh* is presumed to have been given by Pāṇini in his root-list (*dhātupāṭha*) as *édhã*, where the first vowel is Udātta, but non-nasal, while the second vowel is Anudātta and nasal. The nasality of the vowel indicates that this is a marker sound. The Anudātta vowel as a marker indicates that this root takes Ātmanepada endings (cf. P.1.3.12, *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*). Referring to this phenomenon of a nasal vowel as a marker, the Kāśikāvṛtti says: *pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ* "For the Pāṇinians, nasality (of vowels) is recognized (only) by asserted convention (*pratijñā*)". This statement is also found in some manuscripts of the Paribhāṣāpāṭha attributed to Vyāḍi (*Paribhāṣāsaṃgraha*: 42), though it is not found in the Paribhāṣāsūcana attributed to the same author. This statement can be read as the admission by the Pāṇinian tradition that the nasal vowels were not identifiably available in the transmitted text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and their presence is recognized only secondarily on the basis of assertions of authorities like Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

P.1.3.11 (*svaritenādhikāraḥ*) says that an expression marked with a Svarita accent continues to be read in the subsequent rules. For example, the word *pratyayaḥ* in P.3.1.1 is continued in hundreds of subsequent rules. Referring to this phenomenon, the Kāśikāvṛtti on this rule says: *pratijñāsvaritāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ* "For the Pāṇinians, the Svarita accent [on grammatical expressions provided in the rules] is recognized (only) by asserted convention (*pratijñā*)". This is also found in some manuscripts of Vyāḍi's Paribhāṣāpāṭha (*Paribhāṣāsaṃgraha*, p. 42), but is not found in the Paribhāṣāsūcana attributed to Vyāḍi. This statement can also be read as an admission by the Pāṇinian tradition that such a marking with a Svarita accent was not identifiable in the received text of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, and the presence of such Svarita marker vowels can only be recognized from the conventional teaching of grammatical authorities. While we are unsure if the exact wording of these two maxims pre-

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such as the Taddhitas, compounds, and the Vedic rules may have been later additions. For comprehensive bibliographical references and critical reviews, see CARDONA (1976) and (1999).

dates the Kāśikāvṛtti, the message of these two statements is in accord with what one finds in the oldest commentators of Pāṇini's grammar, namely Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

3. Textual issues going back to Kātyāyana and Patañjali

As we have noted at the beginning, even if we assume that Pāṇini knew an early form of Kharoṣṭhī and even if we assume that he used it to write down his Aṣṭādhyāyī, the written text would be substantially inadequate to represent the complex oral features of the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. It would not be able to represent vowel length, geminates, and, we can almost be certain, not be able to represent accents or nasality of vowels. Coming down to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, one may assume that they were familiar with some form of Brāhmī. However, as SCHARFE (2009: 44) correctly notes, "The new script noted the proper lengths of vowels and allowed somewhat better writing of consonant clusters. But there were no signs for pitch accents or most nasalizations". SCHARFE further notes, "Many Vedic texts lost their accentuation when they were eventually written down and their oral transmission was interrupted; those Vedic texts that are showing accents and nasalizations use signs that are post-Pāṇinian, probably even very much later than Pāṇini. We must assume that Kātyāyana and Patañjali similarly received an imperfect tradition: a written text without accents and technical nasalizations, without definite sentence breaks, aided perhaps by some limited instruction on how the rules are to be applied".[3] While we have no direct access to the original oral text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī as composed by Pāṇini, nor do we possess manuscripts of the Aṣṭādhyāyī going back to Pāṇini, a careful review of the grammatical works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali give us ample clues about the state of the text as they received. Given the fact that they come from the post-Aśokan period, and from a relatively southern and eastern region of India as compared to Pāṇini's homeland in the northwestern corner of the sub-continent, one would have to assume that they were familiar with some form of Brāhmī writing, and yet their works do not make any reference to a written form of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. We can infer from their discussions that several important oral features

[3] Also see, SCHARFE (2009: 66-69): "The written sign for *pluta* vowels is attested only rather late and was not available, when Pāṇini's grammar was first written down....One has to wonder, how the nasalized semivowels in Mahābhāṣya vol. I, p.16, would have been written in the early Brāhmī script".

of the Aṣṭādhyāyī were already lost in the text they had received, and that they could not rely on either oral or written sources to recover information about these lost features.[4]

4. Explicit pro-orality assertions from Pāṇini to Patañjali

Kātyāyana and Patañjali make no reference to a written form of Pāṇini's grammar, nor do they explicitly bring in any consideration of the written form of language. Patañjali explains that the language or a linguistic expression is a form of sound or sound-sequence that is received by the ear, manifested by the use of a speaker, discerned by the intellect of the listener, and in essence is a segment or a feature of *ākāśa* "space", which is traditionally believed to be the medium for sound.[5] Among the alternatives discussed by Kātyāyana and Patañjali regarding the sounds of Sanskrit as they are listed in the Śivasūtras, there is a proposal that the sounds as listed in the Śivasūtras, e.g. *a i u (ṇ)*, stand for a generic phonetic shape that covers all variants that share this generic phonetic shape. For example, the sound *a* as taught in the Śivasūtra *a i u (ṇ)* refers to all eighteen varieties that differ in the features of accents, quantity and nasality. Patañjali uses the expression *avarṇākṛtir upadiṣṭā* "the generic phonetic shape of *a* that is taught [in the first Śivasūtra]"[6] and the term *upadeśa* is explained by him clearly as referring to the act of pronunciation (*diśir uccāraṇakriyaḥ*)[7]. There is no reference to writing of these sounds, though one may observe the historical fact that at least the early forms of Kharoṣṭhī did not distinguish vowel length in

[4] There are some features that cannot be written down even with our currently available scripts like Devanāgarī. For instance, the final rule of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (P.8.4.68) is simply stated as *a a*. The rule teaches the replacement of an open *a* by a close *a*, as it is actually found in the usage of Sanskrit. Within the grammatical derivation, the short *a* is treated as an open sound, so that it can become homogenous (*savarṇa*) with *ā*, which is an open sound. There has been no written representation of the distinction between an open and a close *a*. We understand the distinction only from the commentarial discussions.

[5] *śrotropalabdhir buddhinirgrāhyaḥ prayogeṇābhijvalita ākāśdeśaḥ śabdaḥ /*, Mahābhāṣya, vol. 1:87 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.).

[6] Vārttika 39: *ākṛtigrahaṇāt siddham*, and Patañjali: *avarṇākṛtir upadiṣṭā sarvam avarṇakulaṃ grahīṣyati, tathevarṇākṛtiḥ tathovarṇākṛtiḥ* / Mahābhāṣya, vol. 1:88 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.).

[7] *diśir uccāraṇakriyaḥ / uccārya hi varṇān āhopadiṣṭā ime varṇā iti /*, Mahābhāṣya, vol. 1:72 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.). Bhartṛhari says that unless the Svarita accent is pronounced, how else can it be indicated, cf. Mahābhāṣyadīpikā: 231: *anuccāryamāṇe aśakyaḥ svaritāsaṅgaḥ /.*

writing, and that there is some interesting correspondence in the patterns of representing vowels seen in Pāṇini's Śivasūtras and the features of early Kharoṣṭhī. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali use visual terminology to refer to oral phenomena. For example, the term *rūpa* "form" refers to the phonetic form, and the term *sarūpa* "with the same form" refers to words that share the same phonetic form.[8] In Kātyāyana's terminology, the sounds *a* and *ā* share the same *ākṛti* "common form" or *rūpa* "form or shape".[9] Certain expressions are seen or not seen (*dṛṣṭa*, *dṛśyate*)[10] in the world, and in saying such things the grammarians are using visual language to refer to observation of oral phenomena. The deletion of a grammatical item (*lopa*) is defined by Pāṇini as *adarśana* "invisibility" of that item (P.1.1.60). The context makes it quite clear that these are phonetic "seeings" or observations of phonetic facts, and do not imply a hidden reference to writing as claimed by GOLDSTÜCKER. One may wonder as to why Pāṇini uses *adarśana* "not seeing" rather than *aśravaṇa* "not hearing" to refer to the phenomenon of deletion. One may possibly suspect that the presence of the script in the environment of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali encouraged such a usage of the visual language to refer to oral expressions, but at the same time, we must recognize the strict stand of orality assumed by these grammarians. References to a seer seeing a hymn in his trance-like state abound in earlier literature going all the way back to the Ṛgveda. Patañjali quotes a verse from the Ṛgveda (1.71.4a: *uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām*) which says that a common person, though capable of seeing, does not see the mysterious speech, nor does a person capable of hearing hear it. But a Vedic sage is said to see a hymn or a song (*sāman*), and the word *ṛṣi* "sage" is derived by Yāska from the root *dṛś* "to see" (Nirukta 2.11: *ṛṣir darśanāt*). Pāṇini also refers to a Sāman or a Vedic song being seen by a sage (P.4.2.7: *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma*), while other texts are referred to as spoken by someone (P.4.3.101: *tena proktam*), but there is no explicit category of written language. This tells us that we need to be very careful in interpreting the visual terminology used by Pāṇini and others to refer to linguistic phenomena, and not immediately infer a reference to written language.

Here is Patañjali's description of how Pāṇini composed his

[8] Cf. P.1.1.68 (*svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*) and P.1.2.64 (*sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau*).

[9] Mahābhāṣya, Vol I:89 (Nirṇayasāgara edn): Vārttika 41: *rūpasāmānyād vā.*

[10] The verb *dṛś* is used to refer to observed usage in P.3.2.178, P.3.3.130, P.3.2.75, P.6.3.137, P.3.2.101, etc.

grammar: "The authoritative teacher, holding the sacred *darbha* grass in his hand and sitting in a clean/pure (*śuci*) place facing the east, produced the rules of his grammar with great effort. As such, it is not possible that even a single sound would be worthless, let alone a whole rule".[11] In this imagined description of Pāṇini, there is no scope for written language. Pāṇini's grammar was part of the Vedic tradition, and Patañjali gives a graphic description of how a mistake of accent was handled by a teacher. On P.1.1.1 (*vṛddhir ādaic*), Kātyāyana says that the sound *ā* has a marker *t* attached to it so that, by rule P.1.1.70 (*taparas tatkālasya*), it can stand for its homogeneous varieties of the same length, but different in accent and nasality. This must be so, since properties like accent and nasality are distinctive, and without a special effort, one instance of *ā* will not stand for another instance of *ā* differing in accent or nasality.[12] Patañjali further inquires into what is meant by distinctiveness of accent and nasality of a vowel: "The accents like Udātta are distinctive. How do we know that accents like Udātta are distinctive? This is what we see in the world. When a student (reciting the Vedic texts) utters an Anudātta accent, where he needs to utter the Udātta accent, the teacher of that Vedic text slaps him, saying: 'You are doing something different' ".[13] Here the context is quite clear. The Vedic texts are taught and learned entirely in the context of orality, and the text of Pāṇini is being interpreted within such an educational atmosphere. The fact of writing, known to us from other sources, is in the deep background, unacknowledged and perhaps unappreciated, while orality is in the foreground of this educational setup. The presence of writing in the deep cultural background is also inferable from the inclusion of *likhita-pāṭhaka* "one who reads from a written text" among the six worst Vedic reciters in the Sarvasammata-Śikṣā (verse 36).[14]

[11] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 143 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *pramāṇabhūta ācāryo darbhapavitrapāṇiḥ śucāv avakāśe prāṅmukha upaviśya mahatā prayatnena sūtrāṇi praṇayati sma / tatrāśakyaṃ varṇenāpy anarthakena bhavitum, kim punar iyatā sūtreṇa /*

[12] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 152 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Vārttika 1 on P. 1.1.1 (*ākārasya taparakaraṇaṃ savarṇārtham*), Vt. 2 (*bhedakatvāt svarasya*), Vt. 3 (*bhedakatvād guṇasya*).

[13] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 152 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *bhedakā udāttādayaḥ / kathaṃ punar jñāyate bhedakā udāttādaya iti? evaṃ hi dṛśyate loke – ya udātte kartavye 'nudāttaṃ karoti khaṇḍikopādhyāyas tasmai capeṭāṃ dadāti, anyat tvaṃ karoṣīti /*

[14] Cited by W.S. ALLEN (1953: 16, fn. 4): *gītī śīghrī śiraḥkampī tathā likhita-pāṭhakaḥ / anarthajño 'lpakaṇṭhaś ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhakādhamāḥ //.* While "one reading from a written text" is included among the worst reciters, along with "one who does

We don't know the date of this text, but even assuming that attempts to write down the Vedic and ancillary texts were being made at the time of Kātāyana and Patañjali, their orthodox preference for orality would have left such written versions in the realm of unappreciated and unused materials. Later I would return to possible signs for the impact of the presence of writing in the cultural background of the grammarians.

5. Traisvarya or Ekaśruti Pāṭha for the Śivasūtras & the Aṣṭādhyāyī

In order to figure out the form in which the Śivasūtras and the Aṣṭādhyāyī were known to Pāṇinian commentators, we will review certain important discussions. These discussions simultaneously reveal uncertainty regarding the form of these texts as known to these commentators, but they also reveal how these commentators are trying their best to come to terms with the fact of uncertainty by proposing different alternative possibilities, and evaluating those possibilities in terms of their feasibility, as well as the benefits that may or may not be derived from those alternative reconstructions. The famous maxim repeated often by Patañjali says: *vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir na tu sandehād alakṣaṇam* – "Clarity on specific points may be reached on the basis of traditional explanation, and there is no reason to assume the rules to be ineffective due to the presence of doubt".[15] This statement of Patañjali reveals the two sides of the situation. While admitting the fact of doubts regarding many points, the tradition pushes ahead with explanations to overcome the uncertainty created by those doubts. Therefore, we need to reconstruct the nature of these doubts as well as the attempts of the tradition attempts to get over these doubts through imaginative and purposeful reconstructions of Pāṇini's text.

What was the nature of the oral texts of the Śivasūtras and the Aṣṭādhyāyī as known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and then to the subsequent commentators? Let us first consider the question of the sounds as they are listed in the Śivasūtras. While the Śivasūtras list most of the consonants of Sanskrit, among the vowels, they do not list long or prolonged varieties of simple vowels, nor do they list variants of these

not understand the meaning" (*anarthajña*), the remaining four worst reciters are all within the realm of orality: *gītī* "one who makes a sing-song recitation", *śīghrī* "one who (unneccesarily) hastens the recitation", *śiraḥkampī* "one who shakes his head", and *alpakaṇṭha* "one who has a weak throat". While the negatively rated presence of writing in the background is admitted, most of the criticism is launched at the performers of oral recitation.

[15] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 57 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.).

vowels that differ in accents (i.e. Udātta, Anudātta, and Svarita), nor do they list vowels with nasality. All these unlisted varieties of Sanskrit sounds are desirable to be made known by the grammar, and, keeping this in mind, Kātyāyana says that if the purpose of the Śivasūtra listings is to make known all the desirable sounds of Sanskrit, then one must list simple vowels that are long and prolonged as well as sounds as they have the three different accents and nasality.[16] If this is what Kātyāyana is demanding to be done, this implies that the sounds of the Śivasūtras as they were received did not include any of these distinctions. Kaiyaṭa on this Vārttika understands this statement to imply that the received version of the Śivasūtras was given in *ekaśruti* "monotone", and hence all the three accent distinctions of Udātta, Anudātta, and Svarita must be expressly listed separately.[17] Nāgeśa disagrees with Kaiyaṭa's understanding of Kātyāyana's proposal. Nāgeśa also believes that Kaiyaṭa is proposing that, not only the Śivasūtras, but the entire text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is originally given in *ekaśruti* "monotone". In Nāgeśa's own opinion, the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, as well as the Śivasūtras, is given with all three accents (*traisvarya*). Now, assuming that the Śivasūtras are given with three accents, why would Kātyāyana propose that one must make an explicit listing of vowels with all three accents and nasality? Nāgeśa's answer is that when we assume that the vowels of the Śivasūtras are given with accents, that simply means that a given vowel will have one of the three possible accents, and the varieties with other two accents will still have to be listed. Even when we admit that Pāṇini provided vowels in the Śivasūtras with accents, we don't quite know which of the three accents he used, and hence Kātyāyana's proposal for listing varieties with all three accents is still justified.[18] Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe, commenting on Nāgeśa's Uddyota, agrees with his teacher that the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is nowhere found in monotone (*ekaśruti*), and that this is the final verdict (*siddhāntamata*).[19] We may note that

[16] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 73 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Vārttika 20 on the Śivasūtras says: *iṣṭabuddhyarthaś ceti ced udāttānudāttasvaritānunāsikadīrghaplutānām apy upadeśaḥ /*

[17] Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa says: *ekaśrutyā his sūtrāṇāṃ pāṭhāt sarveṣāṃ udāttādīnāṃ upadeśaḥ kartavya ity āha*, Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 73 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.).

[18] Nāgeśa's Uddyota says: *traisvaryapāṭhe tu dvayor eva kartavyatāṃ vaded ity arthaḥ /... traisvaryeṇa pāṭhe 'pi anyatarapāṭhe 'nyasya kartavyatvābhiprāyeṇa sarveṣāṃ grahaṇam ity anye*, Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 73 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.).

[19] Vaidyanātha's Chāyā: *nanu traisvaryeṇaiva pāṭho naikaśrutyā aṣṭādhyāyyāḥ kvāpi tathā pāṭho 'thāpi kathaṃ dṛṣṭāntenātreṣṭasādhanam ataḥ siddhantamatam āha*, Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 73 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.). For a critique of Nāgeśa's view, see

the Vedic reciters who recite the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī today recite it with the three accents (*traisvarya*), and that Vaidyanātha may be referring to such observed recitation. Later we will take a look at the received accented recitation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī by the Vaidika reciters. On the other hand, it is possible that Kaiyaṭa, perhaps coming from a different region like Kashmir, was not aware of the accented recitation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Probably, he knew the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī only in monotone, and hence he proposed the explicit listing of all varieties differing in three accents, and nasality, and that these features were deemed to be distinctive (*bhedakaguṇa*).[20]

Patañjali, on the other hand, seems to advocate a contrary position.[21] After reviewing both the positions that the features like accents and nasality were distinctive or non-distinctive, Patañjali's verdict is that they are non-distinctive. What Patañjali means to say is that whatever features of accent and nasality that appear in the received oral text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī by sheer necessity, in the sense that one cannot utter a sound without some of these features, these features as articulated are not intentionally meant. To prove his point, Patañjali cites P.7.1.75 (*asthidadhisakthyakṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ*). This rule prescribes the substitute *an*(*aṅ*) for the final *i* of the nominal stems *asthi* etc., but it explicitly says that this substitute is Udātta (*anaṅ udāttaḥ*). Patañjali's point is that if the accents as uttered in the oral text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī were intentional, Pāṇini could have simply uttered this substitute with the Udātta accent (*án*), and there would be no need for Pāṇini to explicitly say in words that this substitute is Udātta. This is a very important argument, and it transcends the question of whether the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī was written down or was purely oral. Patañjali's argument would lead us to the heart of Pāṇini's own composition of the

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Yudhiṣṭhira MĪMĀṂSAKA (1973: 229). He supports Kaiyaṭa's *ekaśruti* view.

[20] This also appears to be the understanding of Bhartṛhari, see Mahābhāṣyadīpikā: *iṣṭabuddhyarthaś ca varṇānām upadeśaḥ / upadeśe his sati yathābhūtā uccāritās tathābhūtāḥ sādhavo viparītāḥ tv asādhava iti sādhutvapratipattyartham api kartavya upadeśa iti / udāttādīnām apy upadeśaḥ kartavyaḥ / ete hi varṇā ekaśrutyā paṭhitāḥ /.*

[21] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 153 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *(ākṣepabhāṣyam) ubhayam idaṃ guṇeṣūktam - bhedakāḥ, abhedakā iti / kim punar atra nyāyyam? (siddhānta-samādhāna-bhāṣyam) abhedakā guṇā ity eva nyāyyam / kuta etat? yad ayam "asthidadhisakthy-akṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ" ity udātta-grahaṇaṃ karoti, taj jñāpayaty ācāryo 'bhedakā guṇā iti / yadi hi bhedakā guṇāḥ syuḥ, udāttam evoccārayet /.* Of the two views discussed by Patañjali, the tradition seems to take the *abhedakā guṇāḥ* as his final view, and this appears as an acknowledged Paribhāṣā in several works, cf. Paribhāṣāsaṃgraha.

Aṣṭādhyāyī. Pāṇini's explicit prescription for the Udātta accent of the substitute *an* can possibly mean either that the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī was basically given in monotone (*ekaśruti*), and that special accent markings had to be explicitly stated, or that the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī was given with some normal accentuation of Sanskrit, and yet whenever Pāṇini wanted to ensure a specific accentuation, he needed to make it explicit, because the normal accentuation of the sūtras could not assure the desired result. The explicit prescription of Udātta can thus be seen as overriding the normal accent patterns. Kaiyaṭa on this passage of the Mahābhāṣya explores both the alternatives. Even if one assumes that the sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī were accented like normal Sanskrit, the very normality of these accents would make them unintentional (*avivakṣita*), and hence by the normal rules of substitution, one could get some other accent for the substitute *an* for the final *i* of the listed words. In the present case, the stem is originally accented as *ásthi*, which makes the final *i* sound an Anudātta sound. Unless explicitly stated, as P 7.1.75 does, the substitute *an* for the Anudātta *i* would naturally become Anudātta (cf. P.1.1.50: *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ*), because the substitute closely copies the features of its original. Thus, Kaiyaṭa says that we would need such explicit specifications of accents and nasality, whether we assume that the Aṣṭādhyāyī carried the natural accents (*traisvarya*) of Sanskrit that were unintentional, or if we assume that the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī was basically in monotone (*ekaśruti*).[22] Nāgeśa, commenting on Kaiyaṭa, prefers the first alternative, namely that the Aṣṭādhyāyī carried the normal accents (*traisvarya*), with occasional segments in monotone (*ekaśruti*), and he rejects the assumption that the entire Aṣṭādhyāyī was produced by Pāṇini in monotone. On the other hand, he also says that students recited the Aṣṭādhyāyī (and other Vedāṅgas) in his days in monotone, like the accentless texts of the Brāhmaṇas. But this condition of monotone recitation did not reflect the original state of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.[23] But underlying this assertion of Nāgeśa of an Aṣṭādhyāyī

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[22] Pradīpa on Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 153 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *yady evaṃ katham anyatroktam "udātta-nipātanaṃ kariṣyata" iti, yāvatā tatrāpy avivakṣā prāpnoti / naiṣa doṣaḥ, tatrāpi sthānentaratamavacanād ādeśasya yaḥ svaraḥ prāptaḥ tasminn uccārayitavya udāttoccāraṇam prayatnena vivakṣārthaṃ vijñāyate / evam anunāsikasya prayatnādhikyenoccāraṇaṃ tad vivakṣārtham eva / uñaḥ ūṃ iti yathā / anye tv āhuḥ - ekaśrutyā sūtrāṇi paṭhyanta iti kvacid udāttoccāraṇam tad vivakṣārtham iti /*

[23] Uddyota on Pradīpa on Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 153 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *anye tv ity arucibījam... sampūrṇāṣṭādhyāyī ācāryeṇaikaśrutyā paṭhitety atra na mānam / kvacit kasyacit padasyaikaśrutyā pāṭho yathā dāṇḍināyanādisūtre aikṣvāketi / etāvad eva bhāṣyāl labhyate / yady apy adhyetāra ekaśrutyaivāṅgāni paṭhanti brāhmaṇavat,*

text with normal accents of Sanskrit is the assumption that such normal accents of this text were not intentional, and that they would not become operative in grammatical derivations without explicit statements such as the one found in P.7.1.75.

To get a sense of the uncertainty of accent markings in the received text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, let us consider issues raised by Pāṇini's rule 1.1.70 (*taparas tatkālasya*). The previous rule (P. 1.1.69: *aṇ-udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*) says that the *aṇ* sounds [= *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, [h], y, v, [r]* and *l*, as listed in the first six Śivasūtras] and sounds marked with a marker *u* stand for themselves and the class of their homogeneous sounds [*savarṇa*, cf. P.1.1.9: *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam*], if they are not *pratyayas* "affixes". Thus, for example, a non-affixal *i* stands for the class of eighteen homogeneous sounds that share the same point of articulation (*sthāna*) and internal articulatory effort (*prayatna*), but differ in length [short, long, prolonged], accents [Udātta, Anudātta, Svarita] and nasality [nasal or non-nasal]. In P.1.1.1 (*vṛddhir ādaic*), the vowels *ā* [= *āt*] and *ai* and *au* [= *aic*] are given the designation Vṛddhi. What is the reason for attaching the marker *t* to *ā*, and also perhaps to *aic* as well? P.1.1.70 (*taparas tatkālasya*) explains the function of the marker *t*. It says that a *t(a)-para* sound stands only for the homogeneous varieties of the same length. How to interpret the expression *t(a)-para* in this rule?[24] While the interpretation of this expression as a Bahuvrīhi compound in the sense "that which is followed by *t*" fits most contexts in Pāṇini's rules, and is applicable to the expression *āt* in P.1.1.1, Patañjali argues that the expression *aic* [= *ai* and *au*] in this rule that follows *t* [cf. *ā-t-aic*] also needs to be treated as being *tapara*. To get the sense "that which follows *t*", Patañjali derives it as a Tatpuruṣa compound.[25] We will not discuss here the reasons why Patañjali feels the need to interpret *tapara* both as a Bahuvrīhi as well as a Tatpuruṣa. Would such a double interpretation, or alternative interpretations, be possible if Patañjali had access to a genuinely accented text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī? That seems unlikely. As

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tathāpi vyākhyānato 'nunāsikatvādivad udāttanipātanādijñānam ity āhuḥ /

[24] In DESHPANDE (1972), I have discussed in detail this question and concluded that the expression *tapara* in this rule historically can only mean "a sound that is followed by the marker *t*."

[25] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 101 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *tapare guṇavṛddhī / nanu ca taḥ paro yasmāt so 'yaṃ taparaḥ / nety āha, tād api paras tapara iti /.* Patañjali's comment extends to both *aic* [in P.1.1.1] and *eṅ* [in P.1.1.2] where these expressions follow the marker *t*. Compare Siddhāntakaumudī on P. 1.1.70 (p. 9): *taḥ paro yasmāt sa ca tāt paraś ca uccāryamāṇasamakālasyaiva saṃjñā syāt /.*

Patañjali himself has noted, change of accent can decide whether an expression is a Bahuvrīhi or a Tatpuruṣa. A Tatpuruṣa compound has its final syllable Udātta, while in a Bahuvrīhi, the first member of the compound retains its Udātta.[26] Had the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī been fully accented, if the word *tapara* was *ādyudātta* [= *tápara*], it would then be a Bahuvrīhi, but if it were an *antodātta* [= *tapará*], then it would be a Tatpuruṣa. Patañjali would not have been able to offer a double interpretation of the expression *tapara*, had the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī known to him been fully accented. So in this instance, the absence of accentuation in the received text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī seems to have allowed Patañjali to offer interpretations of Pāṇini's rule that go beyond Pāṇini's own intentions.[27] There are other instances of expressions of uncertainty about the accentuation of particular expressions in the Aṣṭādhyāyī scattered in the Mahābhāṣya.[28] How did Patañjali attempt to figure out what the accentual markings may have been in Pāṇini's rules? SCHARFE (2009: 42) remarks: "Patañjali had no knowledge where the pitch accents and nasalized tags were placed in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. He had to reconstruct their existence and position from his knowledge

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[26] For Patañjali's discussion of the examples *indraśatru* and *sthūlapṛṣatī*, see Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 24-27 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.). Here Patañjali insists that the knowledge of accents is critical in making a proper decision about the meaning of the word. With respect to the example *sthūlapṛṣatī*, Patañjali says: *asandehārthaṃ cādhyeyaṃ vyākaraṇam / yājñikāḥ paṭhanti – sthūlapṛṣatīm āgnivāruṇīm anaḍvāhīm ālabheteti / tasyāṃ sandehaḥ – sthūlā cāsau pṛṣatī ca sthūlapṛṣatī, sthūlāni pṛṣanti yasyāḥ seyaṃ sthūlapṛṣatīti / tāṃ nāvaiyākaraṇaḥ svarato 'dhyavasyati – yadi pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṃ tato bahuvrīhiḥ, atha samāsāntodāttatvaṃ tatas tatpuruṣa iti /.* For an explanation of the example *indraśatru*, see Pradīpa on Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 28-29 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.).

[27] Kaiyaṭa evidently realizes the difficulty in this dual interpretation of *tapara* offered by Patañjali, and so he avoids saying that Patañjali is interpreting the same expression in two ways. He says that the double meaning is obtained either by repetition of the rule (*tantra*), where each repeated instance is interpreted differently, or by assuming that the expression *tapara* in the rule is an Ekaśeṣa compound of *tápara* and *tapará* [cf. Pradīpa and Uddyota on Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 101 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.). My Sanskrit teacher in Pune, the late Pandit N.N. Bhide, used to fervently believe that it was the same Patañjali who was the author of the Yogasūtras and the Mahābhāṣya, and that Patañjali had special yogic insight into the original understanding of Pāṇini's rules. But when confronted with the example of Patañjali's double interpretation of *taparas tatkālasya*, he started having doubts about Patañjali's yogic abilities.

[28] On P.7.2.44 (*svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā*), Patañjali says: *kim punar iyam prāpte vibhāṣā āhosvid aprāpte?... yadi svaratir udāttaḥ tataḥ prāpte, athānudāttas tato 'prāpte*, (Mahābhāṣya, vol 3: 137, Motilal Banarsidass, 1967).

of the desired forms and from a study of internal consistencies". In several cases, using his knowledge of the desired outcomes, Patañjali proposes accentuations of particular expressions using the future tense *svarayiṣyate* "it shall be read with a Svarita". Such instances indicate that Patañjali is proposing to create a version of the Aṣṭādhyāyī that is different from the received text, and yet, in his opinion, best suits the needs of the proper derivation.[29]

6. Specific issues with marking segments of rules with Svarita

An important case of uncertainty regarding Pāṇini's formulations of his rules is his use of the Svarita accent to mark a segment of a rule to indicate that it continues into subsequent rules. P.1.2.11 (*svaritenādhikāraḥ*) says that an *adhikāra* "continuing expression" is marked with a Svarita accent. This is clearly a metalinguistic use of accent as a marker.[30] An expression is marked with Svarita so that it need not be repeatedly mentioned in the subsequent rules (Vārttika 1: *adhikāraḥ pratiyogaṃ tasyānirdeśārthaḥ*). There are obviously several questions regarding this procedure. How is this Svarita marked? Does this Svarita marker override the natural accentuation of words in the rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, or does it stand out on the background of an otherwise monotone recitation? This has not been clarified anywhere in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Secondly, Kātyāyana raises another question, namely limit of the continuity of an expression marked with Svarita. Kātyāyana says that we have no way of knowing how far such an expression marked with Svarita is to be continued (Vārtika 4: *adhikāraparimāṇājñānaṃ tu*). To answer this question, Patañjali comes up with an alternative reading of this rule. The rule should not be (or should not only be?) read as *svaritena adhikāraḥ*, but (also?) as *svarite na adhikāraḥ* "a segment marked with Svarita shows the limit of an Adhikāra" cf. Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 146 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.). Note, however, that this interpretation is proposed with *evaṃ vakṣyāmi* "I will say this".

[29] For a discussion of some instances of *svarayiṣyate* in the Mahābhāṣya, see SCHARFE (2009: 42). SCHARFE (p. 43) says: "Patañjali received the Aṣṭādhyāyī in a written form, where pitch accents and nasalizations were not marked – as in so many Vedic texts". I am not entirely convinced that Patañjali received the text of Pāṇini in a written form. What we can say is that even if we assume that there was written transmission of Pāṇini's text, such a written text would have been inadequate to reflect many features of the oral complexity of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

[30] For the details of this rule and its operation, see CARDONA (1968). Also BRONKHORST (2009: 270ff).

This probably means that this is a novel reading of the rule. It also indicates the state of the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī as received by Patañjali, namely a text without breaks between words or even rules. I shall deal with this aspect later. However, it is quite clear that Patañjali did not quite know how exactly the Svarita was marked in Pāṇini's text and how it was to be interpreted. He proposes to read Svarita markings where he thinks it can have some benefit, and yet the use of the future tense indicates that these are novel readings and not merely explanations of received textual features.[31] Finally, unable to justify a viable purpose for the use of Svarita to mark a continuing expression, Patañjali says that this rule is needed, because the word *adhikāra* can be understood to mean "some extra dispensation" (*adhikaḥ kāraḥ*), and he provides some instances of exceptions to normal procedures that he believes can be accounted for by reading a segment with Svarita. All these proposals are given in future tense, and indicate that they are proposals to extend the grammatical procedures, and not explanations of received Pāṇinian texts or traditions.[32]

To cite a case of hypothetical interpretation of an *adhikāra* marked with Svarita, let us consider P.2.1.1 (*samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*) "A grammatical operation relating to nominal and verbal forms [ending with case endings or finite verb endings (*pada*s)] applies under the conditions of semantic-syntactic relations". Patañjali opens his discussion of this rule with the question: "Is this an *adhikāra*, or is this a *paribhāṣā*? If it is treated as an *adhikāra*, the words of this rule do not have to be repeated in subsequent rules, but if this is an interpretive maxim, it will apply wherever conditions for its application occur".[33] Patañjali then asks about what one would need to do to make sure that this is an *adhikāra*. His answer is: *adhikāre sati svarayitavyam* "if this is (to be) an *adhikāra*, then a Svarita marking would have to be added". Kaiyaṭa explains that this is a proposal to read a Svarita on the word

[31] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 147 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *gostriyor upasarjanasya ity atra... strīgrahaṇaṃ* ***svarayiṣyate*** /. Also see: BRONKHORST (2009: 273).

[32] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 148 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *adhikaḥ kāraḥ – pūrvavipratiṣedhāś ca na paṭhitavyā bhavanti – "guṇavṛddhyautvatṛjvadbhāvebhyo num pūrvaviprati-ṣiddham," "numaciratṛjvadbhāvebhyo nuṭ" iti /* ***num-nuṭau svarayiṣyete*** */ tatra svaritenādhikaḥ kāro bhavatīti numnuṭau bhaviṣyataḥ /*. Also see SCHARFE (2009: 42).

[33] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 313-314 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *kim punar ayam adhikāraḥ āhosvit paribhāṣā? kaḥ punar adhikāraparibhāṣayor viśeṣaḥ? adhikāraḥ pratiyogaṃ tasyānirdeśārtha iti yoge yoge upatiṣṭhate / paribhāṣā punar ekadeśasthā satī kṛtsnaṃ śāstram abhijvalayati pradīpavat /*.

samartha, a new proposal rather than an explanation of the rule as received, and that this proposal, if put into effect, would make the word *padavidhiḥ* in this rule unnecessary. If *samartha* is an *adhikāra* (marked with Svarita), then it will automatically continue into the subsequent rules, and there is no need to state *padavidhiḥ* as the condition for its application. So we clearly understand several aspects of this situation. First, it is clear that Patañjali was not in possession of an accented text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, either oral or written. But he felt free to make new proposals to read accent markings into the received text, if they seemed beneficial, even if such new proposals made other parts of the original statements useless.[34]

This still leaves one question unanswered. While Patañjali proposes to read a Svarita accent on the word *samartha*, it is not made clear as to how exactly this accent feature is supposed to be displayed. This brings us back to the earlier discussion of whether the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī was originally given in monotone, with special accent markings provided as highlights, or whether the text carried all the normal accentuation of Sanskrit, in addition to the accent markings used for metalinguistic purposes. If we assume the alternative of a basic text in monotone, with special accent markings standing out on the background of this monotone, then it simplifies how a Svarita can be added to an otherwise monotone expression. Even in this alternative, we are not yet sure as to which syllable of the word *samarthaḥ* would carry this Svarita, and this has not been clarified by any commentator.

On the other hand, if we assume that the original text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī carried all the normal accents (*traisvarya*), with additional special accent and nasality markings, then the situation becomes far too complex. S.D. JOSHI (1968:8) explains this situation: "How an *adhikāra* is uttered with *svarita* is not clear from P.1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*. The original accentuation of the successive vowels of the word *samarthaḥ* is *anudātta*, *udātta*, *svarita*, by P.6.2.139 (the *udātta* of *ártha* is retained in *samártha*) and by P.8.4.66 (the vowel following after *udātta* takes *svarita*). Whether the *adhikārasvarita* is different from the original *svarita* or whether all vowels of the word *samartha* will take *svarita*

[34] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 313-314 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): On P. 2.1.1 (*samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*): *kim punar ayam adhikāraḥ, āhosvit paribhāṣā?... kaḥ punar atra prayatnaviśeṣaḥ? adhikāre sati svarayitavyam / paribhāṣāyāṃ tu sarvam apekṣyam /*. On this passage of the Mahābhāṣya, Pradīpa says: *svaritaguṇa-yuktaṃ samarthagrahaṇam paṭhitavyam ity arthaḥ /... padavidhigrahaṇaṃ cātra pakṣe na kartavyam ity arthād uktam bhavati /*

is nowhere clear in *Mbh*". While I agree with the statement of the dilemma as presented by JOSHI, I am not certain we are in a position to talk about "the original accentuation" of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. What JOSHI has demonstrated is how an expression in the Aṣṭādhyāyī would be accented, if all normal accent rules of Pāṇini were applied to it. However, this does not allow us to call such reconstructions "original" by any means. Elsewhere, S.D. JOSHI and J.A.F. ROODBERGEN state their assumption that the Aṣṭādhyāyī was "an accented text. We hope to deal with this question in a separate publication".[35]

Assuming that the Aṣṭādhyāyī and its ancillary texts like the Dhātupāṭha were accented texts, we can get some further insight into whether such accentuation could have been normal Sanskrit accentuation, as described by the accent rules of Pāṇini himself, or it may have deviated from the normal rules of accent, as the grammar of Pāṇini's metalanguage deviates from the grammar of normal Sanskrit in numerous instances. I will discuss here only one instance to illustrate this issue. P.1.3.12 (*anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*) says that those verb roots listed in the Dhātupāṭha that are marked either with an Anudātta vowel or with a marker *ṅ* take the Ātmanepada endings. P.1.3.72 (*svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*) says that the verb roots that are marked either with a Svarita or with a marker *ñ* take the Ātmanepada endings if the fruit of the action denoted by the verb is intended for the agent of that action. Additionally, as a rule of normal accentuation, P.8.4.66 (*udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*) says that an Anudātta syllable occurring after an Udātta syllable becomes Svarita. To illustrate this last rule, consider the first two words of the Ṛgveda: *agnim īḷe*. The accentuation of these words as given in the Padapāṭha is *agním* and *īḷe*. Both the vowels of *īḷe* are originally Anudātta. Now, when we look at the Saṃhitā of the Ṛgveda, we see the application of P.8.4.66. The first vowel (*ī*) of *īḷe*, coming immediately after the Udātta syllable of *agním* is changed into a Svarita, and the accented Saṃhitā reads: *agnímī̀ḷe*. With this Vedic pattern of accentuation, fully justified by Pāṇini's accent rules, let us consider an example of a root listed in the Dhātupāṭha.

[35] S.D. JOSHI and J.A.F. ROODBERGEN, *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, Vol. I, Introduction: 6. As for marking an *adhikāra* with a Svarita accent, S.D. JOSHI and Saroja BHATE (1984: 3) conclude: "Kātyāyana and Patañjali are often in the dark about which vowels in the grammar are provided with *svarita* accent indicating the status of *adhikāras* in the system. *Svarita* is decided by means of interpretation (*vyākhyāna*) and not by means of the accented text". Also see JOSHI and BHATE (1984: 3, fn. 12) for further details.

The very second verb root listed in the Dhātupāṭha is *edh* (*edhate*). The Dhātupāṭha explicitly tells us that this root has an Udātta vowel (*é*) and an Anudātta marker vowel (*ã*). By P.1.3.2 (*upadeśe 'j anunāsika it*), for a vowel to be a marker (*it*) sound, it must be nasal. So, at the starting point, the accentuation of the root must be *édhã*. If this representation of the root is then further subjected to the normal accent rules of Sanskrit, such as P.8.4.66, then the final Anudātta *ã* of *édhã* must change to a Svarita, as it follows an Udātta syllable, and then we will have the root represented as *édhã*^{sv}. So now the question is what is the most likely Pāṇinian representation of this root?

1) *édhã* without further applying P.8.4.66

OR

2) *édhã*^{sv} after applying P.8.4.66

The alternative (1) clearly makes this root subject to P.1.3.12, as the Ātmanepada for this verb is desired, but then what about applying P.8.4.66? Pāṇini's grammar gives us conflicting signals about applying the normal rules of Sanskrit to the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. For instance, consider the received reading of P.1.3.2 (*upadeśe 'j anunāsika it*). In this rule, we have a reference to the Pratyāhāra *ac*, which is a shortform for the list of vowels in the first four Śivasūtras: *a i u ṇ*, *ṛ ḷ k*, *e o ṅ*, and *ai au c*. The rule uses the nominative singular of this expression as *ac*, before being subjected to a sandhi-rule changing it to *aj*. Now, the normal rules of derivation such as P.8.2.30 (*coḥ kuḥ*) would change the final *c* to *k*, giving us the nominative form as *ak*. Compare the nominative form *vāk* for the nominal stem *vāc*. However, if the original shortform *ac* were to change to *ak* in this fashion, it would be indistinct from the shortform *ak* which includes vowels only from the first two Śivasūtras: *a i u ṇ*, *ṛ ḷ k*. For this reason, Pāṇini chooses not to apply the normal rule P.8.2.30 to this formation, and this is done in order to preserve clarity of metalinguistic reference. However, the same segment *ac* is then subjected to the normal sandhi rule changing it to *aj* before the following vowel. Evidently, this change is not deemed to be confusing to the student of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. There are hundreds of such cases scattered through the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, where some rules of normal Sanskrit are withheld from the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, while others are allowed to go ahead and apply.

On the face of it, the alternative (2), achieved by applying the normal accentuation rule P.8.4.66, would make this root subject to P.1.3.72, and then it would take the Ātmanepada endings only if the fruit of the

action is intended for the agent of the action, leaving the possibility that this root could otherwise take the Parasmaipada endings. Within the Pāṇinian system, it is possible to argue that even after applying P.8.4.66, and changing the final vowel to a Svarita, this rule coming in the last three quarters of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is treated as if it never took effect, for the rest of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (cf. P.8.2.1: *pūrvatrāsiddham*). Hence, it is possible to argue that P.1.3.72 does not recognize the transformation brought about by P.8.4.66, and that the root, even if read as *édhã*[sv], will still be treated as if it was *édhã* with an Anudātta marker *ã*. I am discussing this example at length just to show our ultimate inability to be sure about the exact oral shape of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and its ancillary texts like the Dhātupāṭha. This makes us aware of some intrinsic dilemmas about the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī that are beyond the debate regarding orality and writing. Additionally, the explicit statements found all through the received Dhātupāṭha giving us accentual details verbally make us wonder if the text of the Dhātupāṭha had already lost its oral accent markings before such statements were added to an original oral Dhātupāṭha, or if from the very beginning, the basic grammatical texts were read in monotone, with special instructions about accent markings being given explicitly in verbal statements.

7. Available accented versions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī

Among the printed versions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī available to us today, there are a few versions, which show partial or full accentuation for it, and it would be important to briefly discuss these versions. Among these versions, those of KATRE (1987) and DAHIYA (1995) are essentially reconstructions of these scholars. Several reviewers of KATRE (1987) have pointed out problems in the partial and inconsistent accentuation given by KATRE. About the accents of the Aṣṭādhyāyī reconstructed by KATRE, SCHARFE (1989: 657) remarks: "Katre introduces the normal accents of Sanskrit into the text, but not consistently: *vibhāṣā* (1.1.44 etc.) is apparently never accented, nor is *ādyantau* (1.1.46).... the haphazard introduction of ordinary accents of the Sanskrit language serves no purpose". In my review of KATRE (DESHPANDE 1989), I have shown that, for example, KATRE (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, p. 27) translates P.1.1.70 (*taparas tatkālasya*) as: "A (vowel) phoneme followed or preceded by marker T denotes homogeneous phonemes of its time duration". In this translation, KATRE is following the tradition going back to Patañjali, as I have discussed earlier in this paper. However,

rendering the expression *tapara* as "followed by T" (*taḥ paro yasmāt saḥ*) makes it a Bahuvrīhi compound, with the Udātta accent on *tá* of *taparaḥ*. On the other hand, the rendering "preceded by T" (*tāt paraḥ*) makes it a Tatpuruṣa, with the Udātta accent on the final syllable: *taparáḥ*. Alternative renderings going back to Patañjali were possible, as we have seen earlier, simply because the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by this time had lost its accents. On the other hand, while ostensibly trying to reconstruct its accents, KATRE still retains the alternative renderings of the tradition. KATRE's partial accentuation reads: *Ta-paras tát-kālasya*. While giving accentuation *tát-kālasya*, indicating that KATRE thinks that this is a Bahuvrīhi compound, KATRE gives *Ta-paras* without any accents. This makes the accents provided by KATRE's text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* not entirely trustworthy, and sometimes completely counter-productive.

Yajanveer DAHIYA (1995) provides an accented text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī that is presumably based on his own reconstruction, a point that is never made clear in the book. In his introduction (pp. 6-7), DAHIYA gives reasons for the loss of accents: "From the internal evidence of the AP it seems that Pāṇini had taught the Aṣṭādhyāyī to his students with a proper sense of accent. Now the question arises why it disappeared later. Many arguments can be put forward in this connection. The major argument in this regard, in the opinion of the researcher here, is the lack of Vedic studies. In Pāṇini's time Vedic studies rested on the high pedestal. Accent plays a major role in Vedic studies. Vedic studies are generally considered difficult due to their technical nature. From Pāṇini onward people left the Vedic studies and turned to studies of classical languages where accent has not much to do, and language is free from variation of tone or pitch and where there is hardly any involvement of difference of stress; classical Sanskrit marks no accent. Owing to this reason accent disappeared from AP". This is too specious an explanation and does not account for why the accents of the Aṣṭādhyāyī were already lost before the time of Kātāyana and Patañjali, who continue to deal with accent rules of Pāṇini for both Vedic and contemporary Sanskrit. DAHIYA (p. 213) himself notes: "From the internal evidence of AP it seems that Pāṇini had taught the Aṣṭādhyāyī to his pupils with a proper sense of accent. MB gives evidence that AP was in a monotonous accent. Kaiyaṭa by quoting some other grammarian's viewpoint explicitly states that AP was in monotony accent. But Nāgeśa differs here. According to him, AP was not in monotony accent. He quotes a line in his support from

MB, i.e. *ādyudāttanipātanaṃ kariṣyate*.... It clearly indicates that AP was in monotony accent, otherwise Patañjali would have used *kṛtam* instead of *kariṣyate* in the quotation mentioned just above. Therefore, the view of Nāgeśa is not correct. Thus, it is not acceptable to us, and it seems that AP was originally marked in monotony accent. Moreover, we have come across a statement in *Pratijñāpariśiṣṭa*, i.e. *tāna evāṅgopāṅgānām*. It means, the books which are known as *aṅga* and *upāṅga* are in monotony accent. The AP also falls under this category. I, therefore, agree with the recommendations made by Patañjali in this regard. According to him, Pāṇini taught all his aphorisms, in monotony accent. There are, however, evidences to show that the AP was at one time in monotony accent. I have, therefore, marked the accent in the original text of the AP which is appended at the close of this treatise". In this confusing statement, it is not clear why DAHIYA attempts to reconstruct the accent of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, if he agrees with Patañjali that the Aṣṭādhyāyī was originally in monotone. What "other evidences" are there? Further, DAHIYA has not given any explanation of the principles he uses to reconstruct the accents of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and shows no awareness of specific issues like how the Svarita marking the *adhikāra* can be shown distinctively. For example, Sūtra 1.1.69 (*taparas tatkālasya*) as accented by DAHIYA (p. 240) gives *taparás* with a Tatpuruṣa accent which would give us "that which follows *t*" (*tāt paraḥ*) as the only interpretation, while it is the Bahuvrīhi interpretation that fits most occurrences of *tapara* items in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. While S.D. JOSHI (1968: 8) correctly says that the derivational accent of the word *samarthaḥ* in P.2.1.1 would be *samárthàḥ*, before one would need to think how to add a distinctive Svarita to mark an *adhikāra*, DAHIYA's (p. 244) accentuation places the Udātta accent on the last syllable, and gives no indication of whether he does or does not consider this to be an *adhikāra*, and if it is an *adhikāra*, how it would be marked with a Svarita. Thus, on the whole, DAHIYA's reconstruction of accents is not very accurate or informative.

The last accented version I would like to discuss briefly is that published by Pandit Madhav Ganesh JOSHI (1992). Regarding the accented manuscript of the Aṣṭādhyāyī used by Pandit JOSHI, S.D. JOSHI says in his preface (p. 1): "Mr. Nipanikar Shastri (= Madhav Ganesh Joshi) came in possession of the manuscript by pure chance. One day, some 50 years ago, a person came to Mr. Nipanikar Shastri's grocery shop to sell old paper useful for packing articles. Mr. Nipanikar Shastri bought the lot offered to him. Among the old papers he discovered the

manuscript, to his great surprise. Thus about the original owner and the place of origin of the manuscript nothing is known". According to S.D. JOSHI, this manuscript "is of rather recent date, somewhere between 1870 and 1930". Pandit JOSHI claims that he checked the accents as shown in the manuscript with Vedic reciters who recite the Aṣṭādhyāyī with accents and that these reciters told him that the accents of the manuscript seem to match their recitation. After checking the accents in Pandit Joshi's edition, S.D. JOSHI remarks (preface: 4): "What is the conclusion to be drawn from these observations?... The conclusion I draw from what I have noted is that the manuscript which is obviously meant as a help for pandits during recitation does not strictly follow the Pāṇinian rules for accentuation, both as regards word – or sentence accent, and as regards technical accent. But from what I heard from Mr. Nipanikar Shastri I understand that Vaidika Daśagranthī pandits like Vedamūrti Ghaisas Shastri from Poona have assured Mr. Nipanikar Shastri that the accentuation given by the manuscript is exactly that which they have learnt for purposes of recitation".

I have checked a few sample rules from Pandit JOSHI's edition. For P.1.1.70, like the version of DAHIYA, Pandit JOSHI's accentuation gives the Udātta accent on the final vowel of *taparáḥ*, which would make this into a Tatpuruṣa compound with an interpretation that is not historically accurate. It is the Bahuvrīhi interpretation of this word that is applicable to most cases of *tapara* items in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Also for P.2.1.1 (*samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*), Pandit JOSHI's manuscript places the Udātta accent on the last syllable of *samartháḥ*, with no indication of a Svarita. This is at variance with the accent reconstructed by S.D. JOSHI, which places the Udātta accent on the second syllable. So, on the whole, Pandit JOSHI's edition is valuable as an authentic representation of accentuation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī in the recitation of the Vaidika reciters, but there is very little chance that it represents historically authentic accentuation.[36] Also one should note that neither KATRE, nor DAHIYA nor Pandit JOSHI indicates the nasal marking in the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Especially the lack of the nasal marking in

[36] Yudhiṣṭhira MĪMĀṂSAKA (1973: 230) refers to a manuscript of the Aṣṭādhyāyī where only the first Pāda was given with accents, but MĪMĀṂSAKA remarks that the accents were all incorrect. He also refers to other manuscripts that contain incorrect accentuation. He believes that someone tried to add accents to the Aṣṭādhyāyī following Nāgeśa's view that the original Aṣṭādhyāyī was fully accented. However, it is likely that as pointed out by Pandit JOSHI, such accented manuscripts were used by Vedic reciters.

Pandit JOSHI's edition is significant. That means that while the Vaidika reciters maintained some sort of accent for the Aṣṭādhyāyī, its nasality for the marker vowels was lost beyond recovery. This is the area we shall now turn to.

8. Nasality not clearly marked in the received text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī

P. 1.3.2 (*upadeśe 'j anunāsika it*) says that a vowel, uttered with nasality in the grammatical items enunciated by Pāṇini, is treated as a marker (*it*). Such markers, both vocalic and consonantal, are unconditionally deleted (cf. P.1.3.9: *tasya lopaḥ*), and are not part of the phonetic shape of the grammatical item. However, Pāṇini refers to these markers when prescribing various operations in his grammar, and thus our ability to identify the existence of these markers is critical in deciding which operations can apply to a given grammatical item. I have already referred to the famous statement of the Kāśikāvṛtti on this rule that states that the Pāṇinian scholars recognize nasality of such marker vowels only by the authoritative assertion of convention (*pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ*). Bhaṭṭojī in his Prauḍhamanoramā says: "Though the recitation of the rules with nasality made by Pāṇini is now lost, we infer that such a recitation once existed, on the basis of the usage of the author of the Kāśikāvṛtti".[37] Explaining the same rule, i.e. P.1.3.2, Bhaṭṭoji's Śabdakaustubha provides an even more detailed account of this phenomenon: "The *upadeśa* or teaching of Pāṇini includes the Sūtras, the Vārttikas, the lists of nominal stems (in the Gaṇapāṭha) and the Dhātupāṭha. In all these texts, the recitation of the nasal vowels done by the author of the Sūtras is now corrupted. For this reason, the author of the Kāśikāvṛtti says – *pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ*. Among the examples, we include the roots *édhã* and *spárdhã*, where due to the nasally marked Anudātta vowels, we get the Ātmanepada endings [by P.1.3.12: *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*], e.g. *edhate* and *spardhate*. In deriving the [nominative singular] form *bhavān* from the root *bhū* [with the addition of the affix *śátṛ*^{ns} by P.3.2.124], we can get the augment *n(um)* [for the *át* of *śátṛ*^{ns} leading to *bhavant* > *bhavān*], because [the affix *śátṛ*^{ns} is marked with a nasal marker *ṛ*^{ns} included in the shortform] *uk* [allowing the application of P.7.1.70: *ugidacāṃ sarvanāmasthāne 'dhātoḥ*].[38] Since the *a* in the Śivasūtra (*lãṇ*) is [declared to be] nasal,

[37] *yady api sūtrakārakṛto 'nunāsikapāṭha idānīm paribhraṣṭas tathāpi vṛttikārādivyava-hārabalena yathākāryam prāk sthita ity anumīyate /*, Prauḍhamanoramā: 44-45).

[38] For the derivation of *bhavān*, see S.M. KATRE (1987: 866).

we can derive the shortform (*pratyāhāra*) *rã* [which includes the sounds *r* from the Śivasūtra *h(a)y(a)v(a)r(a)ṭ* and *l* from the Śivasūtra *lãṇ*]. [Similarly] we can derive the Ātmanepada forms like *avagalbhate* because [the roots] like *avagalbha* [listed] in Kātyāyana's Vārttika [3, *ācāre 'vagalbhaklībahoḍebhyaḥ kvib vā*, on P.3.1.11 (*kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*)] have a nasal Anudātta marker [in the reading *avagalbhã*[39], allowing the Ātmanepada by P.1.3.12: *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*]."[40] In this interesting listing, some instances like the nasal marking with *ṛ*^{ns} in the affix *śátṛ*^{ns} and the nasal markings on the roots *édhã* and *spárdhã* go back all the way to Pāṇini. The nasal marking on roots like *avagalbhã* in Kātyāyana's Vārttika goes back to a novel proposal by Patañjali, and in all likelihood not part of Kātyāyana's intention. The idea to read the vowel *a* in the Śivasūtra *laṇ* with nasality is not seen in the Mahābhāṣya, but is promoted by Bhartṛhari,[41] the Kāśikāvṛtti (on the Śivasūtra *laṇ*), Kaiyaṭa[42] and the Siddhāntakaumudī, and is disputed all the way down to Nāgeśabhaṭṭa.[43] This shows that there is no assurance

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[39] The reading of a nasal marker for *avagalbha* etc. in this Vārttika is explicitly proposed by Patañjali: *ātmanepadārthān anubandhān āsaṅkṣyāmīti / galbha klība hoḍa /*, and Kaiyaṭa: *vākye 'kārasyānudāttatvānunāsikatve pratijñāyete iti bhāvaḥ /*, Mahābhāṣya, Vol. III: 42 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.). Note the use of the future form *āsaṅkṣyāmi* in the Mahābhāṣya passage, indicating that this is a novel proposal, rather than an explanation of things as they are.

[40] Śabdakaustubha (Vol II-Fas. 5-10: 55 (ed. by Gopal SHastri NENE), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series): *sa ca (upadeśaḥ) dhātupāṭhaprātipadikapāṭhau sūtravārttike ca / tatra śāstrakṛtā paṭhitasyāpy anunāsikasya pāṭha idānīm apabhraṣṭaḥ / ata evāhur vṛttikārāḥ – "pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ" iti / tatra edha, spardha ity ādāv anudāttettvād ātmanepadam / edhate, spardhate / "bhavati" ity atrogittvān num / bhavān / "laṇ" sūtre akārasyettvād rapratyāhārasiddhiḥ / "ācāre 'vagalbhaklībahoḍhebhyaḥ" (Kā. Vā.) iti vārttike 'vagalbhāder anunāsikatvenānudāttettvāt taṅ / avagalbhate ity ādi /*

[41] Mahābhāṣyadīpika: 43: *tatrānubandhā hala eva / ayaṃ tv ekaḥ ajanubandhaḥ / laṇ iti lakāre akāraḥ / uraṇ rapara ity atra ca ṛkāralkārayo ralaparatvārthaḥ /.*

[42] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 226 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *ḷkārasya laparatvaṃ vakṣyāmi /*; Pradīpa: *laparatvam iti vyākhyāsyāmīty arthaḥ / rapara ity atra ra iti laṇ iti rakārākāreṇa pratyāhāra āśrīyate /.*

[43] Uddyota on Pradīpa on Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 226 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *anye tu laṇsūtrasthākārasyānunāsikatve 'to lrāntasyetry atra bhagavān pāṇinir lakāraṃ noccārayet pratyāhāreṇaiva nirvāhāt / tasmād apūrvaṃ vacanaṃ kāryam ity eva bhāṣyāśaya ucita ity āhuḥ /.* Śivadatta KUDĀLA, the editor of the Nirnayasagara edition of the Mahābhāṣya appends an extensive note to reject Kaiyaṭa's suggestion. We may also note that there are several manuscripts listed in various catalogues with the title Rapratyāhārakhaṇḍana.

that the commentarial suggestions for reading a nasal vocalic marker go back to Pāṇini himself, and this shows that the received text of Pāṇini, written and/or oral, did not carry such assured nasal markings.

Another proposal for nasalization is seen in the Mahābhāṣya on P.7.1.25 (*aḍ ḍatarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ*).[44] Here the rule proposes the addition of *-ad* to forms like *katara* in neuter giving us the form *katarad* for the nominative and accusative. Kātyāyana worries that, especially in the neuter nominative derivation *katara+su*, when *su* is replaced with *ad*, we would have *katara+ad* leading to *katarād* as the form, instead of the desired *katarad*. To avoid this problem, Kātyāyana wants to get rid of the *a* of *ad* by marking it as a nasal *ã*. This would make it an *it* sound and be subsequently deleted. Such a proposal essentially raises the question as to why Pāṇini should have stated the replacement as *ad* to begin with, and gives us little assurance that this nasal vowel was a feature of Pāṇini's own formulation.

9. Nasal marking for some consonants in the Aṣṭādhyāyī?

The uncertainty about the exact phonetic form of the transmitted text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī allowed the commentators to conveniently read various features into the text in order to resolve certain perceived problems. In a few cases, we notice that the commentators propose to read the consonants *y* and *v* with nasality. There is no special rule in Pāṇini's grammar attributing a specific function to such nasal *ỹ* and *ṽ*. However, by distinguishing *y* from *ỹ*, and *v* from *ṽ*, the commentators intend to fine tune Pāṇini's rules to avoid certain perceived problems.

P.7.1.1 (*yuvor anākau*) says that the items *yu* and *vu*, occurring as part of the Pratyayas "affixes", are replaced by *ana* and *aka*, respectively. Such replacements are seen in formations like *karaṇa* and *kāraka* [*kṛ+lyu* > *kṛ+ana* > k=*kar+ana*; *kṛ+ṇvul* > *kṛ+aka* > *kār+aka*]. Nothing in the context of P.7.1.1 directly restricts *yu* and *vu* to certain affixes, or excludes other affixes or even verb roots. We do not want the affixes in forms like *bhuj-yu*, *kam-yu*, and *śam-yu* to be replaced with *ana*. Similarly, we do not want the verb root *yu* in forms like *yu-tvā* or *yu-taḥ* to be replaced with *ana*. How can we limit the scope of *yu* and *vu*

44 Mahābhāṣya on P.7.1.25 (*aḍ ḍatarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ*), Vol. III: 28, Motilal Banarsidass edn: Varttika 1: *adbhāve pūrvasavarṇapratiṣedhaḥ /...* Vārttika 2: *siddham anunāsikopadhatvāt /*; Bhāṣya: *siddham etat / katham? anunāsikopadho 'cśabdaḥ kariṣyate /*. Note the use of the future form *kariṣyate* to make this novel proposal. This indicates that this is not a received textual feature of Pāṇini, but a new feature proposed by Kātyāyana.

referred to in this rule to only those instances where such replacements with *ana* and *aka* are desirable? Realizing this difficulty, Kātyāyana comes up with a series of proposals.

Vārttika 3 on P.7.1.1 (*anunāsikaparatvāt siddham*) proposes that *u* in *yu* and *vu* in this rule be read as a nasal *ũ*. Thus the rule would only propose the replacements of *yũ* and *vũ* in the affixes to *ana* and *aka* respectively, and not for instances of *yu* and *vu* with a non-nasal *u*. This procedure would obviously require that the *u* of those affixes like *lyuṭ* and *ṇvul*, where this rule of replacement needs to apply, would have to be read as a nasal *ũ*. This may resolve some problems, but may create other problems, as this nasal *ũ* would be treated as a marker (*it*) sound, and all the other operations that apply to items marked with *ũ* would undesirably apply to formations derived with affixes like *lyuṭ* and *ṇvul*. To avoid these problems, Kātyāyana then proposes the following alternative.

Vārttika 22 on P.7.1.1 (*siddhaṃ tu yuvor anunāsikatvāt*), as understood by Patañjali, proposes that the *y* and *v* of *yu* and *vu* be marked as nasal *ỹ* and *v̆*, and not make the *u* of *yu* and *vu* a nasal *ũ*. This would then require that *y* and *v* in affixes like *lyuṭ* and *ṇvul* be read nasal as well. Nāgeśa's Uddyota says that Patañjali has accepted this suggestion of Kātyāyana, while Kaiyaṭa believes that this is not a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, but a statement of Patañjali himself.[45] Nāgeśa's comments in this discussion again make it clear that this is a novel suggestion, and not an explanation of a received feature, and that this suggestion will require that *y* and *v* in affixes like *lyuṭ* and *ṇvul* be read nasal, and the *y* and *v* in other places be read non-nasal.[46]

Another instance of a proposed nasalization of *v* is seen in the discussions on P.6.1.67 (*ver apṛktasya*). This rule says that the *v* of an affix *vi*, remaining as a single-sound (after the deletion of *i*), is also deleted. In an affix such as *kvip*, the marker sounds *k* and *p* are first deleted. Of the remaining *vi*, the sound *i* is deleted as it is supposed to be nasalized, and hence treated as a marker. The present rule deletes the remaining sound *v*, and hence effectively there is no phonological

[45] Nāgeśa's Uddyota: *tasmād anunāsikayaṇviśiṣṭayor yuvor imāv ādeśāv iti bhāṣyatātparyam*; Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa: *bhāṣyakārīyam idaṃ vākyam ity āhuḥ*, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya, Vol. 3: 10, Motilal Banarsidass edn.

[46] *tasmād anunāsikayaṇviśiṣṭayor yuvor imāv ādeśāv iti bhāṣyatātparyam /... yatra lyuḍādāv anākāv iṣyete te 'nunāsikayaṇaḥ paṭhanīyāḥ / bhujyur ity ādayaś ca niranunāsikā iti doṣābhāvaḥ /*, Uddyota, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya, Vol. 3: 10, Motilal Banarsidass edn.

trace remaining of the original *kvip*. Kātyāyana's Vārttikas on this rule debate whether one can find alternative formulations for this rule, without the expression *apṛktasya*. Without the expression *apṛktasya* in this rule, the rule would simply propose to delete the entire segment *vi*. If that happens, then such a deletion would extend to formations like *darvi* and *jāgṛvi*, where such a deletion is undesirable, and one would need to state explicitly a prohibition of the deletion of *vi* in such forms.

Kātyāyana's Vārttika 1 on P.6.1.67 (*ver lope darvijāgṛvyor apratiṣedho 'nunāsikaparatvāt*) suggests that this can be avoided by assuming that the *i* of *vi* in this rule is nasalized (as in fact the tradition already recognizes), and this will allow us to distinguish *vĩ* from *vi*, and then expect the deletion to apply only to *vĩ*, and not to *vi*.

The second solution proposed by Kātyāyana is to read the *v* of *vi* with nasality as *v̐ i*. Again the purpose of this suggestion is to distinguish *v̐ i* that is subject to deletion, from *vi* that is not subject to deletion, as in the forms *darvi* and *jāgṛvi*.[47] Both of these proposals are novel proposals, and not explanations of the received text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and they would require changes of readings wherever the -*vi*- affixes, subject to deletion, occur. This discussion again points to a lack of an assured text prompting commentators to make proposals for nasalization of vowels and consonants in order to seek refinements in the Pāṇinian system.[48]

10. Text of Pāṇini known to Patañjali: Saṃhitāpāṭha or Separated Sūtras?

Patañjali's discussion on P.1.1.1 (*vṛddhir ādaic*) gives us some important insights regarding the nature of the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī that he had received. This discussion indicates two contradictory aspects of the expression *ādaic*.[49] The first question is the exceptional behavior

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[47] Vārttika 3 on P.6.1.67 (*vasya vā 'nunāsikatvāt siddham*); Bhāṣya: *athavā vakārasyaivedam anunāsikasya grahaṇam* /; Uddyota: *kvibhādiṣu cānunāsiko vakāraḥ pratijñātaḥ* /, Mahābhāṣya, Vol V: 66-67 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.).

[48] The Bṛhatparibhāṣāvṛtti of Sīradeva has an extensive discussion of the nasality of *u* in the item *ru* in P.8.2.66, and interestingly he also cites an argument that proposes to read the *r* of *ru* as nasal (*evaṃ tarhi rephasyaivānunāsikatvam pratijñāyatāṃ svaritatva-pratijñānavat*), though it is later rejected, cf. Paribhāṣāsaṃgraha: 183. In this argument as well, note the use of the form *pratijñāyatām*, making it clear that this is a proposal for a novel reading of the rule P.8.2.66.

[49] Mahābhāṣya (on P.1.1.1), Vol. I: 135-138 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *kutvaṃ kasmāt na bhavati "coḥ kuḥ", "padasya" iti? bhatvāt / kathaṃ bhasaṃjñā? "ayasmayādīni cchandasi" iti / chandasīty ucyate, na cedaṃ chandaḥ / chandovat*

of this formation. Normally, for a nominal stem like *vāc*, ending in a palatal stop, the palatal changes to a velar in some case-forms, and we get the nominative singular with a velar: *vāk*. If this is the norm, then why does the *c* of *aic* in this rule not change to *k*? Patañjali's answer to this question is that this is an exceptional behavior, because such exceptions do occur in the Veda, and the rules of Pāṇini are like the Veda. The practical reason why Pāṇini chose not to apply the normal rules of Sanskrit to *aic* is that if it is changed to *aik*, it will not be recognized as the shortform that is supposed to refer to the sounds in the Śivasūtras beginning with *ai* and listed up to the marker *c* [cf. Śivasūtra *ai-au-c*].

But the next dilemma discussed by Patañjali shows another aspect of the received text. If the expression *aic* is treated exceptionally (as a *bha* item, and not as a *pada* item), then how can we account for the sandhi transformation seen in the Saṃhitā reading of the rules: *vṛddhirādai**j**adeṅguṇaḥ* (P.1.1.1-2)? Patañjali says that for this change of *c* to *j*, the expression *aic* is treated like a *pada*, and therefore it is subject to normal rules of sandhi. So the same expression is a *bha* item, and not a *pada*, in preventing the change of *c* to *k*, but then it is treated like a *pada* in effecting the change of *c* to *j*. What is clear from this discussion is that Patañjali's received text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī showed the shortform *aic* not being subject to the velar replacement rule, but being subjected to normal rules of sandhi, *in an environment of external sandhi*. This would indicate that Pāṇini's rules, or at least a version of those rules, were transmitted in the Saṃhitā form, without a break between the rules in their recitation.

We see the same phenomenon within a single rule as well. For example, P.1.3.2 (*upadeśe 'j anunāsika it*) shows the same two contradictory aspects of a single expression, though here this occurs within the same rule, and not in the context of sandhi across the boundary of two rules. Here, the shortform *ac* is not subjected to the velar replacement rule, but it is subjected to the rules of external sandhi within the same rule. The expression *ac* does not change to *ak*, because it is treated as a *bha*, and not as a *pada*, but the same item is treated as a *pada* and this allows the change of *ac* to *aj* in the environment of sandhi. As far as the sandhi environment is concerned, there is no difference between the sequences *vṛddhirādai**j**adeṅguṇaḥ* and *upadeśe**j**anunāsika-it*. These

sūtrāṇi bhavanti / yadi bhasaṃjñā, "vṛddhirādaijadeṅguṇaḥ" iti jaśtvam api na prāpnoti / ubhayasaṃjñāny api chandāṃsi dṛśyante /... evam ihāpi padatvāt jaśtvaṃ, bhatvāt kutvaṃ na bhaviṣyati /.

are continuous recitational sequences without gaps between words, or rules for that matter.[50] Also note that *svaritenādhikāraḥ* and *svarite nādhikāraḥ* are to alternative interpretations of the same received oral/ written sequence, indicating that there were no gaps between the words in the received sequence, and breaking down the received sequences into words is itself an act of interpretation.

11. Yogavibhāga and uncertainty of Sūtra divisions and numbering

The text of Pāṇini was transmitted to Patañjali in the Saṃhitā form, though he knew where the breaks in this Saṃhitā were. However, these breaks were negotiable, as seen in the discussions of Yogavibhāga. This term refers to proposals to split what was traditionally received and understood as a single rule into two segments and read these segments as two separate rules. This discussion reflects a confluence of two interrelated concerns, namely the lack of complete certainty about where the breaks between the rules were in the traditionally received text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and an effort to seemingly improve the interpretation of the rules to fit the language as known to the grammarians, occasionally resorting to dividing a traditionally received single rule into two segments.

Let us consider an example of this phenomenon. On P.1.1.17 (*uña ū*^{ns}), Kātyāyana proposes to read this as two rules, i.e. *uñaḥ* and *ū*^{ns}.[51] Such a suggestion causes variation with the different numbering of rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The differences in the numbering affect mnemonic tools designed within the tradition. For example, at the end of each Pāda of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, there is a mnemonic string attached for the use of the reciters that allows them to infer the exact numerical place of each Sūtra. The string at the end of the first Pāda of the 1st Adhyāya reads: *vṛddhir-ādyantavad-avyayibhāvaḥ-pratyayasyaluk-pañcadaśa*.[52] This string lists the beginnings of Sūtras 1, 21, 41, 61, and the number of remaining Sūtras in this Pāda. Thus the list divides each Pāda into groups of twenty Sūtras, and then counts the remaining odd

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[50] Also see: Yudhiṣṭhira MĪMĀṂSAKA (1973: 228) for other passages in the Mahābhāṣya indicating that Patañjali knew the Aṣṭādhyāyī in a Saṃhitāpāṭha. Similar problems appear in different ways of splitting Bhagavadgītā (2.16ab: *nāsato vidyate bhāvaḥ, nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ*, or *nāsato vidyate 'bhāvaḥ nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ*) leading to different interpretations by Śaṅkara and Madhva.

[51] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 253 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Vārttika 2: *uña iti yogavibhāgaḥ*.

[52] Cf. Siddhāntakaumudī: 755, appendix of the Aṣṭādhyāyī-sūtra-pāṭha.

balance. To find out the numerical location of a given Sūtra, the reciter of the Aṣṭādhyāyī starts reciting with that Sūtra going forward, until he hits a marker in one of these mnemonic strings, and he can quickly calculate the number. This mnemonic system is designed by the Vaidika reciters, who have similar mnemonic devices for Vedic texts. However, practices like Yoga-vibhāga "splitting a single rule into multiple rules" cause problems with the numbering of the Sūtras, and this is reflected in the production of alternative mnemonic strings produced for the Aṣṭādhyāyī by different schools of reciters. Such differences are also reflected in different manuscripts of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Referring to P.1.1.17 (*uña ū*^{ns}) and its proposed division into two rules by Kātyāyana, Pandit Śivadatta KUDDĀLA, the editor of the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the Mahābhāṣya, comments:[53]

> Pāṇini uttered just a single Sūtra *uña ū*^{ns}. Therefore, it is appropriate that Haradatta says in his Padamañjarī – 'if this is a single rule – *uña ū*^{ns} – as recited by the author of the Sūtra'. Therefore, it is appropriate to attach a single number to this entire segment – *uña ū*^{ns}, and it is not appropriate to accept the separate numbering assumed by the later tradition and seen in the editions of the Kāśikāvṛtti, the Siddhāntakaumudī, and the Mahābhāṣya. One should not argue that the separate numbering is justified, because Patañjali approved this splitting of the rule. If such were the case, we would have to have separate numbering in cases like *saha supā* and *śliṣa āliṅgane*, where

[53] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 253, fn. 3 (Nirṇayasāgara edn): *"uña ū*^{ns}*" ity etāvad ekam eva sūtraṃ pāṇininā proktam ata eva prakṛtasūtrapadamañjaryāṃ - 'yady ayam eko yogaḥ syāt* ***uña ū***^{ns} *iti yathāpaṭhitaṃ sūtrakāreṇa' iti haradattoktaṃ saṃgacchate / tathā ca samudita* ***uña ū***^{ns} *ity atraiva saṃkhyāṅka eka evocitaḥ, na tvādhunikakalpitaḥ kāśikāyāṃ kaumudyāṃ bhāṣye copalabhyamānaḥ kramikaḥ pṛthak saṃkhyāṅkaḥ / na ca bhāṣyakṛtā yogavibhāgasya darśitatvena saṃkhyāvibhāgo'py ucita eveti vācyam / tathā sati* ***saha supā, śliṣa āliṅgane*** *ity ādāv api yogavibhāgasattvena pṛthaksaṃkhyāṅkasyaucityāpatteḥ / na ca tatra yogavibhāgasya bhāṣyakṛtkṛtatvena na pṛthaksaṃkhyāṅkadānam/atratupāṇinikṛtatvenapṛthaggaṇanetivācyam/atrāpibhāṣye* ***kṛta*** *ity anuktvā* ***yogavibhāgaḥ kartavya*** *iti tavyapratyayaprayogeṇa yogavibhāgasya pāṇinyakṛtatvasūcanena pṛthaksaṃkhyāṅgīkārānaucityāt / na caivaṃ prathamapāde pañcasaptatiḥ sūtrāṇi na syur iti vācyam / pañcasaptatigaṇanāyā aprāmāṇikatvāt / na ca* ***vṛddhir-ādyantavad-avyayībhāvaḥ-pratyayasyaluk-pañcadaśa*** *iti lekhasya pādasamāptāv aṣṭādhyāyyāṃ pāṇinikṛtasyaiva mānatvenāprāmāṇikatvakalpanāyāṃ mūloccheda iti vācyam / pratipādasamāpti tādṛśalekhopadarśitasaṃkhyāyā bahutra vārtikagaṇasūtraprakṣepeṇa pūrtidarśanāt tādṛśalekhe pāṇinikṛtatvābhāvakalpanata eva doṣoddhārasambhavāt / prācīnapustake* ***vṛddhistarapśisarvapratyayalope caturdaśa*** *ity evam eva pāṭhasyopalabhyamānatvāc ceti dik / [dādhimathāḥ]*

Patañjali proposes splitting these rules. One should not argue that, in these cases, there is no separate numbering given, simply because it is Patañjali, [and not Pāṇini], who approves their splitting, while in the case of *uña ū*^{ns}, one should accept separate numbering, because it is Pāṇini himself who intended this segment to be two Sūtras. Even in this case, the Bhāṣya does not say that Pāṇini himself taught these as two separate rules, but he uses the gerundive *kartavyaḥ* implying that this separation into two Sūtras is newly being proposed. This suggests that Pāṇini himself did not give these as two separate rules, and hence giving two separate numbers for them is inappropriate. One should not object that counting these two as a single rule would not give us the count of seventy-five Sūtras in the first Pāda of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, because this count of seventy-five Sūtras is inauthentic. Also one should not claim that the mnemonic string *vṛddhir-ādyantavadavyayībhāvaḥ pratyayasya luk pañcadaśa* found at the end of the first Pāda goes back to Pāṇini himself, and therefore the count of seventy-five Sūtras cannot be claimed to be inauthentic. The numbers given in such mnemonic strings are often made up by the inclusion of insertions of statements from the Vārttikas and Gaṇasūtras, and therefore it is best to avoid problems by regarding such mnemonic strings as not being authored by Pāṇini himself. And in an older manuscript, we find the mnemonic string *vṛddhis-tarap-śisarva-pratyayalope-caturdaśa*,[54] [listing only seventy-four rules in this Pāda].

This discussion points to the inherent uncertainties reflected in the nature of the transmitted text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and the variability of numbering the Sūtras, in part caused by proposals to split several segments into two Sūtras. Here we are not even bringing into our consideration the changes in the Sūtras brought about by the Kāśikā-vṛtti. SCHARFE (2009) has discussed other instances of proposals for Yogavibhāga.[55]

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[54] This string reflects the changed numbering of rules in the first Pāda of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, if *uña ū*^{ns} is counted as a single Sūtra. In this case, *taraptamapau ghaḥ* is P.1.1.21, *śi sarvanāmasthāne* is P.1.1.41, *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* is P.1.1.61, and the remaining balance is counted as 14 Sūtras.

[55] SCHARFE (2009: 37-39): "There may be legitimate questions, whether the division of sūtras that Kātyāyana received was in all instances the one intended by Pāṇini; JOSHI and BHATE considered arguments whether I 2 17 *sthā-GHVor ic ca* and II 4 103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅic ca* should each better be considered as two sūtras instead of one. Our Pāṇini text reads IV 3 116 *kṛte granthe* and 117 *saṃjñāyām* as two *sūtra*-s. Kātyāyana's vārttika 3 on IV 3 116 45 suggests that he postulated the

12. Possible effect of the presence of script in the background

As I have discussed so far, the transmission of the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī with features like accentuation and nasality of marker vowels was lost even prior to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The question of whether Pāṇini himself ever used any form of script cannot be answered definitively, and as we have seen earlier, even if he had tried to use some form of early Kharoṣṭhī to write down his grammar, most complicated features of his oral text could not have been represented in those early forms of scripts, or at least in the forms of scripts as they are known to us from the inscriptional record. However, given the fact that in P. 3.2.21 Pāṇini provides for the derivation of the word *lipikara* "scribe", and Kātyāyana's explanation that the form *yavanānī* derived by P.4.1.40 refers to the script of the Yavanas,[56] allow us to infer that he was familiar with the phenomenon of writing, and most probably with the script of the Yavanas, most likely the Greek and the Aramaic scripts. It is even possible that, like the Vaidika reciters who looked down upon those who recite from a written text (cf. Sarvasammataśikṣā, verse 36, cited in ALLEN 1953: 16), Pāṇini may have refused to use a script to represent his grammatical text as a form of religious resistance. So we are left with minimal historical evidence that Pāṇini was familiar with the phenomenon of writing, though he himself may or may not have used. Given this minimal justifiable historical datum, what can we say about the possible effect of such a background presence of writing

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division (implying that he knew the two as one sūtra). JOSHI/BHATE have suggested instead, that originally *saṃjñāyām* was joined with the following sūtra IV 3 118 to read *saṃjñāyām kulālādibhyo VUñ.* 46. In the twenty-six instances of *yoga-vibhāga* invoked by Kātyāyana, he applied the sections of a sūtra in stages. The purpose was to achieve the desired forms without changing the words in Pāṇini's sūtras. The opposite is *eka-yoga* "[leaving it as] one rule" which Kātyāyana used five times during the defense of his *yoga-vibhāga.* He had proposed to divide I 4 58/59 (*prādaya upasargāḥ kriyā-yoge* in our text) into two rules: first [56 *nipātāḥ* 57 *asattve*] *prādayaḥ*, then *upasargāḥ kriyā-yoge*, so that *pra* etc. could also be termed *nipāta* "particles" – but if it is a single rule (*eka-yoga*), the term *nipāta* (from sūtra 56) would be set aside by the new term *upasarga* (in sūtra 58/59). The later tradition, e.g. the Kāśikā and the Siddhāntakaumudī, accepted the division into two sūtras which accounts for the double number given in modern editions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī".

[56] Professor SCHARFE has drawn my attention to Paul THIEME's view (THIEME 1966:50) that for Pāṇini, the word *yavanānī* most likely referred to a Greek woman. I thank Prof. SCHARFE for this reference. I tend to believe that the contrast between the forms *yavanī* and *yavanānī* is as old as Pāṇini, and continues to show up in later literature, and that Kātyāyana may indeed be correct.

in the culture around Pāṇini upon his linguistic analysis and thinking? This is obviously a speculative area, and yet it may be interesting to speculate about this matter.

Here I am going to refer to some of the research into the literacy studies by authorities like Jack GOODY and Robert J. SCHOLES. In his ground-breaking work, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, Jack GOODY (1977: 44) makes the following observations about oral and written language: "Because when an utterance is put in writing it can be inspected in a much greater detail, in its parts as well as in its whole, backwards as well as forwards, out of context as well as in its setting; in other words, it can be subjected to a quite different type of scrutiny and critique than is possible with purely verbal communication. Speech is no longer tied to an occasion; it becomes timeless".[57]

I do not wish to go into a history of the modern literacy studies, or their critiques. I simply want to draw attention to the two distinct facilities represented by writing versus orality. Writing makes the language available for an inspection that is not bound by the sequential time of the oral production of speech. The temporal landscape becomes as if horizontal, where the units of speech like sounds and words sit on a common flat plane. Here they can all be seen simultaneously, and analyzed and described. This is not true of an oral stream of speech stretching along a temporal dimension, where only one sound can appear at a time. The previous sound or sounds are gone and have become memory, while the subsequent sounds are yet to be uttered, and hence can only be guessed. The sense perception gives immediate access only to one sound at any given moment, the rest being either memory or guesswork. Such is the distinction between orality and writing proposed by Jack GOODY.

Coming to the ancient Indian tradition, the same sort of distinction can be brought in, without the express assumption of the presence of writing. What we see in ancient India is an expansive role given

[57] SCHOLES 1993 (87-92) contains a fascinating discussion of paleographic evidence being used to reconstruct linguistic concepts that may have existed among the users of various forms of writing. SCHARFE (2009) provides some discussion of the features of early Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī writing and possible effects of such early writing on the scripted versions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, had such attempts to write down the Aṣṭādhyāyī been made either by Pāṇini himself or by his successors. This includes a discussion of the inability of the early scripts to represent features like vowel length, accents, nasality, or representing geminates. He has also discussed the appearance of gaps between the words in the inscriptional record, and what this could mean for the transmission of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

to memorization of texts, and their active manipulation, in ways that suggest that trained memory provides a flat plane for linguistic material, similar to what writing provides. Elsewhere (in DESHPANDE 1990) I have discussed in detail the process of objectification of linguistic phenomena in Vedic texts. For example, in Vedic literature, one comes across praise for those who are the bearers of memorized magical chants. The Atharvaveda (Śaunakīya 11.5.22, 11.5.24) says that a priestly youth bears the shining incantation, and that this potent incantation thus installed in the priestly youth protects everything. While the performed incantation has to be sequentially stretched along the axis of time, the incantation as installed in the priestly youth is an object of memory, and has no sequentiality to it. The hymns thus objectified and stored in the reciter's memories were not merely sequentially reproduced, but were actively manipulated in producing various permutations and combinations.[58] Features attributed to written language become possible with this mental storage of Vedic hymns. Among the permutations and combinations of Vedic texts, consider the variety called Jaṭā "braiding", where the words of a text are repeated in the following order. If the words occur in the text as AB, then the Jaṭā recitation becomes ABBAAB. If the three words in a sequence are ABC, then the Ghana recitation becomes ABBAABCCBAABC. Such permutations and combinations become possible only with the priestly memory providing non-temporal flatland storage for texts, where one can go in and access any item at any time.

It is essentially such a flatland atemporal perception of language that allowed Pāṇini to construct his rules. Pāṇini's visual terminology (*dṛś*, *dṛṣṭa*, *adarśana* etc.) to refer to observed linguistic phenomena, as I have discussed earlier, has a long pedigree, and it is this "seeing" the language, rather than merely "hearing" it, that allows Pāṇini to formulate his rules in an atemporal plane. If a rule is to say "change A to B, if followed by C", it is clear that the grammarian is laying out all the elements on a flat plane, and evaluating relationships between the various units. For example, Pāṇini's definition of Saṃhitā "euphonic combination" is given in rule 1.4.108 (*paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*): "Maximal closeness between items is called Saṃhitā". This assumes that there are two sounds or words, next to each other, without any gap between them. The word Saṃhitā[59] literally means joining,

[58] For the details of these Vedic permutations and combinations of texts, see DESHPANDE 2002, Introduction.

[59] Professor SCHARFE suggests in a personal communication that the word

and in order to join two items, they must both be there. The flatland atemporal assumptions behind such formulations can be produced in the environment of Vedic memory training, but they may also have been facilitated by the presence of writing in the environment of the grammarians.

On the other hand, Kātyāyana's objections to Pāṇini's formulation bring out the view of sequential and temporal production of oral speech. The first objection says, if maximal closeness is the definition of Saṃhitā, it will not apply to speech that is not fast.

Then, Kātyāyana says, if Saṃhitā is defined as the continuity or non-stoppage of voicing (*hrāda-avirāma*), then we cannot have a Saṃhitā in the combination of a stop and a voiceless sound, because there may not be continuity of voicing in such combination, as there is no voicing to begin with. Finally, Kātyāyana objects: If Saṃhitā is defined as a temporal sequence of sounds, without a temporal gap, such a sequence of sounds is not possible, because speech-production goes only one sound at a time, and the sounds are destroyed as soon as they are uttered.[60] Kātyāyana's description of speech represents the point of view of pure sequential speech production, with a philosophical tinge of the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness.

Patañjali responds to Kātyāyana's objections by assuming a point of view of human intelligence and memory providing an atemporal storage of language. Patañjali says: "The sequentiality of linguistic units is purely mental. A person, who acts with circumspection, sees that he wants to use a certain word to express a certain meaning, and that in this word, this sound comes first, then comes that sound, and then the third, and so on".[61] While Patañjali's solution sounds more like

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Saṃhitā perhaps originated as an adjective of some assumed word like *vāk*.

[60] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 306-308 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Vārttika 1: *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā ced adrutāyām asaṃhitam*; Vārttika 7: *hrādāvirāme sparśāghoṣasaṃyoge 'sannidhānād asaṃhitam*; Varttika 8: *paurvāparyam akālavyavetaṃ saṃhitā cet pūrvaparābhāvād asaṃhitam, ekavarṇavartitvād vācaḥ, uccaritapradhvaṃsitvāc ca varṇānām*; Bhāṣya: *na hi varṇānāṃ paurvāparyam asti / kim kāraṇam / ekavarṇa-vartitvād vācaḥ / ekaikavarṇavartinī vāk na dvau yugapad uccārayati / gaur iti gakāre yāvad vāg vartate, naukāre, na visarjanīye / yāvad aukāre, na gakāre, na visarjanīye / yāvad visarjanīye, na gakāre, naukāre / uccaritapradhvaṃsitvāt / uccarita-pradhvaṃsinaḥ khalv api varṇāḥ / uccaritaḥ pradhvastaḥ / athāparaḥ prayujyate / na varṇo varṇasya sahāyaḥ /*

[61] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 309 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): *"buddhau kṛtvā sarvāś ceṣṭāḥ kartā dhīras tanvannītiḥ / śabdenārthān vācyān dṛṣṭvā buddhau kuryāt paurvāparyam/" buddhiviṣayam eva śabdānāṃ paurvāparyam / iha ya eṣa manuṣyaḥ*

that of a psychologist or an ideologist, Kātyāyana's objections seem to come from the background of articulatory phonetics of the Prātiśākhyas, where speech is seen as an articulatory process stretched out in time, rather than a conceptual flat land where two or more sounds or words could co-exist in a given moment, with or without a gap between them.

Pāṇini's definition of Saṃhitā can be fruitfully compared with the definition given in the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya (1.158): *varṇānām ekaprāṇayogaḥ saṃhitā* "Saṃhitā refers to the production of sounds in a single breath". This is a definition in purely oral/articulatory terms, as compared to the flatland conceptual phonology of Pāṇini and Patañjali. This conceptual phonological flatland can sit well with the presence of writing in the background.[62] While Pāṇini's philosophical conceptions are unknown to us, Patañjali's more explicit conceptions may reflect emerging philosophical schools of the time.

Finally, after all the objections coming from an oral/articulatory point of view, Kātyāyana simply admits that the notions of Saṃhitā "conjoined recitation" and Avasāna ["end of utterance" or "pause"] are too well known in the world, and need not be defined.[63] What does it mean that the notion of Saṃhitā is well known in the world? The first suggestion is that such a notion is much older than Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and whatever philosophical objections one has, the notion of Saṃhitā or Sandhi between linguistic items is too deeply entrenched. Kaiyaṭa provides a historical nuance to Kātyāyana's admission. Kaiyaṭa says that, just as the term Saṃhitā is well known for a continuous sequence of two words in the world of Vedic reciters, similarly is its extension to the continuous sequence of two sounds well known, within the same world of Vedic reciters.[64]

This suggests an important historical aspect of the evolution of the term Saṃhitā. The original context of its usage was recitational, rather than phonological or philosophical, and hence, Kātyāyana, finally brushes aside the objections raised from these other perspectives simply

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prekṣāpūrvakārī bhavati, sa paśyati, asmin arthe 'yaṃ śabdaḥ prayoktavyaḥ, asmiṃs tāvacchabde 'yaṃ tāvad varṇas tato 'yaṃ tato 'yam iti //

[62] THIEME (1937-38) argues for the identification of Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttikas on Pāṇini, and the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya. That may explain the closeness of the views on Saṃhitā expressed in the Vārttikas and the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya.

[63] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 312 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Vārttika 7 on P 1.4.109 (*virāmo 'vasānam*): *saṃhitāvasānayor lokaviditatvāt siddham.*

[64] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II: 312 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Pradīpa: *yathā padanairantarye saṃhitāvyavahāras tathaikapadye 'pi varṇanairantarye /*

by asserting that this notion is too well known in the world. In this discussion, we have exposed the presence of two different perspectives on language, one of purely oral/articulatory speech production, and the other, a mentalistic or a psychological atemporal perception, storage and retrieval of speech and texts. Such an atemporal psychological perception of speech is consistent with the presence of writing in the cultural environment of the grammarians, but its roots definitely go back into the memorization practices of the Vedic reciters.

13. Appearance of writing into later grammatical discussions

In some of the late works in the grammatical tradition, issues relating to written language begin to appear on the margins. They never take the center-stage, but remain on the margins. While Bhartṛhari clearly refers to written manuscripts,[65] any explicit discussion of written language comes much later. I will discuss a few such examples. For example, referring to Siddhāntakaumudī's description of the Jihvāmūlīya and Upadhmānīya as being like a half-visarga (*ardha-visarga-sadṛśau*), the Prauḍha-manoramā says that this similarity with a Visarga is both in pronunciation and writing.[66] Relating to the derivation of the form *rājñaḥ* from *rājan*, the Siddhāntakaumudī quotes a rule:[67] *jañor jñaḥ* "When *j* and *ñ* are combined, the result is *jñ*". Commenting on this statement, Nāgeśa's Laghuśabdenduśekhara says:[68]

> This is a statement of some authority referring to the sound *jñ* resulting from the combination of *j* and *ñ*, well known in the world and in the Veda, as well as its distinctive written character. This is not a separate sound. There is no reason to treat it as a separate sound, as no such separate sound in mentioned in the Śikṣās". Śivadatta KUDDĀLA, the editor of the Siddhānta-kaumudī, has a more elaborate critique:[69] "This statement simply is an explanation

[65] Mahābhāṣyadīpikā: 33: *grantheṣu cālikhitatvād idam avasitam /.*

[66] Prauḍhamanoramā: 78: *sādṛśyam uccāraṇe lekhane ca bodhyam*. While the Visarga is written with two small circles, the Jihvāmūlīya and the Upadhmānīya are written with two half-circles.

[67] Siddhāntakaumudī: 98.

[68] Laghuśabdenduśekhara: 395: *j-ñ-yoge lokavedasiddhatādṛśadhvaner lipiviśeṣasya cānuvādakam abhiyuktavacanam, na tv idam varṇāntaram, śikṣādāv aparigaṇitatvena tatsattve mānābhāvāt/.*

[69] Siddhāntakaumudī: 98, editor's footnote: *saṃyuktakramalipiviśeṣasyānuvād akam idam / ata eva śikṣāyāṃ viśiṣya noktam / paraṃ tu vyartham eva tattaddeśeṣu*

> of the special written character used for this cluster. For this reason, the Śikṣā does not specifically refer to it. However, this statement is useless, because there is no common form of writing this cluster in different regions. Nor does it represent a specific sound, because there is no regularity about its pronunciation. Similarly, a statement written by someone else in a different context, namely, 'combination of *k* and *ṣ* is *kṣ*', is also [useless].

Finally, I want to point to a discussion by Nāgeśa on recognizing the communicative value of the written language, along with the value of the spoken language. P. 1.1.68 (*aṇ udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*) says that a non-affixal *aṇ* sound or a sound marked with *u* stands for itself and for its homogeneous sounds. Here, one assumes that the vowel *a* as uttered in the Śivasūtra *a-i-u-ṇ* would represent homogeneous varieties like long *ā*. On this rule, Kātyāyana's Vārttika 3 raises a concern: "If the short *a* denoted by the sound *a* [in the Śivasūtra *a-i-u-ṇ* is expected to further denote homogeneous long varieties etc.], such further denotation cannot take place, because an expression as uttered stands only for the sounds as uttered".[70] Nāgeśa feels the need to reject an inference from this discussion that only orally articulated speech sounds have denotative power, and that such power does not extend to written language. Nāgeśa says:

> Someone argues that the statement in the Bhāṣya is not appropriate, because it is the knowledge of all types of signifiers that leads to the understanding [of the signified meanings], because, otherwise, if only the orally articulated sounds were able to signify, a person reading a book in silence would not be able to understand any meaning. Such an argument is false. As in the case of a mental recitation of a mantra, even in the case of reading, there is also very subtle articulation of sounds, and hence there is no problem in understanding meaning. In chanting a mantra (even silently or mentally), there is a requirement that a chanting be done with all three accents, and the distinctions like the accents and lengths of vowels cannot manifest without an articulation. Or perhaps, like the body-movements, writing is also capable of signifying meaning

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liper ekākāratvābhāvāt / nāpi dhvaniviśeṣānuvādakam, tasyāpy anityatvāt / evam eva kaiścid anyatra likhitaṃ "kaṣasaṃyoge kṣaḥ" ity apīti bodhyam /.

[70] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 509-510 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Varttika 3: *hrasvasampratyayād iti ced uccāryamāṇaśabdasaṃpratyāyakatvāt śabdasyāvacanam*; Patañjali says: *uccāryamāṇaḥ śabdaḥ saṃpratyāyako bhavati, na sampratīyamānaḥ* /

> by convention. That is why the ignorant people think of the written signs as words. Or perhaps, the written script becomes a signifier because of a beginningless identification with spoken words. Even for those learned people who know for certain that the written signs are not the real words, the written signs become signifiers through identification [with spoken words]. This is like the worldly behavior of knowledgeable people. They know that the notion that one's mind is the same as one's true Self is false, and yet their worldly behavior still takes place through the beginningless identification of the mind with the true Self.[71]

Nāgeśa's statement shows the reluctance of the Sanskrit grammarians to fully come to terms with the significance of writing. The half-hearted acceptance of the reality of writing and its ability to communicate is somewhat similar to the treatment of the vernacular languages by the orthodox Sanskrit grammarians. The written language is not given the serious treatment it deserves, because even though the phenomenon of writing has become a part of the normal life by this time, and even though the Sanskrit grammarians themselves are writing down their texts, they still value the practice of orality. This reminds me of the story of my revered teacher from Pune, the late Pandit Vaman Shastri Bhagavat. He spent some years in Banaras studying Pāṇini with a learned pandit. Each day, he used to walk to the Ganges to take a bath. From the time he left his residence till the time he returned, he would recite the whole text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Even while reading works on Sanskrit grammar with us, he rarely needed to consult a printed book, as he had memorized most of the important texts by heart. His detailed explanations of grammatical derivations were almost always oral, and he rarely used the black board. This was probably even truer for the generations of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. For them,

[71] Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I: 509-510 (Nirṇayasāgara edn.): Nāgeśa's Uddyota: *etenoccāritānām eva pratyāyakatve rahasi pustakam īkṣamāṇasya bodhānāpatter vācakajñānasāmānyasyaiva bodhe tantratvena idam ayuktam ity apāstam / mānasajapasthala iva tatrāpi svīyasūkṣmoccāraṇād bodhenākṣateḥ / jape hi mantrāṇāṃ traisvaryaniyamena tattatsthāneṣu uccādideśopalabhyamānatvarūpodāttatvāder mā trākālikatvādirūpahrasvatvādeś ca vinoccāraṇam anabhivyakteḥ / yad vā liper eva ceṣṭādivat saṃketena bodhakatvam / ata eva lipau śabdatvabhramo bālānām / yad vā lipāv anādeḥ śabdatādātmyādhyāsād bodhakatvam / lipau śabdatvabādhajñānavatām paṇḍitānām api antaḥkaraṇādāv ātmatvapratyaye bhramatvaṃ jānatām anādisiddhāropeṇaiva vyavahāravad bodho 'pi /*; the commentary Vivaraṇa on Pradīpa also says that the unlearned think that the written signs are the sounds (*akṣara*): *lipiṣv evākṣarabuddhir abuddhānām*, Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa-Vyākhyānāni, Vol. I: 21.

the writing was at best a secondary aid, and did not deserve the full analytical attention that the real language, the spoken language, did. Going farther back in time, the marginality of the written form for such orthodox Vedic traditions probably increased exponentially, and hence the influence of writing on their thinking was also, in all probability, very marginal. Yet, we cannot forget that for the Indian civilization as a whole there was a gradual shift from pure orality, to orality sharing the stage with writing, and the Sanskrit grammarians could not stay apart from this shift, even though they continued to give the written language only a marginal importance.

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Vyākaraṇa between Vedāṅga and Darśana

FLORINA DOBRE-BRAT

Despite a number of studies and a long research it is still a matter of inquiry where and when the Vedāṅgas were first mentioned as six.

Yāska makes an explicit reference to the vedāṅgas in general:

> *upadeśāya glāyanto'vare bilmagrahaṇāyemaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsiṣuḥ, vedam ca vedāṅgāni ca. bilmaṁ bhilmaṁ bhāsanam iti vā.* (*Nirukta* i.20)/
> The later generations, declining in (power of) oral communication, compiled this work, the Veda and the auxiliary Vedic treatises, in order to comprehend their meaning. *Bilma=bhilma* (division) or illustration.

In the *Manusmṛti* the number six is mentioned, but again the vedāṅgas are not explicitly enumerated (III.185):

> *triṇāciketaḥ pañcāgnis trisuparṇaḥ ṣaḍaṅgavit /*
> *brahmadeyātmasaṁtāno jyeṣṭasāmaga eva ca //*

Apparently, according to Max MÜLLER "the earliest mention of the number six in reference to the vedāṅgas seems to be contained in one of the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda"[1], but they are not mentioned under their own name. Thus, we read in the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*,iv.7 that Svāhā is described as:

> *catvāro'asyai vedāḥ śarīraṁ ṣaḍaṅgāny aṅgāni. oṣadhivanaspatayo lomāni* /
> The four Vedas are her body, the six aṅgas her limbs, herbs and trees her hair.

The very first enumeration of the vedāṅgas as we know it today[2]

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[1] MÜLLER 1968: 98.

[2] Apparently in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad VII.1.2 there is an enumeration of

occurs in a relatively late treatise, the *Caraṇavyūha*. Third in the enumeration given in the *Caraṇavyūha*, (*śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṁ, niruktaṁ chando jautiṣam*), vyākaraṇa or grammar is epitomized by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, although every Sanskrit student knows very well that Pāṇini does not deal exclusively with the rules and techniques which apply to the Vedic verses, neither, given its brevity imposed by the style writing, dwell much on the epistemological tenets of grammar as one of the Vedic ancillary sciences.

Pāṇini ends a rich grammatical tradition of illustrious predecessors which luckily came to be known from the rules they authored and were quoted by Pāṇini in his sūtras. Since no other extant grammatical work, previous to Pāṇini's has reached so far down to us, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* remains the most valuable historical source of the grammatical tradition of that epoch.

The first commentary in which the status of grammar as an ancillary śāstra is taken into discussion is the *Mahābhaṣya* of Patañjali, roughly three centuries after Pāṇini. The introductory part of the great commentary, *Paspaśāhnika*, takes care to define the nature of the words and language that vyākaraṇa teaches, the uses of grammar, its teaching methods, the epistemological import of the words (*ākṛti* versus *dravya*, *nitya* versus *karya*), its assumptions, the usage and relevance of the *aprayukta* words, the relevance of knowledge versus the use of the grammatical forms, and ends with discussing the meaning of the term vyākaraṇa and the various explanations around the teaching of the śiva sūtras. The chapters dealing with the uses and purposes of the grammar, as well as those certain assumptions which makes out of grammar a way to the liberation are the places where we can identify up to what extent vyākaraṇa is a *vedāṅga* or a *darśana.*

Thus, in the section 2 there is a statement which is numbered as Vārttika 1, but without being acknowledged as such by tradition, where we are told which are the five main uses of grammar and its teachings: *rakṣohāgamalaghvasaṁdehāḥ prayojanam*. The purposes of the grammar are *rakṣā* – the preservation of the Vedic texts, *ūha* – the suitable adaptation of Vedic mantras according to the requirements of a particular ritual, *āgama* – the following of the Vedic tradition, *laghu* – the simplicity in getting to know the forms of language, and *asaṁdeha* – the removal of doubts regarding the correct understanding of words in Vedic passages. As expected, these purposes meets strong

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possible auxiliary sciences pertaining to the Vedas but under "somewhat unusual names" MÜLLER 1968: 99-100, fn. 2.

objection from the part of Mīmāṁsakās. Under the head of *āgama* use of grammar we read:

> *brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo'dhyeyo jñeya iti. pradhānaṁ ca ṣaḍsvaṅgeṣu vyākaraṇam. pradhāne ca kṛto yatnaḥ. phalavānbhavati.*
> A Brahmin should (learn to) recite (and) should understand the Veda with its six ancillaries as his duty without motive (of gain). And among the six ancillaries grammar is the most important one. An effort made regarding what is most important becomes fruitful. (*Pasp* 2.19, p. 7)[3]

This pro domo statement, which gives to grammar the foremost position among the vedāṅgas, fitted with great pains under the parasol of tradition (as being derived from the Kātyāyana's vārttikas), should not surprise us at a very first look. But if we carefully go ahead, one can see some practicality is eventually required and that the aspects of gain are quickly taken care of. Thus, just a couple of sections further, the religious merit, dharma, is emphasized but without being exactly explained how this religious merit comes into the picture:

> *lokato'rthaprayukte śabdaprayoge śāstreṇa dharmaniyamaḥ kriyate* /
> When (it is assumed that the use of words is occasioned by the thing-meant, on account of the usage of) the people, grammar provides a restriction (on the use of words) for the sake of dharma. (*Pasp* 4, 86, p. 24)

After long and fastidious comments and comparisons focused mostly on explaining rather the mechanism of restrictions with applied examples (from the Vedic statement) of restrictions, the commentary reaches to the following conclusion:

> *evam ihāpi samānāyām arthagatau śabdena cāpaśabdena ca dharmaniyamaḥ kriyate. śabdenaivārthe'bhidheyo nāpaśabdenety evaṁ kriyamāṇam abhyudayakāri bhavatīti* /
> In the same way, here also when meaning can be understood equally from correct words and incorrect words, a restriction is made for dharma, namely, that meaning is to be conveyed by correct words only, not by incorrect words (because) if it is being done in this way (the use of words) leads to *abhyudaya* (happiness 'in the form of the svarga') (*Pasp* 7, 86, p. 27).

[3] The Sanskrit text and translation of the quotes from Mahābhāṣya follows JOSHI and ROODBERGEN 1986.

Thus appears the necessity of learning grammar for discriminating between correct and incorrect words and for applying oneself to using the correct forms only.

Furthermore is felt the need to deepen the extend up to which grammar is responsible for generating dharma and *abhyudaya*.

> *evaṁ tarhi nāpi jñāna eva dharmo, nāpi prayoga eva /*
> dharma (does) not (lie) in jñāna (grammatical) knowledge alone, nor in prayoga use alone. (*Pasp* 12.111),

and

> *śāstrapūrvakaṁ yaḥ śabdān prayuṅkte so'bhyudayena yujyate /*
> One who uses words preceded by (the study of) grammar is associated with bliss. (*Pasp*13.112).

It is also implied that if the dharma lies in *jñāna*, then by knowing the incorrect words (*apaśabda*) there would be also a chance for *adharma* as well. But this last assertion is refuted by saying that the knowledge of *apaśabda* does not incur necessarily *adharma*, but:

> *yo'paśabdāñ jānāti śabdān apy asau jānāti /*
> it is only helpful for the knowledge of the correct words. (*Pasp* 13.117, p. 32)

Despite the tempting invitation to focus now on the concepts of *dharma* and *abhyudaya* which are, nevertheless, essential to shape up a *darśana*, we should not lose sight that Patañjali included grammar at this stage among the Vedic ancillaries. But the above terms are not the premises for assuming that at this early stage the grammarians' self-consciousness indicated clearly that their śāstra could be one of the ways towards the summum bonum of Indian life, salvation? How this awareness changes is shown later in just a few works, i.e. the Bhartṛhari's *Trikāṅḍī* and *Mahābhaṣyadīpika*, Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa's *Vaiyākaraṇa bhūṣaṇa* and Nāgeśa's *Vaiyākaraṇa siddhānta (laghu) mañjūṣā* and *Mahābhāṣyapradīpoddyota* which bring into discussion new aspects and further arguments of the role assigned to grammar.

The fifth century CE grammarian philosopher, Bhartṛhari has a special place in the tradition of Pāṇinian grammar as he is the one who restore it after it has been threatened by certain other grammarian too fond of abridgments, with little knowledge and dry reasoning who could not embrace fully the commentary of Patañjali[4]. Besides the fact that he comes up with a visionary approach of the world as the outcome of the

[4] Vide SUBRAMANYA IYER 1983 : 325, verses 476-478.

transformation of the Brahman Word-Principle *brahman śabda-tattva* by which he reintegrates in a new form the Vedic mysticism of *vāc*, Bhartṛhari puts a lot of emphasis on the place of grammar as simply:

> *tad dvāram apavargasya vāṅmalānāṁ cikitsitam /*
> *pavitraṁ sarvavidyānām adhividyam prakāśate // VP* I.14
> *idam ādyam padasthānaṁ siddhisopānaparvaṇām /*
> *iyaṁ sā mokṣamāṇānām ajihmā rājapaddhatiḥ // VP* I.16
> the door of salvation, the remedy for all the impurities of speech, the purifier of all the sciences (which) shines in every branch of knowledge.(…) This is the first step in the ladder leading to liberation, this is the straight royal road for all those who desire salvation[5].

We have, thus, the most specific possible description of grammar as a perfectly qualified way to secure for its followers the ever desired salvation. Unfortunately, if any, the techniques and the methods to reach to it are little explained by the verses and their commentaries, but there are certain assertions and expressions such as *śabda pūrva yoga* or *śabdasaṁskāra* which trigger a great deal of analysis and debates[6]. These expressions occur in the verses and their commentaries which bear upanisadic echoes, traceable otherwise in the Mahabhasya discussion with regard to the metaphysical import of the word as well, and nevertheless rooted in Vedic hymns. It is also likely that they point out to some traditions which could be Tantric traditions for whom the *śabda-yoga*[7] played a very significant role. Thus, we read:

> *api prayoktur ātmānam śabdam antar avasthitam /*
> *prahūr mahāntaṁ ṛṣbham yena sāyujam iṣyate //*
> *tasmād yaḥ śabdasaṁskāraḥ sā siddhiḥ paramātmanaḥ /*
> *tasya pravṛttitvajñas tad brahmāmṛtam aśnute // BK* I.133-134

It has been said that Self, which is within the speaker, is the word, the great Bull with whom one desires union. Therefore, word purification (*śabdasaṁskāra*) is a means of realization of Supreme Ātman. For the one who knows the truth of the employment of [the word] principle of its action attains immortal Brahman.

The commentary of the above last quoted verse of the Brahmakāṇḍa

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5 The number of the verses follow RAU's edition, 1977. English translation belongs to K.A. SUBRAMANYA IYER.

6 DOBRE-BRAT 2009: 491-501, and DOBRE-BRAT "From śabda-tattva to sabad", forthcoming in the Proceedings of the 10th International Bhakti Conference, Delhi: Manohar Lal.

7 *Ibidem*.

speaks of attaining a certain amount of happiness (*abhyudaya*) as a result of purification of the word of its incorrect forms. After that, the repeated practice of maintaining this purified word leads to attaining the flash of intuitive comprehension (*pratibhā*) which is able to reveal the reality (*sattā*) as it is, and that brings peace (*kṣema*). As we can see, the celestial happiness is only the first step to be taken for those engaged in seeking the realization of supreme Ātman. Word purification, knowledge and usage of exclusively correct forms ensure in the first place the celestial happiness. The commentary speaks also about the manifestation of a certain merit by removing the incorrect forms. The same things have been previously presented in the Mahabhāṣya, yet Bhartṛhari does not stop here, but goes up to claiming the possibility of reaching mokṣa with the help of grammar as shown above.

How the grammar is given such a role to play one millennia after Pāṇini, and why just one single author in the whole history in the Indian Pāṇinian grammatical tradition puts grammar on such high pedestal might rise many questions. Also, if there are no methods or techniques, and all that is implied by the soteriological quality of grammar is but a kind of knowledge preceded by the study of the grammar, that is beyond the range of human language and which resemble the perfections known mostly in the Mahayana Buddhism, which could be the non-conceptual awareness (*nirvikalpajñāna*), and which can be explained as "Where there is no perception, appellation, conception or conventional expression, there one speaks of 'perfect wisdom'[8], as it has been rightly pointed out by Johannes BRONKHORST, grammar, at least in the form Bhartṛhari has presented, remains thus a resourceful śāstra nurtured and linked to strong traditions. Thus empowered, grammar is legitimately entitled to aspire to the darśana status.

Irrespective how that kind of special knowledge is called, insight or intuition, the study of grammar seems to be able to generate it. It's not the mere studying of grammar which endows the learned one with a full bag of grammatical rules, regulations and techniques which he can use with great ability, it's the effort, restraints of many kinds and concentration which are similar in many ways to the ascetic path of a yoga practitioner aiming to salvation[9].

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[8] BRONKHORST 1996: 103.

[9] AKLUJKAR 2004: 723. AKLUJKAR noticed it while showing how "The Paninias' conception of the relationship between grammar and dharma is not as outlandish or self-servingly brahmanical as it may seem at first".

Besides the grammarians, a more philosophical point of view over grammar is given by the 14th century Advaita Vedānta philosopher Madhavācharya[10] who in his *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* passes in review the sixteen philosophical systems current in his time in the South India, giving "what appeared to him the most important tenets, and the principal arguments by which their followers endeavoured to maintain them"[11]. From the perspective of the abbot of the Smarta order in the Maṭh of Śṛṅgeri, nothing but salvation is the final use of each and every philosophical system he approaches in his compendium. It's also very interesting to note that the grammatical system occupies a privileged position – as very close to the top of his pyramidal building. *Pāṇinīya darśana* is the thirteenth of all the sixteen schools he reviews in this compendium, the Vedānta, being obviously the last one, superior of all.

The very first introductory sentence of the Mahābhāṣya "*atha śabdānuśāsanam*" urges Madhavāchārya to a very insistent inquiry into the role and purpose of grammar. He seems to be not very happy with mere "exposition of words", proposing instead: "*tathā ca śabdānuśāsanāparanāmadheyaṁ vyākaraṇaśāstram ārabdhaṁ veditavyam iti vākyārthaḥ saṁpadyate.*/ It is to be understood that the rules of grammar which may be taken as a synonym for 'the exposition concerning words' are now commenced" (*SDS* 13.39-40, p. 292). He believes that Patañjali preferred *śabdānuśasanam* exactly for

> *śabdānuśāsanam ity anvarthasamākhyopādāne*
> *tadīyavedāṅgatvapratipādaka-prayojanānvākhyānasiddheḥ.*
> *anyathā prayojanānabhidhāne vyākararaṇādhyayane'dhyetṛṇām*
> *pravṛttir eva na prasajet* /
> Implying an end which shall establish that grammar is a subordinate study (*aṅga*) to the Veda. Otherwise, if there were no such end set forth, there would be no consequent application of the readers to the study of grammar. (*SDS* 13.53-54, p. 292)

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[10] According to MACDONELL (1900) 1990: 232, Mādhava belongs to a family with a rich scholarly tradition. He was the elder brother of the great medieval Vedic scholar Sāyaṇa, who composed important commentaries on the Ṛg Veda that were dedicated to his brother as *mādhavīya* while Mādhava occupied one of the King's Bukka ministers position. He died as abbot of the monastery under the name of Vidyāraṇyasvāmin.

[11] COWELL 1978: vii. The English translations from the Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha of Madhava belongs to COWELL, the above mentioned edition. The Sanskrit text of the quotes follows Madhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* (SDS), (ed.) VASUDEVA ŚĀSTRI 1924.

Since the Vedic words were established by the Veda and the secular words by the common life, then, for the students only the status of an aṅga applied to the grammar would have enforced on them the necessity to study grammar. But again Madhavācārya is not happy with how instruction of the words or reading the Veda word by word would be the true means invoking the same example Patañjali gives in the Mahābhāṣya about the endless, fruitless and nowhere leading of instruction given by Bhṛhaspati to his pupil Indra. Therefore, it arises on the theoretical plan the stages of learning.

> *adhītibodhācaraṇapracāraṇaiś caturbhir hy upāyair vidhyopayuktā bhavati* /
> Learning is rendered efficient by four appropriate means – reading, understanding, practicing and handing it on to other (*SDS* 13,70-71, p. 293-294) and with reference to the question in discussion the necessity of learning grammar's rules.

The philosopher goes on adamant to support the preeminence of the grammar over the rest of the *aṅgas* referring again to Kātyāyana's vārtikas which Patañjali also has taken recourse to as pointed out earlier (*Pasp* 112), and quoting from this point Bhartṛhari's verses. (*VP* I.11). Further arguments revolving around the philosophical import of the *sphoṭa* concept, the notions of *vyakti* and *jāti* are heaped together to mount to the final assertion, which nevertheless is supported on one side and the other by two most quoted kārikās of Bhartṛhari (*VP* I.14, 16, 144) and by Kaiyaṭa's interpretation. He emphatically concludes:

> *tathā ca śabdānuśasanaśāstrasya niḥśreyas sādhanatvaṁ siddham* /
> And thus we establish the fact that 'the exposition of the words' is the means for the final bliss (*SDS* 13.276,277, p. 320),

and

> *tasmād vyākaraṇaśāstram paramapuruṣārthasādhanatayādhyetavy am iti siddham* /
> Therefore our final conclusion is that the śāstra of grammar should be studied as being the means for attaining the chief end of man (*SDS* 13.284, p. 320).

And that is nonetheless – salvation.

Later grammarians' point of view with regard to the very purpose of grammar does not go as far as the Vedānta philosopher.

In the final verses of the section 14 *Sphoṭa nirṇaya* of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*, Kauṇda Bhaṭṭa, after giving one of the most

comprehensive analysis and taxonomy of the *sphoṭa* types, concludes the discussion by two often quoted verses 71-72 which express a visible Bhartṛharian approach of the world-word. This view draws closer to a darśana perspective over grammar. He says:

> *satyāsatyau tu yau bhāgau pratibhāvaṁ vyavasthitau /*
> *satyaṁ yattatra sā jātirasatyā vyaktayo matāḥ //*
> Of the two elements viz.real and unreal which are embodied in every object, that which is the real (element) is (known as) the universal, while the unreal (elements) are (regarded as) the particulars.

It has been pointed out[12] that jāti refers ultimately to the Brahman if one goes by the way Bhartṛhari approaches jāti – as the very supreme existence, *mahasātta*, that resides in every object. The next verse,

> *itthaṁ niṣkṛṣyamāṇaṁ yac chabdatattvaṁ nirañjanam /*
> *brahmaivetyakṣaraṁ prāhustasmai pūrṇātmano nama // 72*
> (The learned men) say that the word-essence which is thus being settled (as the true nature of things) is the imperishable, untainted, supreme reality. A respectful salutation to that perfect soul (is now paid).

reinforces the metaphysical view of Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa of the word-essence and thus leaves no doubt that the 17th century grammarian quotes Bhartṛhari's concept of the word-essence having in mind presumably that grammar has that soteriological status shared by any darśana of the Indian traditions.

The necessity of this quotation, as observed from the commentary, is to make a roundabout to reach eventually to the sphota – to which otherwise is dedicated this section of the text – whose etymology "the word from which the meaning burst forth" supports common features with the Brahman "self illuminating" (Brh Up 4.3.9).

Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa does not make any other commentaries over the grammar's role, other than the fact that the text is but an ornament for the grammarians which is dedicated to the perfect soul, alike Viṣṇu who has Śeṣa as his ornament.

The final authority of the Sanskrit grammar, Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, resumes the opinions of his predecessors, Patañjali and Kaiyaṭa for whom the preservation of the Veda is a *puruṣārtha*. He interprets this approach as the means to obtain dharma and eventually reaching to mokṣa. However he does make a clear cut between the two types of gain out of learning

[12] JOSHI 1967: 226.

grammar. By learning grammar one has the understanding of the correct sense of Vedic passages which enables one to perform correctly the rituals. That leads to gaining the heavenly bliss (*svarga*). In the case of applying grammar to understanding the meaning of the Upaniṣadic passages, by acquiring thus a correct knowledge of the reality, that is responsible for the attaining the supreme bliss (*mokṣa*).

> La grammaire est un moyen de realization de réalisation des fins de l'homme par l'intermédiaire aussi de la compréhension du sens des *veda*; Kaiyaṭa dit cela: "vedārtham ca…" 8.6: l'idée est: le fruit de l'étude de la grammaire est la fin de l'homme, à savoir le plaisir du *svarga* obtenu par la connaissance des *veda* suivie de l'éxecution des actes prescrits par ces texts avec l'aide des divers mantra dans leur forme pure, ainsi que la déliverance obtenue comme il sera dit ci-dessous par la connaissance des *upaniṣad*.[13]

Thus, we might say that Nageśa Bhaṭṭa reached to a quite inspired and reconciling position. As long as vyākaraṇa helps one to have the right understanding of the Veda is a vedāṅga, but once it is applied to a more philosophical vision, it also gains the status of a darśana. However, this approach could sound quite simplistic; therefore it should be taken *cum grano salis*. Yet, the essence of it serves our purposes and a more elaborated analysis might reveal further and rewarding aspects.

Thus, in the light of the opinions and theories outlined above one might also conclude that the discussion about up to what extent vyākaraṇa is a vedāṅga or a darśana is quite synonymous with discussing in which measure it is capable of raising dharma as generator of *svarga*, *abhyudaya*, and all that goes above it such as *kṣema, brahma prāpti, mokṣa* etc. could be directly responsible for placing vyākaraṇa among the darśanas. Put it in another way, as long as grammar serves Vedic exegesis, learning and studying it shall produce, or is certainly to produce, if done accurately, merit and by consequence a good share of celestial happiness, *abhyudaya*. When grammar furnishes us with that kind of special kind of knowledge (or technique) that gives access to the highest type of existence or reality, *brahman śabda-tattva*, as for instance Bhartṛhari comprehensibly names it, it is right to designate grammar as darśana, no matter how elitist might be. If that holds no ground, grammar is no doubt, and by all means, a way trodden by a little number of followers who have got that vision of grammar as their way to salvation.

[13] FILLIOZAT 1975: 29.

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“Let Śiva’s favour be alike with scribes and with reciters:” Motifs for copying or not copying the Veda

CEZARY GALEWICZ

It has been a long time commonplace of Indology to think of the corpus of Vedic literature as fashioned by, belonging to, expressing or exemplifying primarily an oral culture of transmission. While several aspects of orality without writing in the historical process of preservation of the Vedic corpus won attention of an array of scholars, questions relating to motifs for actual copying of Vedic texts in writing have hardly ever been asked.[1] In spite of a strong ideology that distrusted writing as means of preservation of the Veda, several centuries before introducing print into the Indian Peninsula Vedic texts used to be copied widely on birch bark, palm leaf or paper and a good number of MSS survived testifying to copying of the Veda as an important cultural phenomenon.

One of the preserved Vedic manuscripts in the custody of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute Library features a colophon formula that reads:

> *śivaprasanno ‘stu lekhakapāṭhakayoḥ pārvatīyutaḥ* (MS 381, AVS, Poona I: 382)
> “let Śiva united with Pārvatī be favorable both to scribes and reciters/ readers.”
>
> Another instance of the same idea can be seen in a MS from Tanjore, II, 738: *lekhakapāthakayoḥ śubham bhavatu;*

[1] Most studies contented themselves with taking for granted a general reason for copying as rooted in the need for rescuing the supposedly dying out oral tradition notwithstanding a rather self-evident fact that it would be utterly difficult to refer to some general pan-Indian situation in this respect in any historical moment given.

still another: *leṣakapāṭhakayoḥ kalyāṇaṃ bhūyāt* (Poona I, 297).

A similar phrasing can actually be seen in a number of MSS of Vedic and other Sanskrit works and probably belonged to a common stock of formulas used by professional copyists as well as those venturing into the world of recopying on a more casual basis. The formulation seems to specifically express a dichotomy of the two worlds usually set apart and contrasted: that of oral transmission and that of writing/printing. My starting point here is a contention that for the medieval and pre-modern Indian context in general, and the Vedic texts in particular, the relationship between the oral and the written rather tended to remain (and thus should better be represented as) that of complementing rather than contrasting each other, and that the nature of that relationship remains still, notwithstanding rich scholarship, far from being sufficiently articulated. And to understand the nature of this relationship seems to be one of the keys to correct our often incomplete images of classical India that we cherish. Within the range of this relationship fall such issues that might seem banal like that what did it actually take to publish a work, did it mean the same thing for the world of kāvya and for that of śāstra? what did it entail in terms of reading the work aloud, on one hand, and circulate copies, on the other, what sort of editorial practices could be resorted to, what were the modalities of handling the books as material objects by their copyists, correctors, owners, reciters, readers, commentators, or other users, etc… what sort of social transactions were triggered by manuscripts books and what were their aims and functions? Some additional questions may include such as: why manuscript culture of pre-modern India proved to be so strong in its defying the world of print? Why did it leave traces in for instance the appearance, form and shape of early printed books (like *pothīs* in Maharashtra) that linger even today? First, let me remind you what you know very well, that to copy a text, did not always necessarily involve to write it down, and to circulate a text did not necessarily mean to distribute its hard material copies. On the other hand, preferring memory as safe medium for the purpose of transmission or interiorization by specific text traditions did not always preclude the use of written, or later printed, copies of the same text by members of the same textual community albeit for other purposes.

A special case within the much wider spectrum of Indian manuscript culture of the pre-modern era is furnished by the cultural context and ideology of traditional Vedic transmission process: that in changing

historical circumstances would expose attitudes of radical insistence on refraining from the use of writing while at the same time making room for the practice of producing manuscripts of Vedic texts for purposes that remain not quite clear today. The so called Vedic memorization – being a case apart in itself[2] – involved in its model shape virtual cloning of the text, or reproducing its memory image, just as much as did its re-writing. The reasons and motivations for the two ways of cloning texts may have, however, differed considerably. So may the actual use or application of the two different sorts of copies. The much discussed case of oral transmission of the Veda needs probably still again a revaluation from the perspective of the pragmatics of education. This entails a seemingly banal question: what did actually serve the process of transmission in a specific, historically and geographically situated brāhmaṇa community? Did it actually cater for something like a genuine need for a general transmission or rather answered more practical needs that have not been fully identified by the modern scholarship? Is it not that any education system ever serves in the first place the aim of perpetuating itself as a system supporting social status quo? From an individual or family perspective the teaching of the Veda should satisfy religious needs, such as those formulated in later Vedic texts like that of TA II studied thoroughly some time ago by Ch. MALAMOUD (MALAMOUD 1977) from a community perspective the teaching could fulfill other functions too...

Now, I believe that exploring the complex relationship between the oral and the written, memory cloning and manuscript copying in a micro scale, even through studying seemingly minor details of material culture or instances of verbal formulas framing the texts proper, can reveal something of the once flourishing world of Indian manuscript culture. This culture may be mostly gone today but its elements happen still to linger here and there in a sort of afterlife within the pockets of contemporary print culture as well as across the electronic media.[3] This relationship must have taken different shapes for different literary and manuscript/print cultures, taking distinct regional variations, and

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[2] As stressed among else by J. BRONKHORST in BRONKHORST 2002.

[3] What I have in mind is among else the gigantic national projects of digitization (continuing to be a fashionable expression) and otherwise rescuing the seemingly unlimited number of manuscripts with ideas of reviving and stimulating national, regional or religious feelings and fuelling mass imagination with respect to once elitarian and now misleadingly open access to this presumed treasure-trove of Indian cultural heritage often jealously guarded from a foreign eye.

probably remained culturally and politically sensitive not only in the Indian context.

I propose here a preliminary review of motifs for copying Vedic texts as they are represented in colophons and sub-colophons to extant manuscripts of Vedic texts. The review offers a tentative categorization and is purposefully informed by the contrastive nature of the ideology inscribed within the tradition of Vedic transmission that precluded, discouraged or banned copying of Vedic texts through writing. This instance exemplifies perhaps once again a dichotomy between theory and practice, or a powerful normative and a lived-in world attesting to what Jan HEESTERMAN once called "the inner conflict of tradition" that – in his words – used to provide "a driving force behind Indian civilization."[4] How should we understand the *intentio auctoris* behind the words of a colophon to DCTanjore I, 134 by a copyist who having done what he did (namely completed a copy the 4th Aṣṭaka of the Ṛksaṃhitā in writing) proceeds to quote the famous lines of Pāninīyaśīkṣā listing a figure of a reciter reading from the written copy (*likhitapāṭhaka*) among the six "worst" (*adhama*) instances of Vedic recitation to be avoided altogether?[5] The paradox of the two seemingly irreconcilable attitudes is more than obvious and indeed paradigmatic when written into the same material object of a Vedic MS. From what follows in the same MS we may infer that the copyist himself hints at the situation of reciting Veda from a written MS without recuperating for its (inevitable) mistakes as the most precipitous of the uses that might befall to his work. Again taking refuge to a common stock formula the copyist feels obliged to address, if not bequeath, his MS to those learnt ones who know how the written text before their eyes should be rectified / purified (*pariśodhaniya*) with what they remember as those deserving the qualification of the "noble ones" (*ārya*).[6] The formula seems to exemplify the "power of memorized tradition" as embodying an ideal never to be caught up with writing as well as a symbiotic relationship between the two. In this respect one should note that some colophons to Vedic MSS refer explicitly to the act of "correcting" while indicating the name of the "proof-reader." Mentioning the name seems

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[4] Jan HEESTERMAN, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and. Society*, Chicago 1985.

[5] gītī śīghrī śiraḥkampī tathā likhitapāṭhakaḥ / anarthajño 'lpakaṇṭhaś ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhakādhamāḥ // PŚ 32 //

[6] *hastasya doṣān matibhramāśca nyūnātiriktaṃ likhitaṃ mayātra* /
tatsarvam āryaiḥ pariśodhanīyaṃ prāyeṇa muhyanti hi ye likhanti //3//

to testify to a no mean significance given to the action of correcting inevitable errors of (re-)copyig (see for instance DCTanjore I, 223: … *mahādevena idam pustakam śodhitam*).

Now, it could be argued that Vedic education used to (and to some extent still does) do well for centuries, if not millennia, without resorting to writing and physical objects as vehicles (if man's memory is not such a one), even explicitly refraining from doing so. Is it not the authority of *Pāṇīnīyaśikṣā* that warns against resorting to writing, and that of *Mahābhārata,* which condemns to hell those who profess or make their living by writing down the Vedas (does it mean that there were actually some who did it?).[7] Well into the era when writing was widely used for literary purposes in India, we still hear of authoritative condemnation of writing used with respect to the Veda.[8] Even a few centuries after Vasukra's bold enterprise (tenth century?), it was Sāyaṇa, the imperial commentator, who strongly advocated against using written copies in studying the Veda as *svādhyāya*.[9] The same means, however, that the written versions must have been at hand and, no doubt, consulted when needed during other occasions and other type of textual lecture than that of *svādhyāya*.[10]

[7] Aśvamedhika Parvan 106, 92: *vedavikrayiṇaś caiva vedānāṃ caiva dūṣakāḥ / vedānāṃ lekhakāś ca te vai nirayagāminaḥ //* ("Those who make money on the Vedas are wicked and sinful / those who commit the Vedas to writing are bound for hell.")

[8] Kumārila: *Tantra-vārttika* I 3 (p.86), p.123.20 in K.V. ABHYANKAR's edition. It is Kumārila, who in the 7th c. "reasserted (in writing, of course) that learning the Veda from a concrete text-artefact – 'by means contrary to reason, such as from written text' – could never achieve the efficacy of the Veda learned in the authorized way, 'by repeating precisely what has been pronounced in the mouth of the guru'" [quoted in POLLOCK 2006:83, fn 23]. POLLOCK and others miss reference to Sāyaṇa who [*RSBhBh*] still in the late fourteenth c., albeit for different reasons, warned against using written artefacts in memorising the Veda. Cf. SCHARFE 2002:8. fn.2 referring also to Al-Bīrūnī, who "reported in the eleventh century: 'They do not allow the Veda to be transmitted to writing.'" More on avoiding of putting the Veda into writing, see BRONKHORST 2002:800, KANE 1941:II, 348-9.

[9] MÜLLER:I, 14, l. 15: *kratuvidhayo hi viṣayāvabodham apekṣamāṇās tadavabodhe svādhyāyaṇ viniyuñjate / adhyayanavidhiś ca likhitapāṭhādi vyāvṛtyādhyayana-saṃskṛtatvaṇ svādhyāyasya gamayanti / ata ubhayopādānāt tatsiddhiḥ //* ("As the injunctions to perform sacrifice do indeed require the knowledge of their dominion [of application], for this knowledge they apply *svādhyāya*. And as the injunction to study excludes reading from written words, they understand "perfection of study" as the *svādhyāya*-study. So in appropriation of both of them lies the attainment of this [result of ritual perfection]").

[10] Keeping this in mind may help to understand the function of printed copies of Ṛgvedasaṃhitā in Malayalam script kept by teachers in the Brahmasvam Maṭham

In his 3rd lecture from the series published in London in 1878 under the title "On the Origin and Growth of Religion", F. Max MÜLLER (whose first edition of the Rgvedasamhitā had been completed four years earlier in 1874 and at the time he was delivering the lecture he must have been working on the second edition of his opus magnum to appear in 1890-92) wrote: "These men... know the whole Rig-Veda by heart, just as their ancestors did, three or four thousand years ago; and though they have MSS., and though they now have a printed text [he probably refers to his own?], they do not learn their sacred lore from them." We may only guess whom actually could have in mind Max MÜLLER who had never been to India? Most probably some hypothetical or model brāhmaṇas. In fact these must have been imagined on the information concerning probably a group of brahmins from Maharashtra since at least some of his informants wrote letters to MÜLLER from there. And referring to his own otherwise unquestionable and now legendary exploit of bringing in print the so called critical edition of the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā he most probably remained ignorant of the early printed editions of Vedic texts that started to appear in Mumbai in the second half of the 19th century through the initiatives of local Indian printers among whom Janardāna Mahādeva Gurjara and Nirnaya Sagar Press remains best known today. One of these early printing initiatives that I was able to trace was for instance Ṛgvedasaṃhitā published in Mumbai in a *pothī* form by Janardāna GURJARA – a printer-editor in Śaka 1822, that is A.D. 1900. This beautiful specimen of early Devanāgarī print mentions earlier editions and other early printed Vedic texts like Ṛgvedamantrasaṃhitā, Āśvalāyanagṛhyapariśīṣṭa, that must have been appearing from 1867, i.e. seven years before the famous *editio princeps* of MÜLLER was completed, by Janardāna Mahādeva GURJARA – a printer-editor from Mumbai. Incidentally, one of them, the Ṛgvedamantrasaṃhitā, in another early printed edition by Vasudeva Laxmana PANŚIKAR features a passage by the editor that refers to the necessity of double checking the print with the memory of the savants, i.e. with the oral transmission that not only still continued but was still held in undiminished respect by the editors of printed books just as it had been by the copyists for the past few hundred years.

This presumably extraordinary focus on memorization in early European reports soon became one of the cultural clichés with which

in Trichur otherwise boasting of a teaching system based exclusively on memory and oral transmission (observed by the present author during his field study in Kerala in 2008 and 2010).

to represent Indian civilization as a whole. As a cliché, it more often than not passed without much attention both to its concept as well as its actual practice. Succeeding scholarship related it usually to the debate on orality versus literacy in cultural development and quite often uncritically took for granted an evolutionary development from the former to the latter. The epitome of this reportedly marked feature of Indian civilization has been often believed to be the so called Vedic oral tradition, or Vedic memorization.

It is most often agreed that for around two millennia until manuscripts of Vedic texts probably started slowly to appear by the beginning of the second millennium A.D., the Vedas remained transmitted orally (however not necessarily in the MILLMAN & PARRY's, A.B. LORD's or J. GOODY's sense), by way of a process that could be perhaps described as chain memory cloning. Even afterwards, their transmission, although rationally systematized, must have remained [11]in principle oral among a number of brahmin communities (albeit not always and not everywhere to the same degree) while interfering in many ways with the medieval manuscript culture in its regional varieties. As mentioned above, an oral instruction and memorization as opposed to reading is still testified to be recommended by authoritative commentators well into the era of wide use of manuscripts. According to Sāyaṇa (middle 14th c.) a proper Vedic memorization is not feasible by "reading the written." And yet, an imagined Opponent in one of Sāyaṇa's works argues that the "visible effect" (dṛṣṭaphala) of memorizing the Vedic syllables could be imagined also for reading the written text on one's own in the way that at the time would be the custom – as he says – among followers of Ayurveda medicine. However enigmatic it may look, it remains clear that the Vedic memorization was nothing like a memorization through habituation or learning by participation, but a memorization through deliberate effort and with specific aims to fulfil. The latter meant a rationalized system of instruction, training, refining, refreshing and testing through meticulously followed procedures. These technical procedures are most often believed by contemporary scholarship to have been designed and deployed in order to guarantee immutable form for the transmitted Vedic texts. A religious sanction given to this system transformed elements of its structure into rituals of their own. In practical terms, however, distinct brahmin communities

[11] This point was rightly stressed rightly several times, among else by J. BRONKHORST in BRONKHORST 2002.

developed their own distinct ways of handling their proper parts of Vedic heritage in manners marking their distinct identities.

Down from 10/11th century A.D. onwards, if we take seriously the testimony of Al Beruni, Vedic texts have been copied and recopied both in memory as well as in writing. The picture for a sudden deterioration of the former might perhaps be defended for the northern part of the peninsula. Thus, a parallel stream of written transmission seems to have slowly constituted itself culminating in the well known 19th century printed editions by European scholars based exclusively on the latter one.[12] The two streams must have interfered with one another conflicting, emulating, reflecting or merging in an mutually dependent regimes of textuality, to be measured each time against the varying background of the historically situated socio-economic context and the never ending status game on the part of communities claiming the exclusive right to handle the heritage of the Veda in the most proper way. The very nature of the actual ways these two regimes functioned side by side still awaits articulation and conceptualization. One among many detached pieces to be put back into the mosaic image that might represent the two strands in their mutual historical relationship seems in my opinion to be promised by studying the motifs for copying the Vedic texts in writing. What could be the reasons and motivations for ordering, cloning MSS of the Veda? What purpose could written copies actually serve for?

It is not easy to find a measure for assessing a historically grounded attitude towards the practice of writing down the Vedas or cloning Vedic manuscripts as opposed to the normative exclusion of such gestures from the realm of accepted attitudes vis à vis the legacy of the Vedic scripture. One of the possibilities seems to be offered by turning attention to an important cultural complex represented by what seems to have constituted not only an ever-present topic in dharma literature of several different religious traditions but a veritable cultural institution of *vidyādāna*, or a "ceremonial gift of knowledge."

A paramount merit of the act of *vidyādāna* is thus summarized by

[12] The case of the early Indian print editions and their relationship with traditional scholars might perhaps look a bit different, but any estimations in that matter await a more systematic general study (it would be probably interesting to test early Nirnayasagara editions of Vedic texts against textual/pronunciation peculiarities specific to Western Maharashtra brāhmaṇa communities where the editors and correctors hired by Nirnayasagara Press hailed from).

Devīpurāṇa:[13]

> *vidyādānāt paraṃ dānaṃ na bhūtaṃ na bhaviṣyati |*
> *yena dattena cāpnoti śivam paramakāraṇam ||*
> "There has never been and shall never be a higher gift than the gift of knowledge
> Through it [only] one attains the presence of Śiva - the primal cause of everything."

This aphorism happens to have been singled out and juxtaposed with other similar ones in a most interesting work representing a rather underestimated genre of (*dharma*)*nibandhas*, or digests (on *dharma*). A few more passages quoted in the *nibandha* called *Kṛtyakalpataru* (The Heavenly Tree of Meritorious Deeds) compiled by Lakṣmīdhara around 12th or 13th century CE deserve attention with respect to problems signalled above.[14] Chapter 5 of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, true to its name (Dānakāṇḍa), happens to be devoted entirely to the dharma of gift-giving, or to what I would style as the "art of gift giving." Lakṣmīdhara specifies a hierarchy of gifts among which a series of major gifts (*mahādānas*) is headed by the "gift of land" (*bhūmidāna*). This position of the land-giving as most revered among major gifts finds confirmation in the vast epigraphic evidence from middle-age and pre-modern eras. Curiously to the hierarchy that he himself admits – as noted by Rangasvami AIYENGAR, the editor of *Kṛtyakalpataru* –, Lakṣmīdhara devotes a disproportionate scope of space in his treatise to the "gift of knowledge" or *vidyādāna* (Section 12 in Book 5).[15] Significantly enough, Lakṣmīdhara opens the section on *vidyādāna* with a quotation from Agnipurāṇa reading [KK Dānakāṇḍa: 200]:

> *sarveṣam eva dānanāṃ brahmadānaṃ viśiṣyate*
> *kāryaṃ tu gomahīvāsastilakāñcanasarpiṣām* [16]
> "Among all gifts to be given the gift of *brahman* stands aloof conspicuously
> Even among those [made of] of clarified butter, money, sesamum, land or cows."

The term *brahmadāna* itself appears also in earlier authorities on

[13] Devīpurāṇa: 202.
[14] See DASH 2007: 83.
[15] AIYENGAR 1941: 110.
[16] The śloka, as pointed by AIYENGAR, is to be seen also in ManuSmṛ IV. 233.

Dharma (YājSmr) and according to Lakṣmīdhara it should be understood as the "gift of the Veda" (*vedadāna*).[17] Yet most of the citations offered by him concern śāstras, purāṇas, works on dharma, or at best vedāṅgas (to name something closer to the Veda proper). AIYENGAR voiced doubts in his introduction to KK as to whether the "present of transcripts of śāstric, purāṇic and other works... was applicable also to the Veda." (AIYENGAR 1941: 110-111).

According to Hayaśīrṣa, a Pañcarātra work, among different *vidyās* recommended to be donated to a *brāhmaṇa* and praised as meritorious acts there is no Veda proper. What we can see, however, are *vedāṅgas*, the auxiliary limbs of the Veda (sometimes taken as "keys" to the knowledge of the Veda):

> *vedāṅgān lekhayitvā tu yo dadyāt brāhmaṇarṣabhe /*
> *sa tu svargam avāpnoti yāvat āhṛtasaṃplavam //*[18]
> "One who will have the *vedāṅgas* written down / copied and donate them to an outstanding *brāhmaṇa* shall indeed enjoy heaven until the final deluge sets in."

The passage leaves no doubt that the *vidyā* to be given as a gift should be put to writing first. The lack of the Vedas among *vidyās* to be offered in the highly meritorious act of *vidyādāna* stands out all the more conspicuously since we note that a hierarchy of *vidyās* suggested by Hayaśīrṣa introduces a good number of various areas of knowledge.[19] Naturally enough for the work in question the most important branch of knowledge, or *vidyātama*, proves to be that of Pañcarātra. Omitting the Veda altogether may seem at first somewhat strange in the light of a standard list of "knowledge disciplines" (*vidyāsthānas*) repeated throughout medieval dharma texts in set of 14 (or 18) *vidyās* among which Vedas are usually enumerated first.[20]

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[17] KK Dānakāṇḍa: 202.

[18] Quoted in DASH 2007: 83.

[19] *yo dadyāl lekhayitvā tu pañcarātraṃ dvijottame / sa vidyādānapuṇyena vāsudeve layaṃ vrajet // purāṇaṃ lekhayitvā tu ye dadyāt brāhmaṇe naraḥ / sa vidyādānapuṇyena vāsudeve layaṃ vrajet // rāmāyaṇaṃ bhārataṃ ca yo dadyāt dvijapuṅgave / sa vidyādānajaṃ puṇyaṃ prāpya viṣṇau pralīyate // yo dharmasaṃhitāṃ dadyāt lekhayitvā dvijottame / sa vidyādānajaṃ puṇyaṃ samagraṃ prāpanuyān naraḥ // vedāṅgān lekhayitvā tu yo dadyāt brāhmaṇarṣabhe / sa tu svargam avāpnoti yāvad āhṛtasaṃplavam //* (quoted after DASH 2007: 83).

[20] Cf. Yajñavālkyasmṛti 1.3 *purāṇanyāyamīmāṃsādharmaśāstrāṅgamiśrit āṃ / vedān sthānāni vidyānāṃ dharmasya ca caturdaśa //*. Same list happens to be

A number of medieval authors dealing with *dāna* include references to *vedadāna* – this is the case, for instance, of a passage quoted by Lakṣmīdhara from Devīpurāṇa (KK Dānakāṇḍa: 209):

> *vedavidyāṃ naro datvā svargo kalpatrayaṃ vaset*
> “a man who makes a gift of knowledge of the Veda will dwell in heaven for three eons.”

The passage, however, fails to specify whether it is the gift of a written copy of a Vedic text or rather a gift of teaching the message of the Veda, a sort of *upadeśa* on the meaning and purpose of the Veda to be transmitted by a teacher to a selected pupil.[21] The same authority goes as far as enumerating the entire traditional set of fourteen *vidyās* as objects of meritorious gift-giving. Among them the four Vedas along with their six aṅgas are specifically mentioned (KK Dānakāṇḍa: 207), but again no direct hint at producing written copies of any of the Vedic texts proper can be seen. After all is it not that the most meritorious act of donating knowledge (*vidyādāna*) – as admitted by traditional authorities – may be effected in three distinct ways: as a gift of a book, as a gift of an image of the Goddess of Learning to be worshipped, or as a gift of teaching? Such is the opinion of Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Dānamayūkha*:

> *evaṃ trividham vidyādānam pustakadānaṃ pratimādānaṃ adhyāpanaṃ ceti* [22]
> “Threefold may be the gift of knowledge: gift of book, gift of image, and teaching.”

All in all, an act of ceremonial gift giving of knowledge might become – as indeed is shown by epigraphic evidence – a gesture of power infused with cultural, religious or political meaning.

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elaborated also by Sāyaṇa (see GALEWICZ 2010: 227).

[21] Cf. Sāyaṇa’s Bhūmika to his Ṛgvedasaṃhitābhāṣya in its closing part referring to the gift of *vedavīdyā* by a teacher to a student (see GALEWICZ 2010: 265, 271)

[22] As quoted in DASH 2007: 84.

Picture 1: Sugrīva offering a manuscript [?] (picture by the author)

One of the modern examples of the powerful concept of *vedadāna* at work can be indicated in the initiative of an influential and ambitious Vaidika of Maharashtra who in A.D. 1986 decided to circulate printed copies of a compendium called Ṛgvedadaśagrantha and through this act willy-nilly initiated on regional scale something comparable to a new canon formation for the Ṛgveda. The enterprise proved to be of no mean consequence since field study shows that most of the veda pāṭhaśālās of the Western and central Maharashtra and some transregionally soon

adopted for daily use specifically this, not other, textbook as the most authoritative for the basic Vedic study. At the same time it is also significant that the very compendium remains little known or studied in reality. A look into the introductory and closing formulas of the publication leave little doubt that the book was conceived as a gift of knowledge, although the term *vidyādāna* does not appear there.[23]

Taking into consideration this conspicuous lack of the Veda among vidyās to be donated as vidyādana one should, however, differentiate between purposes for preparing written copies of the Veda. There is little doubt that it must have been a different thing to memorize the Veda as a brahmacārin and a different thing to teach it as a teacher and still different to study it along with a commentary, not to say about practical implementation of Vedic mantras within ritual context, be it *śrauta* or *gṛhya* or otherwise. Each situation entailed a contact with a different Veda of sorts. Thus, written copies potentially addressing these different situations should not necessarily look the same and be the outcome of one and the same process. We may probably expect motifs for copying the Veda to be functionally different in matching different cultural context.

Granting the ever present authoritative opinions discouraging the reading of the Veda from written copies, commercially handling the written copies or altogether condemning the very action of committing the Veda to writing, one may wonder: how could it happen that the Vedas would be copied through writing at all? If, and this is on evidence, manuscripts of the Veda began to be widely produced (and circulated?) what could be pointed to as motifs or reasons? The highly valued cultural gesture of the gift of knowledge understood as religiously meritorious and socially elevating act could probably be one such important occasion for proliferating written copies. A fear for endangered Veda to be lost, so emphasized in modern scholarship, may have also been another but there seems not to be much in the indigenous writing to testify to it even though it is nice to admit that also the history of putting the Veda to writing proceeded along rational tracks. There is, of course the testimony of Al-Beruni, and important as it is, it can not substitute for an evidence from within the tradition.

It is tempting to look for traces of motifs for preparing written copies of the Veda within the extant copies themselves, that is to say, mostly in the manuscript colophons/sub-colophons and other "framing

[23] See GALEWICZ 2011, forthcoming.

devices" visible in manuscripts that made it through the history. After all, one can hardly imagine copying of a valuable work of traditional knowledge for no purpose at all.

To begin with, I am inclined to imagine that the act of copying must have been aimed at either self-study (personal or in family), a *vidyādāna*, or at producing a copy by a specific order or for sale (here a specific commission should be imagined rather than a production to be put in stock and await a prospective buyer). Another important motif to be taken into consideration is "data migration" – recopying decaying manuscripts in a collection, whether that belonging to a family, school, temple or monastery. What is more, the act of copying should probably be perceived as a complex one involving a patron commanding the copy and acting either as a donor or as an owner, a copyist and a recipient and in the end a user. The recipient did not have to be a person – it could be an institution like a temple or a monastery (*maṭha*). Although many of these aspects can be said to hold for manuscript culture of India in general, other agents and acts involved in the process (correctors, *svarakaras* – see below), should be identified as specific to the culture of Vedic manuscripts. A case apart must be that of dictating a passage, part of a Vedic text from memory in order to be written down by a scribe, or writing it down from memory by a brāhmaṇa who for some reason would decide to do it himself.[24]

Reproducing, copying or cloning of traditional texts may take various forms, practices and fulfill different social functions or individual needs. And it seems that an anthropology of the cultural gesture of copying / cloning / proliferating the material substance of the Veda should probably be imagined as different thing from an anthropology of gift-giving, even if the gift is that of the "knowledge of the Veda."

A casual survey of descriptive catalogues shows that most of extant MSS that can be used for evaluating possible purposes for copying the Veda in writing (cloning Veda in written form instead of doing it in a traditional way) are not very old, so the image that can suggest itself out

[24] A most interesting issue pertaining to this hypothetical culture of Vedic manuscripts is the problem of circulation. Some of the questions involved might include among else: in what sense a written copy of a Vedic text in a medieval regional context of Indian Peninsula can be imagined as an act of "publication"? For a general idea of contemporary methodological problems of approaching similar phenomena, see for instance DARNTON 2005, CHARTIER 2003&2004. An excellent introduction to the problems of understanding medieval manuscript cultures is DAGENAIS 1994. For the reasons indicated above, Vedic manuscript culture needs a specific approach and specific questions in relations to the parallel oral cultures of transmission and use.

of several selected instances may hold some validity for a pre-modern era of circa 1650-1850 A.D. This cursory review shall, naturally, be limited to selected examples showing strong cases that may suggest some tendencies. A more systematic survey is needed to actually draw more valid conclusions.

While most (though not all) of the patrons and actual copyists of Vedic manuscripts remain rather humbly anonymous, the instance of a MS listed as No 33 in the Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Library (DCTanjore I: 33) containing Ṛksaṃhitā I.1.1-8.26 and dated to A.D. 1787 offers rather lavish details concerning the time of preparing the manuscript as well as the persons and responsibilities involved. After details concerning the astrological moment selected for completing of the copy the (sub-)colophon to the MS provides an elaborate name of the patron and owner of the book as well as the name of the copyist being in this case a son of the former.[25] While elaborate statements referring to the astrological time of completing a manuscript are far from rare, it is by no means usual that a detailed description of a probably carefully selected and auspicious astrological moment is supplied to locate in time an act indicated by the past participle *svaritam*.[26] This should probably be understood as the act of supplying the already prepared copy with *svaras*.[27] I am tempted to consider it as a cultural gesture of infusing the potential text (i.e. the copy without *svaras*) with life – such contention might probably account for indicating it by the scribe (or his patron) as an act at least as important as that of preparing a copy of the main body of the text proper. I think even that an amplified interpretation of this case could also be possible through extension: *svarita* as the effect of the act of making the written copy resound with Vedic *svaras*. It is rather evident that in order to mark the already written *akṣaras* with

[25] *plavaṅgasaṃvatsare māghamāse śuklapakṣe caturdaśyāṃsaumyavāsare prathamāṣṭake aṣṭamo 'dhyāyaḥ / ṛgvedasaṃhitāyāṃ aṣṭamo 'dhyāyaḥ // paurāṇik opanāmarākṣasabhuvanakara-vāsudevadīkṣitātmaja jīvarāmadīkṣitatanayagovindab haṭṭasūnukamalākarabhaṭṭasutena likhitam idaṃ pustakaṃ kamalaākarabhaṭṭasya / plavaṅgasaṃvatsare māghamāse kṛṣṇapakṣe pratipattithau bhṛguvāsare kamalākarabhaṭṭasya putreṇa svaritaṃ //* [DCTanjore, p. 22]. The owner of the MS indicated in colophon is Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa to whose credit a whole range of manuscripts had been prepared as evidenced by extant MSS in the collections of Saraswatī Mahāl Library.

[26] The presiding deity of the *tithi* called *pratipad* - the first lunar day of the waning moon - is said to be either Agni or Brahma and is considered good for all types of auspicious and religious ceremonies.

[27] I thank Saraju Rath for suggestions in that matter.

proper *svaras* the person who was supposed to execute it had to recite the text prior to the marking or had to have it recited by somebody else in his presence. The same seems also to amount to the fact that the copy was either done from another copy that was unaccented, or it was a dictated copy, or that perhaps it might be considered appropriate or necessary to supply/check *svaras* anew with a new copy in order to control the correctness of the text, i.e. its compliance with the family's oral memory. The detailed information concerning the auspicious time of marking the *svaras* allows for a probably telling remark: the moment of supplying the *svaras* is different from the date given in the same colophon as that of completing of the copy. It seems to indicate and independent and crucial role ascribed to the act supplying correct *svaras* to the copied Vedic text. A simple calculation allows for approximation that the act of marking the *svaras* took place two days after finishing the copy of the basic text. This not so usual formulation used here seems appropriate for a situation of copying a saṃhitā Vedic text (with *prayoga* texts it could be different) which to sound properly has to be performed with all accents and articulation needed. Otherwise the two distinct sets of detailed time qualifications supplied by the scribe of the MS would not make much sense. The person indicated as the one who were to supply the *svaras* here ("make the manuscript sound") happens to be the same one who prepared the copy two days earlier. But another Vedic MS of the same group said to be owned by the same patron no doubt differentiates between the person of the scribe and that of the *svara-kāra* (DCTanjore I, 66, dated to 1770 and containing RS II.1.1-8.27), as well as MS 101 (DCTanjore I, 101) containing RS III.1.1-8.26, copied by Moravyāsa, son of Nirajivyāsa but accented by the son of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (perhaps the same as the scribe and the *svara-kāra* of the MS referred to above). There is also a visible graphic mark of difference: accents are marked in red ink. Second half of 18th c.). Still another MS giving a separate name for a *svara-kāra* is Tanjore I, 419 containing Ṛgveda-padapāṭha III.[28]

Coming back to the MS No 33, one cannot fail to note formulas to be met with also in manuscripts of other textual areas, not necessarily the Vedic scope, and testifying to the common context of manuscript culture but acquiring a slightly different shade of meaning in Vedic textual context: the same colophon features a set of four common stock

[28] Other instances of colophons registering the acts of supplying the MS with *svaras*: DCTanjore I, 454, DCTanjore I, 455, DCTanjore I, 463, DCTanjore I, 463, DCTanjore I, 626.

ślokas used in a function close to a propitiatory formula neutralising undesired effects of possible errors that might have crept in during the copying.[29] They no doubt establish an important connecting link between the oral and the written. The two needed each other in a complementary way: the wise ones (*budhāḥ*) who already are familiar with [the memory image of] the text will forgive any of the listed scribal errors when they spot them (st. 1):

> *bindudurlipivisargavīthikāśṛṅgapaṅktipadabhedadūṣaṇam /*
> *hastavegajamabuddhipūrvakaṃ kṣantum arhatha samīkṣya vai budhāḥ* // 1 //
>
> and the noble ones (ārya) will know how to correct (*pariśudh*) the text if they find it corrupted, i.e. not complying to the image they must keep in their memory (st.3):
>
> *hastasya doṣān mativibhramād vā nyūnātiriktaṃ likhitaṃ mayātra /*
> *tatsarvam āryaiḥ pariśodhanīyaṃ prāyeṇa muhyanti hi ye likhanti* // 3 //
> "Whatever errors of shortage or surplus I happened to make due to failures of hand or unstable mind all that shall be rectified by the noble ones. So let the scribes be forgiven."

This motif, to be seen in many other colophons, remains highly suggestive of the type of relationship between the oral and the written.[30] At the same time the scribe does not fail to secure his work with an imprecation against those who would mistreat the book produced with so much labour (st. 2). Just as the above mentioned stanzas, also this one seems to have functioned as stock, formulaic expression considered proper for the act closing or sealing the production of a MS copy:

> *pustakaṃ likhitaṃ yatnair anekair yan mayā hare /*
> *hartum icchati yaḥ pāpī tasya vaṃśakṣayo bhavet* //2 //

The verse reminds one of formulas closing royal *praśasti* inscriptions, especially land grants as well as contemporary legal statements warning trespassers with not necessarily fines or imprisonment but with dire consequences in the afterlife.

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[29] It was F. Max MÜLLER who noted already a group of MSS with colophons including similar formulations and remarked rather straightforwardly that "...the writers of MSS... complain frequently of the hardships and difficulties of their work". (MÜLLER 1983 I: xii, fn 5).

[30] A simple question imposes itself inevitably: why should the wise ever need to read the MS if they already know its contents? Is there a proof-reading what is meant here, or perhaps a situation of a written copy needed as an *aide-memoire* only?

The sub-colophon to MS No 33 concludes with a homage to a specific deity and by the very act may suggest not only a religious affiliation of the copyist or the patron (Śrīvidyā ?) but also a religious function of the act of preparing a copy of the Veda. Here the deity to be honoured with the *hastalikhita* Veda is the famous Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur and her divine consort: *śrī kolhāpuramahālakṣmyai namaḥ* // *sāmbasadāśivāya namaḥ* //.

A group of MSS from Tanjore Saravatī Mahāl library feature devotional ślokas matching pictorial decorations of mostly *pauraṇika* type folk Hindu legends suggesting a valuable work of art or a devotional gift rather than a copy for practical reasons (DCTanjore I: 34-41 and others). The pictorial representations bear no apparent relation to the Vedic text they adorn. A composite nature of such an artefact must have required a team of artisans to work for a final effect and a patron and perhaps a middle man arranging for separate elements to be done. Also the non-Vedic ślokas attached could be added by someone else than a copyist writing down the text proper (in this respect very short – one adhyāya only, but meant as a series with MSS containing succeeding *adhyāyas*: after the colophon a few words from the next *adhyāya* are added by the copyist).

An interesting instance of a formula hinting at the context and purpose of copying can be seen in the colophon of MS No 101 (DCTanjore, p. 80):

> *idaṃ pustakaṃ nīrājivyāsaputramoravyāsena likhitaṃ svārthaṃ parārthaṃ ca* /
> *rākṣasabhuvanakaropanāmakamalākarabhaṭṭasya sutena svaritaṃ* //

The patron of this MS, happens to be the same as that mentioned already above. So familiarly sounds the mention of the *svara*-marking / voicing (*svaritam*) of the text of the copy by his own son. The two accusatives of the first half of the stanza seem to suggest a purpose of copying to be a complex one made of some unspecified personal benefit (*svārtham*) to fulfil as well as a benefit of others (? *parārtham*).

It should be noted that a certain, probably quite substantial, number of copies of major Vedic texts survived thanks to copies of *bhāṣyas* and other commentaries in those cases when a MS copied contained the commented text which thus happened to have been copied along. Copying and donating *bhāṣyas* no doubt fall under the much appraised *vidyādāna* with no traditional reluctance towards writing down the Veda itself.

A colophon attached to a MS of a *bhāṣya* on TS (DCTanjore p. 158) seems to indicate that it may have been an immediate religious custom to copy a Vedic *bhāṣya*, otherwise perceived perhaps as *vedavidyā* – knowledge of the Veda – and thus appreciated as proliferation of *śāstras*, manuscript copies of them being most often praised as objects of *vidyādāna*. Here no hint of a gift is supplied. One cannot imagine, however copying of a valuable work of traditional knowledge for no purpose at all.

> *samāptaśca dvitīyaḥ prapāthakaḥ // rāmācāryasya pu(pau) treṇa śrīnivāsākhyasūnunā / vidyāranyasya bhāṣyasya likhitaṃ kṛṣṇatuṣṭaye // samapto 'ayam kāṇḍaḥ //*

Yet, we can not be sure whether, and to what extent, if at all, the formula containing words "[this section of] the bhāṣya [credited to the sage] Vidyāranya has been written to the satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa" expresses a direct declaration of a religiously meritorious act of producing a written copy a Vedic bhāṣya or any text deemed to be worth of respect on religious grounds.

A cursory survey of colophons in search for such and the like formulations brings, however, a more differentiated result that for the reason of clarity might be subsumed under the following tentative headers:

1. General well-being of the world around (probably imagined as stimulated by the beneficial effect of the Vedic recitation performed with the help of the written copy):

   sūpāṭhena paropakārārthe likhitam = "...copied for the benefit of others through proper recitation" (DCPoona I: 383, Atharvaveda-jaṭāpāṭha, Śake 1593)
   śubham astu sarvajagatām – "Let all be prosperous" (Ṛgvedasaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 640)
   Śrī anahīlapurapattane...śrī anantasuta vrajabhūśaṇena... likhāpitam idam paropakārāya – copied for the benefit of others upon order by Vrajabhuśaṇa, son of Śrī Ananta in the city of Anahilapura" (Atharvavedasaṃhitā, DCPoona I: 365, dated: Samvat 1753)

   śrī / śubham astu / kalyāṇam astu (MS 379, AVS, Poona I: 278); *śubham astu / iti maṅgalam bhavati* (AVS, Poona I: 278); *śivaprasanno 'stu lekhakapāṭhakayoḥ pārvatīyutaḥ / śubhaṃ /* (MS 381, AVS, Poona I: 382)

„let the benevolence of Śiva united with Pārvatī be both with copists and reciters/readers"
iti navamaṃ khāṇḍaṃ samāptam... lekhakapāṭhakayoḥ śubham // kalyāṇam astu // śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ // (Atharvavedapadapāṭha, DCPoona I: 383, Saṃvat 1669).

Next example shows similar closing formulas of benediction supplemented with the wish for "freedom from diseases" (*ārogyam*):

śrīr / kalyāṇam astu / ārogyam śubham bhavatu / lekhakapāthakayoḥ śubham bhavatu / (Atharvavedabrāhmaṇa, DCTanjore II: 825)

This and similar formulaions suggest the copy was prepared in order to be actually recited with/from (not only to please a deity) and symbolically express the interdependence of the wrtten and the oral in the case of the Veda which requires a trained reciter irrespective whether he has or hasn't a written copy at his disposal.

2. Fulfillment of religious aim / gaining religious merit:

2.1. pleasing a deity with the act of completing a copy of a Vedic text:

idaṃ pustakaṃ bhānūpanāmakagaṃgādharaśarmaṇo yajamānasya sāhāyyena peṇḍase ityupanāmnā śrivardhanagrāmasyasavato mukha[so]mayājinā 'nantaśarmaṇā kāśyāṃ saṃpāditaṃ / tena śrīvedapuruṣarūpī parameśvaraḥ prīyatām (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 607) – "this book was produced in Kāśi with the patronizing help of yajamāna Bhānu Gaṅgādhara Śarman... by Sarvatomukha Somayājī Anantaśarma Peṇḍase.[31] Let the Supreme Lord in the form of Śrī Vedapuruṣa be please with it."

bhānūpanāmakagaṃgādharaśarmaṇo yajamānasya sāhāyyenedaṃ pustakaṃ penḍase ityupanamnā 'nantadīkṣitaṃta(tena) sarvatomukhayājinā saṃpāditaṃ tena śrīvedarūpayajñanārāyaṇaḥ prīyatām... (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 609) [This MS, as the one above, belongs to a group of MSS with similar – but not identical – colophons. Here the deity seems to be linked to the sphere of activity of the yājamana who apparently patronized preparation of the copy.]
"With the patronizing help of Bhānu... this book was produced

[31] One of the prominent lineages of Maharashtra brāhmaṇas of the Deśastha group.

in Kāśi by Anantadīkṣita Sarvatomukhayājin Peṇḍase. Let Lord Yājñanārāyaṇa in the shape of the Veda be pleased with it."

... *tena śrī vedapurāṇapuruṣaḥ prīyatām* (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 617)
"...Let Lord Vedapurāṇapuruṣa be pleased with it."

[A MS from the same group as the two above and with a similar colophon. The reason why here Vedapurāṇapuruṣa is indicated as deity to be pleased instead of deities mentioned in the two other MSS is not clear – perhaps it had something to do with a different patron?]

śrīparadevatāprītyai (Tanjore I, 437 Ṛgveda-padapāṭha)

2.2. satisfying a deity / paying honour to a deity / securing benevolence of a deity.

Some MSS feature names of deities specific to regions, places or households

iti dvitīyāṣṭake aṣṭamo 'dhyāyaḥ / asmatkuladaivatāmbārpaṇam astu // idaṃ pustakaṃ nīrānivyāsaputramoravyāsena likhitam / (Ṛgvedasaṃhitā, DCTanjore I: 66, A.D. 1770)

kṛṣṇatuṣṭaye (MS from Madras GOML I p. 158 [above])

śridattatreyārpaṇam astu [Tanjore I, p. 418]: "Let it be an offering to Dattatreya"
vedapuruṣāyārpaṇam: "Let it be an offering to Vedapuruṣa"
nṛsiṅhāya namaḥ / vakratuṇḍāya namaḥ / (Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, DCPoona I: 61)
śrīkedareśvara prasanno 'stu (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, Tanjore I: 610)
dattatreyārpaṇam astu (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, Tanjore I: 635)
śrīkedareśvaraḥ samarthaḥ (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 636): "[Let] Lord Kedara prosper!"

śrīśivacaraṇāravindabhramara sadā tava śubham astu (Ṛksaṃhitabhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 642)

2.3 indicating a presence of a deity in the process of copying (?)

The evidence of a number of Vedic MSS seems to shed light on the practice of securing divine assistance in the difficult task of faithful reproducing of a Vedic text in a written MS. This appears to be the message in the colophon of Tanjore I, 165, although it may as well refer to the spatial circumstances of copying either in the house of a brāhmaṇa named after a deity or a deity itself:

> *śaṅkaranārāyaṇasannidhau śaṅkaramahādevagṛhe … kamalākarabhaṭṭasūnurāmeṇa likhiteyaṃ* … (Ṛksaṃhitā V.1.1-8.36, DCTanjore: 165)
> "This was written by Rāma, son of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in the presence of Śaṇkarnārāyaṇa in the temple of Śaṇkaramahādeva"

A similar message, here indicating vicinity of a temple of Lord Narasiṃha, is given in the colophon to Tanjore I, 415:

> *dharmapurinarasiṃhakṣetrasannidhau ātmārtham … likhitam* (Ṛgveda-padapātha, DCTanjore I: 415, dated A.D. 1663)
>
> "written in the vicinity of the temple of Dharmapurinarasiṃha for one's own purpose..."
>
> *kedareśvarasannidhau …mayā likhitam* (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 647) – "copied with permission (*anumatena*) of a svamin in the viciity/presence of Lord Kedara."

2.4 a separate group of Vedic MSS happens to be associated with actual contemporaneous religious circumstances through extra-textual graphics, for instance representations of Śiva occasionally supplemented with *dhyānaślokas* of non-Vedic origin supply the link between the Vedic text and Hindu/[here] Śaiva reality: see, for instance a group of RS MSS with pictorial representations of Śiva registered in DCTanjore I: 166-175.

3. MSS produced on a patronizing initiative of a king:

3.1. some copyists (or their clients do) apparently deemed it important to indicate a royal location of the act of copying of their Vedic MS.

See for instance DCTanjore I: 311 referring to the "palace" and "court of justice" (*dharmasābha*) as the location where the preparation of the copy took place. Thus the MS produced had a double sanction of the king's vicinity and the vicinity of Lord Kṛṣṇa: *rājagṛhe dharmasābhāyāṃ veṇugopalasaṃnidhau likhitam idam pustakam.* "This book was written in the Court of Justice, in the presence of [deity named] Venugopala..." The MS was copied in the city of Taṅjapaṭṭana (Tanjavur?) and contains the whole of aṣṭaka 8. It is dated to A.D. 1819.

> *rājarājasya candicandāvarendrasya dharmarājasya ayyārūpasvaminaḥ anumatenedaṃ pustakaṃ jayarāmabhaṭṭena*

likhitaṃ kāśyāṃ kedā(re)śvaraghaṭṭe... śrīkedareśvara prasanno 'stu [MS 610 in DCTanjore I, dated A.D.1829]
"This book was written upon consent of Rājarāja Candicandavāendra Dharmarāja Ayyarūpasvamin by Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa in Kāśi, on the Kedareśvara Ghat. May Lord of Kedāra be of benevolent mind."

The following example of a colophon from th same group of MSS amounts to an instance of a veritable *praśasti* to the patron king:

śrīrājarājendracandicandāvarendrabiḍaujaojasatkarmadharmapāla kaduṣṭabidāraka śatrubhayakāraka / śrīśivacaraṇāravindabhramara sadā tava śubham astu (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 642)

śrīrājarājendrasya candi candāvarendrasya mahārājasya vedabhāṣyasyedaṃ pustakaṃ kāśyāṃ kedareśvarasannidhau ayyārapp(rūpa)svāminaḥ anumatena mayā jayarāma-bhaṭṭena likhitaṃ (Ṛksaṃhitābhāṣya, DCTanjore I: 647):
"This book of the vedabhāṣya of Śrī Rājendra Candicandavarendra has been copied in Kāśi in the presence of Lord Kedāra, with permission of Ayyārūpasvāmin, by me, Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa."

4. MSS copied with a view to gain a specific effect (understanding, powers..., aid in studying/teaching)

4.1 Copied in order to acquire powers (siddhi)
siddhyartham likhitaṃ (Atharvavedasaṃhitā, DCPoona I: 375)

4.2 Copied for personal benefit and the benefit of others
idaṃ pustakaṃ... bhaṭṭena likhitaṃ / svārthaṃ parārthaṃ ca / Aitareyāraṇyaka, DCPoona I: 71]

... liṣitaṃ [likhitam ?] duvedodarājena ātmakāryyārthaṃ // (Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, DCPoona I: 64)

5. Copied with the purpose of recitation/reading / future studies / recitation:

5.1. copied for the perpose of one's own studies (*svapaṭhana*):
śrī mūlajī tatsutaprabhūjīyena likhitaṃ idaṃ pustakaṃ ātmapaṭhanārthaṃ svayaṃhastena likhitaṃ... (Gāyatrībhāṣya, DCPoona I: 436)
"Copied with his own hand by Prabhūjī, son of Mūlajī, for the purpose of his own studies"

ātmapaṭhanārtham (Sāmavedasaṃhitāpadapāṭha, DCPoona I: 112),

5.2. copied for the purpose of studying/reciting of others, most often one's sons/family members:

putrapautrādīnām paṭhanārtham likhitam (Sāmavedasaṃhitā, DCPoona I: 103, dated Samvat 1582),
"copied for the sake of study/recitation of son and grandsons..."

ṣaṭbhrātṛpaṭhanārtham likhitam (Āraṇīpadapāṭha, DCPoona I: 121)
"copied for the purpose of study of the the six brothers..."

Similar concern with brothers' education is voiced in another MS which gives specific name [of the recipients of the copied MS?]. The colophon reads that the MS had been prepared in Vairāṭanagara in Samvat 1706 order to be recited from by the brother of the scribe [?] to be well known [by this act of preparing a copy] in his residential town of Maphalipurain...]:

vairāṭanagaramadhye maphalīpuravāstavyaṃ[a] *ābhyantara-nāgarajñātīya śrī harajīsuta-kumarajīkenyabhrātṛkeśavajīpaṭhanār tham stobhasya pustikā*[*ṃ*] *lilikhe* (Stobhāḥ, DCPoona I: 143).[32]

jośī sukharāmeṇa likhitaṃ … someśvarasutanāṃnā paṭhanārthaṃ (Uhyagāṇa, DCPoona I: 236)
"copied by Sukharāma Joshī for the sake of recitation/study of the son of Someśvara."

Similar formula of indication of persons can be found in other MSS:

keśavajīsutaratanajī likhitam … gīradharajī prabhujī paṭhanārtham (Poona I, 115, stobhāḥ, Samvat 1772), a colophon to DCPoona: 150 gives a combined purpose and reads: *nānīyasutarāmakṛṣṇenāyaṃ likhitaṃ putraśivarāja tathā śivarāma paṭhanārtham tathā paropakārāya puṇyārthaṃ likhitaṃ* (Poona I: 150)
"This has been copied by Rāmakṛṣṇa, a son of Nānīya, for the sake of recitation/study of Putraśivarāja and Śivarāma as well as for the merit-gaining of others."

Similar wording can be seen in colophons to DCPoona I: 168 (Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇam), and DCPoona: 173 (Devatādhyāyasaṃhitopaniṣ atsahita). A true mine for indications concerning motifs for copying proves to be MS 129 in DCPoona I, containing Āraṇyakagāṇabhāṣya. The MS seems to feature more than one colophon, probably by different copyists: it is not only the studies/recitation but also understanding / making sense (svāvabodha) and enlightening that is mentioned

[32] The reading of this [and a number of other] colophon remains, however, doubtful.

explicitely as purpose (*artham*) of the act of copying (*likhitam*): *likhitam svāvabodhāya narendrāśramayoginā … ātmabuddhiprakāśahetoḥ śiṣyāṇām laghubrātṛnām … svena … āraṇyakabhāyam likhitam* (Araṇyakagānabhāṣya, DCPoona I: 129, Saṃvat 1709).[33]

A case apart is Poona I, 291, a MS of Śatapathabrāhmaṇa featuring a colophon that appears to refer to something like a situation of training in copying or copying as fun [?] (*uddhava*): *vārānasyāṃ lekhaka upadhyāya uddhavena likhito yaṃ granthaḥ* // *lilādharabhaṭṭena likhapito yaṃ granthaḥ* /

6. Gift-giving / donating of a MS

A certain number of Vedic MSS register hints at the act of manuscript gift-giving or otherwise transferring the right of proprietorship:

6.1. A gift to an *ācārya*:

idaṃ pañcamāṣṭakaṃ … vāsudevena likhitaṃ māce gaṇanṛsiṃhācāryāya (Ṛgvedasaṃhitā, DCTanjore I: 162)

6.2. Gift to an unspecified person (a brāhmaṇa ?):[34]

An instance of a colophon registering a donation of the manuscript is Tanjore I, 427 stating simply that the MS copied on such and such day had been given by bāhekaraśeṣabhaṭṭa to Kamalākara otherwise known in the Tanjore collection to have patronized a good number of Vedic MSS towards the end of 18th and beginning of 19th cent. This MS contains Ṛgveda-padapāṭha IV.8.

An interesting instance is Poona I, 411 (Gopathabrāhmaṇa, Śaka 1751) which registers a gift of a Gopathabrāhmaṇa MS – an atharva text - to a paṇḍita knowledgeable in Atharvanic lore by a person who copied it with purpose stated as svārtham and paropakārārtham – suggesting that gift giving of a Vedic manuscript could be counted as meritorious

[33] It appears that all the MSS with colophons indicating purpose as studying are actually accented, which seems pretty natural. On the other hand MSS of secondary Vedic texts, containing non-śruti works appear to feature similar fomulas: e.g. Poona I, 273 (Śuklayajuḥprātiśākhya, Saṁvat 1607: …*gaṅgogadādhara-paṭhanāya paropakārāya ca prātiśākhyam alekhīt*)

[34] An ideology of gift-giving, most interesting and important in itself, cannot for the sake of space be referred to here though it forms a core of the KK Dānakāṇḍa and many earlier normative texts of dharma which usually carefully distinguish not only among objects to be donated as gifts and suitable circumstances and aims but also among persons of givers and recipients, the latter ones headed by brāhmaṇas (See AIYENGAR 1941).

to oneself as well as to others in general: *vināyakena likhitam svārtham paropakārārtham … idam pustakam atharvavidbāpūbhaṭṭasya dattam*.

6.3. MSS accepted as gifts:

A probably separate case should be indicated with formula reading *gṛhītam idam pustakam* (hospitably received by…), Tanjore I, 455.

6.4. Other types of gift:

An extraordinary case is probably presented by Tanjore I, 426 also suggesting a gift but of another tenor:

> *doro jagannāthabhaṭṭasyedaṃ pustakam / idaṃ pustakaṃ prītisnehābhyāṃ jambunāthāya tena dattam* (Ṛgvedapadapāṭha, DCTanjore I: 426):[35]
>
> "this books belongs to Doro Jagannatha. This book has been given by him to Jambunatha in expression of friendship and affection."

The MS catalogued as DCPoona I: 130 features a colophon which does not explicitly mention the act of giving but features two stanzas in praise of knowledge (*vidyā*, an object of *dāna*[?]), quoted from Nīriśātaka of Bhartṛhāri and following a common stock verse about a book [of knowledge?] speaking to his owner [receiver?] in order to be guarded against misuse in the hands of others:

> *adyeha śrīsūryapuravāstavya ābhyantaranāgarajñatīya // travāḍī śavajīsut travāḍīgabala svayaṃ likhitam idaṃ pustakaṃ // śubhaṃ bhavatu // śrīr astu //*
>
> *tailādrakṣe[j] jalādrakṣe[d] rakṣe[t] śrathalabandhanāt /*
> *parahastagatā[d] rakṣet evaṃ vadati pustikā //...*
>
> *vidyā nāma narasya rūpamādhikaṃ pracchannaguptaṃ dhanaṃ //*
> *vidyā bhogakarī yaśaḥsukhakarī vidyā guruṇāṃ guruḥ //1//*
> *vidyā bandhujano videśagamane vidyā paraṃ[ā] daivataṃ[ā] //*
> *vidyā rājasu pūjyate nahi dhanaṃ vidyāvihīnaḥ paśuḥ //2//*
> (Ūhagāṇa, DCPoona I:130, Samvat 1718)
>
> "On this day this [handwritten] book has been copied with his own hand by Travāḍīgabala, resident of Sūryapura, well known in the

[35] The editor of the DCTanjore I supplies the following remark: "The Ms. belongs to one Doro Jagannātha who is said to have presented the same to his friend Jambunātha (DCTanjore I, p. 259)". We may only surmise whether it is the same physical object that was gifted to Jambunātha by his friend or another copy of the same, i.e. Ṛgveda-padapāṭha IV.1.1-8.32 (J.L.Collection No 103).

town as the son of Travāḍī Śavajī. Let there be Prosperity!"[36]
"Protect me against oil [spill], protect against water, against oppression of cover protect me,
Protect me against falling into alien hands – thus speaks the book."
"Knowledge indeed is the highest shape of man, his hidden secret wealth;
Knowledge – she grants wealth and fame and happiness, Knowledge is the Guru of the Gurus;
Knowledge is a friend in a trip to foreign land, Knowledge indeed is Goddess Supreme
Knowledge is honoured among the kings, not wealth, man with no knowledge is a beast."

7. Special cases of patronizing MS production:

A case apart to be indicated in the context of the purpose of copying and proliferating the Veda is by no means the early Vijayanagara rulers' project of *vedārthaprakāśa*. As I argued elsewhere, in order to fulfil its aim as a means of solidifying the image of empire it needed the *bhāṣyas* to be circulated along with the text of the Veda targeting probably the centers of Vedic learning. This is suggested by the distribution of colophons marking the *bhāṣyas*, especially that to the RS, as a result of patronizing endeavour on the part of either Bukka I (later *bhaṣyas* also Harihara II) and the religious authority of Vidyātīrthamaheśvara represented through Sāyaṇa's brother Mādhava. A key to this ideology is provided not only by colophons but also by the introducing formulas to the *bhāṣyas* (*maṅgalacaraṇas* and *śāstrāvataraṇa*) shared by most of the extant MSS.[37]

A sort of conundrum with no single satisfying answer is the existence of both accented and unaccented copies of Vedic MSS in extant collections.[38] If we judge the question of a possible use of unaccented

[36] Travāḍī (Tivari?), or Trivedī, becomes a well known name of a wealthy Gujarati family of brahmin city bankers active in Surat in the beginning of 18th century, also in Maharashtra (HAYNES 1987, TORRI 1991)

[37] On circumstances of producing and circulating Vedic *bhāṣyas* in 14th century and framing devices in Sāyaṇa's Ṛgvedabhāṣya, see my GALEWICZ 2010.

[38] A possibility that unaccented copies were aimed not for daily recitation of svādhyāya but for *śrauta* ritual use where in most of the cases the type of recitation recommended is that of *ekaśruti*, or mono-tone, could be accepted only in those cases where we have a copy of a text in a redaction matching the procedure of a particular *śrauta* – or *gṛhya* – ritual and cannot be accepted for unaccented copies of *saṃhitās*, especially that of RS, that actually do occur.

copies of Vedic texts against the textual practices of a contemporary brahmin community, an image we will get may be different in case of different community of users since actual practices of handling MS copies may differ to considerable extant. If we take an example of a relatively well documented Kerala Namputiri Ṛgvedins with their textual practices we may observe that in the process of education the basic *adhyayana-svādhyāya* or memorization is still nowadays generally done with pupils in principle denied any access to written sources during the memorization process. This pertains to all levels of education: the basic *saṃhita-pāṭha*, *pada* and *krama-pāṭha*, as well as the two *vikṛtis* practiced by them – the *jaṭā* and *ratha* – all of them require an accented text and are to be executed not only *traisvarya*, but with a modulation neither known nor practiced by other brāhmaṇas in other parts of the Peninsula. No doubt even accented copies in their case would not be of much help. Their educational and memorization techniques seem indeed - as F. STAAL[39] once noted - to have been developed not in spite of the absence of writing but because of this absence. Some traits of their recitational style seem not to exemplify at all prescriptions and recommendations known from Pāṇīnīya Śikṣa and could be contrasted with recitation practices of members of other brahmin communities.[40] On the other hand one should take good notice of the full scale of the regionally developed textual practices in service of the re-memorization. Taking again the instance of the Namputiri Ṛgvedins, a variety of such practices can be indicated. All of them used to fulfill important social functions but at the same time worked as efficient procedures of guarding the collective memory of the Veda.[41] One of them has been a ritual cycle called Trisandha during

[39] STAAL 2008: 279.

[40] I am reminded here of an observation in a recently published book by David SHULMAN (*Spring, Heat, Rains. A South Indian Diary*, Univ. of Chicago Press 2007). The author notes a custom among a group of Andhra Ṛgvedins who put a little receptacle with lime juice on the head of the Vedic reciter supposed not to spill a drop while sounding the Veda and thus testifying to the absence of "shaking of the head" (*śiraskalpiti*) – one of the six vices of Vedic recitation.

[41] The uniqueness of the culture of oral transmission of the Veda lies perhaps in its specific technology of cloning the memory, not only individual but also group memory, and I believe it is the latter one that was crucial to the ongoing process. Where the existence of scholarly communities in the sense of self-contained and self-reproducing eco-systems of transmission (endowed with social institutions for proofreading and antivirus cleaning procedures) began to fade away some of their exponents left alone might have given way to writing as an alternative, substitute,

which the whole of the Rksaṃhitā is recited *in extenso* according to different modes of recitation and a specific algorithm or pattern which is not supplied with any known written copy of the Ṛksaṃhitā. Some other social institutions of that kind are those known by the names of Anyonyam and Murajapam to which I referred elsewhere.[42] Other communities of brāhmaṇas throughout the peninsula developed other varieties of "reading protocols", especially those referred to by a general term of *pārāyaṇa* or "going over the entire text", usually in a process of concatenated sessions given more or less ritualized character. At the same time we should note that while in principle no written copies are used in the education process in the still functioning school of Vedic recitation in the Keralan city of Trichur, the teachers do keep copies of Rksaṃhitā in Malayalam script at hand in case their memory fails them (however reluctantly admit that). An altogether different example that might be indicated here as shedding some light on the interrelationship between the written and the oral is supplied by the example of the community of Daśagranthis of Maharashtra (here the community in the sense of community of practice): the widely used compendium named Ṛgvedadaśagrantha, though treated with utmost reverence, appears not to be followed in practice – in a series of reviews with Daśagranthis most of them admitted not only not to follow the sequence of texts making the compendium in their daily or occasional *pārāyaṇa* practices, but also of not being aware of certain texts actually present in the compendium (here the quasi tantric chapter of YAT inserted after Ṛgvidhāna).[43] Thus a picture suggests itself that written copies must have been rather rarely, if ever, used as a direct source for reading practice. Their use must have remained limited to something like a sort of aide-memoire, and their users, if there were any, only those who already memorized at least some part of the text.

At the same time one needs to admit that, all other reasons aside, there is a strong logic to the historical reluctance towards writing as means of preservation of the integrity of the Vedic textual tradition: in fact there has never been (and this still holds true) a system of notation in use that could register all sound and rhythm phenomena needed to reproduce a Vedic passage in its full *traisvarya* (in practice there usually more than just three *svaras* performed in Ṛgvedic recitation, not to say

albeit imperfect, to the method that once seemed the single possible and logically sound as well as misleadingly eternal.

[42] See GALEWICZ 2010b.

[43] See GALEWICZ 2011, forthcoming.

about Sāmavedic chant) shape. Whatever systems of graphically noting the Vedic accents used all of them remained only a rough approximation and in actual practice needed a guide to show the way. This is visible in contemporary practice of Vedic recitation that differs a lot regionally even if the same written source for education / performance might happen to be used by brāhmaṇas from separate regional communities.

As rightfully noted by Siniruddha DASH (DASH 2007: 94), "... the recognition in the Dharmaśāstra-s and the Purāṇa-s of the gifting away of manuscripts as an act of great merit had, down the ages, a very beneficial effect in the production of manuscripts... it is not as if every manuscript was copied for presentation or was attended with all the paraphernalia of the ritual." A most beneficial and important cultural institution that helped propagating high image of scholarship it must have been accompanied by silent copying for private use, preparing copies as religious acts conceptualized differently than *vidyādāna*, not to mention producing copies for sale (from the very admonitions against doing it in early sources – for instance Mahābhārata – it can be inferred that copies of Vedic texts were also offered for sale here and there and some of them like the illustrated MSS of Ṛgveda in Sarasvatī Mahāl must have constituted priced objects of desire on the part of the rulers and, perhaps also of the wealthy).

Manuscript culture of medieval and premodern India, however, probably does not represent the type of richness exemplified by the manuscript culture and art of calligraphy known by the Islamic world.[44] It seems to exhibit another, by far different sort of ideology behind writing, copying, preserving, managing and circulating manuscripts as objects of value, though there is evidence that in some areas MSS acquired the function of valuables used in financial transaction such as, for instance, paying back debts or deposits against loans.[45] Some colophons to Vedic MSS suggest also a kind of personalized relations of possession towards manuscripts as material objects as well as importance of the act of preparing a written copy with one's own hand[46].

The wide evidence of extant Vedic MSS with no accents noted on

[44] A remarkable introduction to the world of Islamic manuscript cultures is Houari TOUATI, *L'armoire à sagesse. Bibliothèques et collections en Islam*, Paris: Aubier 2003.

[45] See most interesting remarks to that matter in DASH 2007: 228-229.

[46] See, for instance, a colophon to a MS of Ṛgvedabrāhmaṇa (DCTanjore II: 825): *muddibhaṭṭanasutagurunāthena svahastalikhitam / bhagnapṛṣṭhakaṭigrīvastabdhadṛṣṭir adhomukhaḥ / kaṣṭena likhitagranthaṃ yatnena pratipālayet // bhāskararāyadīkṣitīyam //*

them suggests that at least some part of the MSS must have been copied for a different aim than reading, either as a pious act leading to a gesture of *vidyādāna* or as an aide-memoire for Vedic teachers to be kept ready at hand in case their memory fails them. If it actually was some sort of *vidyādāna* our understanding of this gesture should however be cautious enough to take into account the main points of the classical *dānadharma* with its fear for reciprocity and its demand on the status of the donnee etc…[47] Thus, to offer only one reference perplexing enough for our context, Manu VII.85-86 lists a hierarchy of gifts corresponding to the status of the recipient: an [ordinary] brāhmaṇa and a and another qualified as "knower of the Veda" (*vedavid*) are sharply differentiated and a gift to the former is reckoned to have a sixteenfold *puṇya* while for the latter a hundredfold *puṇya* o religious merit. Of what use, we may ask, could a written copy of a Vedic text be as such for a *vedavid* considered to be himself a receptacle of Vedic scripture?

The oral and the written seem to have engaged in many an intricate and indeed fascinating ways throughout the Indian intellectual history while differing widely regionally. The practices of first public reading of written manuscripts of *kāvya* works of which we hear is but one example of it.[48] The case of the Veda is a different one for obvious reasons and nothing like public reading could in regular circumstances be imagined to have happened. However historical references to *vedaghoṣṭhi*, or something like competitive artful performances of the Vedic recitation, as well as contemporary remnants of ritualized competitions in Vedic recitations call for an articulation of a Vedic example of public performance. Such instances make the interrelation between the oral and the written in the context of local Vedic traditions even more interesting to explore as marked by additional traits differentiating it from the otherwise common contexts of *śāstra* and *kāvya* literary cultures.

Instead of conclusion let me voice a personal believe that perhaps a deeper, more anthropology oriented but at the same time historical study of the cultural gestures of writing and reading as well as modalities of handling manuscripts that will give more justice to its historical and geographical differentiation may help us to see better and understand the network of relationship between what was oral and what was written,

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[47] The early brilliant study on gift giving by Marcel MAUSS (MAUSS 1924) idealized this institution for the Indian context and this fact has been noted by scholars, like PARRY 1985 or MICHAELS 1997.

[48] See POLLOCK 2006: 87-88.

what was aural and what visual in the ways distinct for Vedic context in particular and Indian civilization in general.

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Vedic ritual as medium in ancient and pre-colonial South Asia: its expansion and survival between orality and writing

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1. Introduction: ritual and other media for the transmission of the Veda.

Over the millennia, Vedic texts have been transmitted through different media: well known is the transmission through manuscripts and the transmission in print, and since very recently also in the form of CDs and DVDs. Although a high antiquity is claimed and generally accepted for Vedic texts, especially for the Ṛgveda, the available tangible textual sources, the manuscripts, are relatively recent, none being older than the first half of the second millennium CE.[1] Since (syllabic-alphabetic) writing itself is attested relatively late in India[2] (Aśokan inscriptions of the third century BCE), and is adapted to Sanskrit and Vedic even later, centuries or even millennia of *oral* textual transmission must have preceded the currently available *tangible* textual sources. The transmission of Vedic texts without writing over long stretches of time requires critical reflection on the hermeneutical foundations of Vedic philology.[3]

[1] The oldest dated manuscript in the Bhandarkar collection of Ṛgveda manuscripts recently registered in the UNESCO program of World Heritage is from 1464 CE. See the documents 58+India+Rigveda and 58+India+Rigveda+fr accessible through www.unesco.org or portal.unesco.org.

[2] Compared to the syllabic and near-alphabetic forms of writing that develop in the neighbouring areas of especially Iran and Mesopotamia (cf. DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996: 33-72, 134-137, 515-535), the syllabic-alphabetic writing systems of Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī appear, with the Aśokan inscriptions in the third century BCE, relatively late in India. Cf. SALOMON 1995, 1998 ; HOUBEN & RATH forthc.

[3] This I argued earlier in HOUBEN 2009 on the basis of a mutual analysis of

Even before Vedic texts were written down, they were transmitted through what can be considered a specially developed medium, a sophisticated form of oral transmission, to which I refer, for the sake of convenience, as pada-plus-saṁhitā recitation.[4] The tradition itself considers the pada-text, which forms a vital part of this pada-plus-saṁhitā recitation, a human invention.[5] Accordingly, there must have been a period when it was developed for the first time. On the basis of a comparative history of writing and orality in the Indo-Iranian cultural area, it is likely that the pada-version of the R̥g-veda was developed towards the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th cent. BCE, when the western part of the Indian and Vedic world (Gandhāra and neighbouring areas) was confronted with the imperial use of syllabic and near-alphabetic scripts (HOUBEN forthc. b). Even independently from the geographic overlap and the similarities between the relevant written and oral modes of text transmission in 6th-5th cent. BCE Gandhāra – which, a century later, would witness the production of Pāṇini's grammar regarded as "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence" by Leonard BLOOMFIELD (1933:11) – we have to assume there was a time preceding the development of the oral pada-plus-saṁhitā recitation, in which the Vedic texts did not emerge out of nothing, and in which their careful transmission was required.

One medium to transmit them was necessarily there before the Vedic texts started to be transmitted in writing, even before they started to be fixed in the oral medium of pada-plus-saṁhitā recitation, and that is the ritual in which the Vedic texts were being used. The introduction

(a) the text of R̥gveda 1.164 and (b) the ritual context which is apparently presupposed and which matches the detailed ritual descriptions of later, mainly Yajurvedic sources. In the present article I explore theoretical aspects of the same problem of Vedic text transmission over a long period without written sources.

[4] At an early stage, a third, intermediate mode of recitation, the krama- ("step-by-step") pāṭha, came into use, next to the pada- ("word-by-word") and the saṁhitā- ("continuous") pāṭha. FALK (2001; see also 1990, 1993) proposes a relative chronology of several forms of Vedic text recitation (saṁhitā, pada, krama), but no attempt is made to link these forms with any absolute date or period. Arguments brought forward by BRONKHORST (1982, 2002) that there must have been an early written pada-text, would also suit the attested oral mode of pada-recitation (which replicates properties of writing, see below) and hence it does not necessitate the acceptance of a (non-attested) early written form of the pada-text.

[5] This can be inferred from AA 1.1.16 *saṁbuddhau śākalyasyetāv anārṣe* as it poses a contrast between the pada-text of Śākalya and a corresponding text deriving from a seer (*r̥ṣi*), apparently the corresponding saṁhitā-text. Cf. THIEME 1935: 3-5.

of new media, such as the pada-plus-saṁhitā recitation and writing, never fully ousted the ritual as a medium for the Vedic texts, although it did have definite repercussions on the ritual. The large majority of hymns of the oldest collection, the R̥g-veda, explicitly presuppose either a specific ritual context or a general ritual context. If a specific ritual context is discernible, this may or may not correspond with the post-R̥gvedic ritual as codified in classical texts such as the Śrauta-sūtras.

Since ritual is "always already" there in the R̥g-veda,[6] it makes no sense to distinguish a period with, and a period without ritual. Major periods in the role of Vedic ritual as medium in the transmission of Vedic texts are rather to be demarcated through the successive association of Vedic ritual and Vedic texts with other media. This will be investigated first. Next, we will investigate the characteristics and ways of functioning of ritual, specifically Vedic ritual, as medium, as they precede and later on underly other media for the transmission of Vedic texts. On the basis of these investigations we finally draw some conclusions regarding the place of Vedic ritual as medium in pre-colonial South Asia and its expansion and survival between orality and writing.

2. Vedic ritual as medium and its association, successively, with other media

2.1 When Friedrich Max MÜLLER prepared the first printed edition of the R̥g-veda, between 1849 and 1874, he had no direct knowledge of any ritual aspect of the R̥g-veda, except through the commentary of Sāyaṇa. Since the aim of the editor was to remain close to the manuscripts and to exploit, in addition, all available additional grammatical and technical information about the text, it is in practice not significantly further removed from ritual than the manuscripts of the text. The editor made also intensive use of the pada-version to which he had similarly access through manuscripts, and of the grammatical treatise (Prātiśākhya) associated with the R̥g-veda tradition. Thanks, especially, to the pada-version and its association with the continuous version, the textual reliability and precision achieved go far beyond what can be obtained for an ancient metrical text based exclusively on manuscripts. Since the oldest manuscripts of the R̥g-veda go back to a

[6] I take here the R̥g-veda as the *fil conducteur* of the history of Vedic texts and rituals and of Vedic people. There are important distinctions and inner dynamisms related to different Vedic texts of the Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda (cf. WITZEL 1995a, 1995b, 1997). It is not possible to analyze these further in the present article.

time when the text was also being transmitted in ritual and in pada-plus-saṁhitā form, it does not suffice to say that Max MÜLLER's edition of the R̥g-veda is based on manuscripts (of maximally a few centuries old): it is also based, especially, on the much older pada-version of the text. When, at a still much earlier period, the pada-plus-saṁhitā form of the R̥g-veda was being constructed for the first time, this was done for the sake of a R̥g-veda which was being transmitted within another medium, ritual.

2.2 From the point of view of the comparative cultural history of writing and orality (cf. studies such as W. ONG 1982, E. HAVELOCK 1957, 1963, 1986, and J. GOODY & WATT 1963, GOODY 1987, 2000), the Vedic tradition is a most exceptional phenomenon. Textual, inscriptional and script-historical evidence confirms, with "an almost mathematical certainty,"[7] that central Vedic texts were transmitted orally without the help of writing until several centuries after CE,[8] perhaps even till around the first millennium CE, when AL-BĪRŪNĪ (SACHAU 1888: 126) reports that the R̥gveda had recently been written down for the first time by a Kashmirian brahmin, Vasukra. By that time, the oral transmission in pada-plus-saṁhitā form had been in use for more than a millennium. GOODY and ONG were unable to fit the pada-plus-saṁhitā mode of transmission into their schemes of written and oral textual transmission. The parallel use of a word-by-word (*pada*) and a continuous (*saṁhitā*) version is indeed unique in the history of textual transmission in the world which has greatly contributed to the exactness of the transmission. Early grammarians, as we have seen, were aware of the constructed nature of the pada-version of Vedic texts, in contrast with the status of sacred text (*ārṣa*) of the continuous version of the Vedic hymns. This suggests that they originated not very long before Patañjali or, in the case of Śākalya, the reputed author of the padapāṭha of the R̥g-veda, not long before Pāṇini (ca. 350 BCE).

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[7] As J. HALÉVY concluded, in 1884, "avec une certitude presque mathématique" (HALÉVY referred to after FALK 1993: 129), that Vedic and Sanskrit texts were not written down before Aśoka. See further discussion in FALK 1993: 119ff, 127ff, on the competing theories of G. BÜHLER and J. HALÉVY.

[8] On the basis of testimonies of early travellers to India (YÌ JÌNG, AL-BĪRŪNĪ.), we have to infer that the transmission of the R̥g-veda through manuscripts had started very late – centuries after writing had become the major media for Buddhism, Jainism and brahmanical disciplines and philosophies – and it has always remained secondary or even marginal compared to the oral transmission of the R̥g-veda.

2.3 Indo-european parallels suggest that the strong aversion to writing evinced in India is part of a larger pattern of similarities. The language of the Vedic people is intimately related to other languages in Asia and Europe which we now consider an Indo-European "family". Moreover, in the art of sacred poetry and in ritual and myth important and undeniable Indo-European similarities and continuities are visible as well. Given very extensive linguistic and cultural data it is reasonable to speak of communities in Asia and Europe that are culturally and linguistically related, that form a cultural and linguistic family. This is a cultural-linguistic, a "memetic" family, not a genetic family of Indo-european peoples.[9] An Indo-european aversion to writing down sacred texts even when it is used for secular purposes[10] could contribute to an explanation of the *motivation* of the Vedic people to cultivate orality and not to use writing for the transmission of their Vedic texts. However, it does not suffice to explain the specific and unique form developed in India for this oral transmission.

2.4 It can then hardly be an accident that the uniqueness of especially the word-by-word (*pada*) version in the transmission of the Ṛg-veda coincides with its geographic proximity to areas which have most ancient and intensive traditions of writing: Mesopotamia and Iran. As the Vedic pada-pāṭha marks the division into words and analyzes the mutual phonetic influence of these words, it does in this exactly what is to be done if speech or a continuous text is to be written down in a script that marks word boundaries and gives phonetic details of these

[9] Convergences between the "memetic" and the "genetic" family-relationships are of course possible though not necessary. The concept of race, that is, of subraces within the current human race, is in any case not supported by genetic evidence about the diversity of human populations, see, e.g., LONG J.C., KITTLES R.A. (August 2003). "Human genetic diversity and the nonexistence of biological races". *Human Biology* 75 (4): 449–71. doi:10.1353/hub.2003.0058. PMID 14655871.

[10] Considering the possibility of Indo-European thematics for philosophical reflection, the almost obsessive preoccupation with memorization in ancient India can perhaps be related to the glorification of memory as a path to knowledge by Plato, and to the intense preoccupation with memorization in ancient Greece. In PINCHARD's view, "It should by no means surprise us ... that the evidence of a refusal of writing by members of the priestly or divinatory class in Indo-European civilizations is so abundant, even when writing was often known and used in other contexts. Such a refusal is merely a matter of recognizing the natural impossibility of wisdom to be passed on as a book. Wisdom is what it is only as long as it establishes by itself its distance from writing." (PINCHARD 2009: 306, my transl. from french)

words. This matches the conditions for those who write in syllabic or near-alphabetic scripts, such as Aramaic and old Persian cuneiform. It is well-known that the latter is near-alphabetic and that it could be deciphered in the nineteenth century because of its consistent use of a word separator. Familiarity with these scripts on the part of Vedic ritualists in, for instance, Gandhāra, was possible from the sixth and inescapable from the fifth century BCE onwards.

In the fourth century BCE, Pāṇini shows to be very well aware of the work of Śākalya. In his grammatical sūtras he refers four times explicitly to him (AA 1.1.16 [through anuvr̥tti also 17-18], 6.1.127 [through anuvr̥tti: 128], 8.3.19, 8.4.51), each time regarding issues that are related to the word-for-word text of the R̥gveda and its relation with the continuous or saṁhitā text. Although Pāṇini's work presupposes a culture of orality and memorization, he is aware of writing (*lipi*). Two centuries later, Pāṇini's commentator Patañjali emphasizes the conscious, intellectual effort underlying the creation of word-by-word versions of Vedic texts by stating that the authors of word-by-word versions should follow grammar, not vice versa.[11]

Taking all of the preceding considerations into account, the pada-pāṭha appears therefore as a competitive alternative, within Vedic oral memory culture, that replicates some of the features of writing. The development of devices for textual transmission in the two different, competing technologies of writing and orality, can be compared with the development of devices for flying, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, in the two different, competing technologies of ballooning and aviation. One of the results of the adoption of the competitive alternative of the pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission was that Vedic culture succeeded in remaining remarkably immune for the shift to writing which was adopted by its neighbour, Avestan culture, at a much earlier date (the Sassanid archetype of ca. 400 CE[12]), even if they both shared an (Indo-european) aversion to the writing down of sacred texts.

2.5 It has been observed by Michael WITZEL (1997: 323) about the pada-version of the R̥g-veda that it

[11] Only if the pada-text is the work of human authors, unlike the saṁhitā which is ascribed to ancient seers, the question can be asked whether it is these creators of a pada-text who have more authority, or another group of human authors, the grammarians. The grammarians' answer is predictable: *na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvartyāḥ / padakārair nāma lakṣaṇam anuvartyam* (MBh 2:85.4-5 on AA 3.1.109 ; also MBh 3:117.18-19 on AA 6.1.207; MBh 3:397-398 on AA 8.2.16).

[12] HOFFMANN & NARTEN 1989.

> may look like a complete innovation. However, the extant text of the Avesta, especially of the Gāthās, is nothing but the Padapāṭha of a lost Avesta "Saṁhitā" text; and there are a few more similarities in Iranian tradition which seem to indicate an old Indo-Iranian tradition of dealing with texts.

Similarly, William MALANDRA, after a detailed comparison of the R̥gvedic padapāṭha and padapāṭha-like features of the Avesta, observed (2002: 223): "To a certain extent the received text or Vulgate is analogous to the Padapāṭha of the R̥gVeda rather than to the Saṁhitā." Recently, Hartmut SCHARFE (2009: 80-83) had a closer look at the evidence and asked: How do the Vedic pada-version and the Avestan manuscripts compare in detail? First of all, the R̥g-veda padapāṭha consistently gives words in their non-sandhi form, but the Avesta is quite inconsistent. Nominal compounds are separated in the Veda with only one separation in case of compounds with multiple members; in the Avesta a compound may be separated twice resulting into a division into three members. The R̥g-veda padapāṭha consistently separates certain nominal endings such as *-bhis*, but the Avesta sometimes does this and often not. The R̥V padapāṭha never separates verbal endings, but the Avesta does it a few times. On the basis of these observations SCHARFE went one step further than WITZEL and MALANDRA and inferred that a sophisticated Indian tradition has given rise to an imperfect application in Iran.

It is to be noted, however, that even if we may perceive padapātha-like features in the Avesta text as transmitted, there is no indication that a pada-plus-saṁhitā mode of transmission was ever developed for the Avesta. An alternative and contextually more likely explanation is possible for what *seem* to be traces of a pada-pāṭha version of the Avesta: they must be traces of earlier attempts to write down the Avesta in a syllabic or near-alphabetic script before the supposed Sassanid archetype that is at the basis of currently available texts was created at ca. 400 CE. This would suit the awareness of very early and subsequently lost written versions of the Avesta in the early Zoroastrian tradition (R.P. KARANJIA, present volume).

2.6 As for the Vedic tradition, it is safe to assume there was a considerable period in which Vedic hymns, formulas and chants were transmitted without making use of the innovative device of the pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission. In this earlier, pre-padapāṭha period, the

medium of ritual was of major or even exclusive importance.[13] When the new technique of employing a padapāṭha in the study and drill of the Vedic texts was gradually adopted, perhaps after a few trials and perhaps first for the R̥g-veda (by Śākalya or an unknown predecessor) and later (after Pāṇini?) for other Vedas, it must have been adopted precisely for purposes of the ritual. Moreover, when the pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission became gradually deeply rooted in Vedic culture, and when students, after having learned first their own family-Veda, could continue with more general disciplines such as grammar or astronomy, and even more when again a new medium, writing, was employed for sacred, philosophical and scientific texts, even then the medium of ritual continued to play a role. As a medium, however, it was gradually losing some of its former exclusive importance in life in favour of the media which appeared later, the padapāṭha and writing. Even in the face of these newer media, ritual did not become obsolete as it remained unbeatable in some respects, for instance because it addresses normally not one of the senses of perception (hearing or seeing) but all senses in a coordinated way and was thus able to have a more profound impact, as a total medium, than its competitors in the domain of textual transmission. In order to understand the earliest transmission of the Vedic texts when ritual had little competition, but also in order to understand their later transmission when other media had gradually been accepted, it is important to understand the characteristics and qualities of ritual as a medium, in general and as applied to the early and later Vedic tradition.

3. Millennia of early Vedic text transmission: the role of ritual as medium

3.1 Three major periods in the role of ritual as medium in the transmission of Vedic texts can be distinguished for pre-colonial South Asia on the basis of the preceding considerations. There is the period when the transmission through Vedic ritual, in a tradition that had by that time become relatively weakened, went parallel with a

[13] It is natural to ask : how were Vedic texts taught and learned before the padapāṭha was introduced? Indications given in Dharmaśāstras (FALK 2001) are important but have limited value as source of information on the situation before the creation of a padapāṭha. The Vedic texts themselves give some hints which in any case confirm the absence of a padapāṭha: the text is turned into (*-ī* + *kr̥*) units of pronounciation, *akkhala*, i.e., *akṣara* 'syllables': R̥V 7.102.3 (in "frog hymn"); important sections of the R̥V are both recited and chanted, etc.

transmission of these texts through manuscripts (in addition to a pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission). We can call this period C and we may let it start, tentatively, at around 1000 CE on the basis of the testimony of AL-BĪRŪNĪ according to whom someone within the Vedic tradition had recently written its central texts. Earlier manuscripts concern at the most only peripheral Vedic texts. Before this there was a period B in which the transmission through Vedic ritual went parallel with a pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission without making use of writing. Still earlier, there was a period A, of indeterminate length, in which the medium of transmission of Vedic texts was only ritual. This period ends at the time of the introduction and development of the pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission. Here, the context of the transmission and employment of the Vedic texts is Vedic ritual.

In order to understand the later periods of Vedic textual transmission and of Vedic ritual it would obviously be of great interest to have a better understanding of period A in which ritual is the only medium without either help or competition or distortion from other media. Unfortunately, this is the period about which we have neither written historical sources, nor attestable monuments connected with the Vedic people. On the other hand, the situation in which ritual is the only medium has a reasonable chance to be to some extent parallel with other situations of isolated communities which are not familiar with writing and where ritual is the sole or largely dominant medium. Such communities have been ethnographically studied over the last hundred and fifty years or so, and the extensive reports and observations on these communities have been at the basis of various attempts to formulate comprehensive theories. It would hardly seem feasible to confront selected ethnographic case studies in Africa or Papua New Guinea in this or the preceding century directly with whatever information we can have about the Vedic people of period A.[14] What would be possible, however, is the confrontation of one of the proposed "comprehensive" theories, itself based on a broad range of ethnographic research, with the available information on Vedic ritual where we try to filter out features of the later periods B and C. It will not be an easy enterprise, but the prospects of a better understanding of especially period A make it worth the effort.

[14] Bruce LINCOLN's comparison (1981) of the religion and ecological context of Indo-Iranian pastoralists (about whom we are informed on the basis of texts) with the religionn and ecological context of pastoralist tribes in East Africa (about whom we are informed on the basis of ethnographic studies). For an evaluation of LINCOLN's comparison from an Indo-Iranian perspective, see GIGNOUX 1984.

Since rituals never occur in a vacuum but imply an interaction with the environment, there is no reason to think that it was different with rituals of the Vedic people of period A. Through the ritual associated with the Vedic texts transmitted in period A, we should then be able to link the Vedic people, and hence the Vedic texts, with the environment, that is, with tangible traces that can be localized in time and space.

Even without taking the ritual into account, the ritual Vedic texts contain occasional references to external realities such as rivers, or to events such as a war between kings. A systematic study and analysis of such references has already led to well-argued proposals for rough datations and localizations regarding ancient Vedic people. The major relevant data have been collected and critically analyzed by Michael WITZEL (1995a, 1995b, 1997). His discussion is here presupposed and forms the starting point from where we try to go forward on the basis of new, and newly analyzed, data and comparisons. With regard to WITZEL's proposals, the difficulty of deciding on chronological ranges and geographic localizations in the first and second millennium BCE on the basis of texts that started to be written down only in the second millennium CE remains. The identification of additional traces would be very welcome.

3.2 Till now, however, attempts to identify concrete traces of Vedic people during the Indus civilization (3500-1900 BCE) or after it, till the first datable references to brahmins in the edicts of Aśoka, 3rd cent. BCE, have failed. We start therefore here with (ritual) theory based on textual evidence (referring to ritual structure) in order to derive the type of traces that can be searched for. For this purpose, a suitable theory should have comprehensive or universal capacities, and it should in particular be able to do justice to peculiarities of Vedic ritual.

It is only natural to think here first of the theory of ritual proposed by Frits STAAL (1979, 1989), since his theory, which was meant to have general validity, was from the beginning based on an extensive study of Vedic ritual. In STAAL's approach, ritual is a formal, basically meaningless, structure representing competence rather than performance. With STAAL it can be said that in ritual it is the "meaninglessness of ritual" that "explains the variety of meanings attached to it" (STAAL 1989: 135) – to which it should be added that even if the relation between signifier and meaning is relatively arbitrary, it is, as in the case of language, rather tenacious (HOUBEN forthc. a).

A comprehensive theory of ritual propounded by Roy A.

RAPPAPORT (1999) emphasizes, just like STAAL's theory, the formal nature of ritual activity in its basic definition. However, when the definition is elaborated, RAPPAPORT's theory does not abstract from the semantic dimension but develops an extended concept of meaning. RAPPAPORT defines "ritual" as

> the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers.

In remaining chapters of his work, RAPPAPORT argues that this definition "logically entails the establishment of convention, the sealing of social contract, the construction of... integrated conventional orders..., the investment of whatever it encodes with morality" as well as "the construction of time and eternity... " (RAPPAPORT 1999: 27).

In RAPPAPORT's theory, ritual is a medium, but a special one which is "perhaps... uniquely, suited to the transmission of certain messages and certain sorts of information" (RAPPAPORT 1999: 52). Ritual has the capacity to transmit messages. Two basic types are to be distinguished which can be referred to as (cf. also HOUBEN forthc. a):

(a) canonical messages, and
(b) performative messages.

In more general terms we can also speak of two major dimensions of the ritual,

(a) a canonical, and
(b) a performative dimension.

In RAPPAPORT's theory, canonical messages contribute to what in the definition was referred to as the invariant aspect of what is encoded by others than the performers. Performative messages, on the other hand, are transmitted by the performers of the ritual, both to the performers themselves and to others, to provide information on the performers' own current physical, mental, economic, and/or social status.

It is the former, the canonical messages, which represent, or point to, universal orders transcending concrete time and space. The fact that the ritual actor is taken out of his daily routine and is linked up with transcendental orders, with divine beings or distant forefathers etc., is crucial for the ritual process. Objects from daily life, a grass-seat or a bread etc., do play a role, but are used with reference to a transcendental order, for instance when a seat is prepared for the gods,

or when the bread is prepared in order to be offered to a deity. The impressiveness of the transcendental orders has the capacity to inspire potential performers to invest their time and wealth, and to invest these more and more, in a ritual or in a ritual system. In classical and ancient Indian rituals, it is the dimension of canonical messages in the form of references to gods and myths inserted in prayers and formulas that has been the object of the almost exclusive interest, and the subject of continued research and analysis, of philologists, classical scholars and indologists.

But it is through their necessary capacity to transmit performative messages that rituals are interwoven in the social and political history of a country or area. Generations of kings would not have invested extensively in a ritual system if this would have transmitted canonical messages exclusively – if doing such a ritual would amount merely to a repetition of statements regarding some universal order. It becomes interesting even for a manager of issues of government and politics to invest in a ritual that transmits canonical messages, if and only if this ritual at the same time transmits a message about the performer or participant. Indeed, the king (or priest or any other participant) in a ritual automatically and inevitably transmits messages about himself by engaging in a ritual. The simple fact of performing or not performing, or of ordering or not ordering a ritual with the help of trained priests, is a statement in itself regarding the king's relationship with religious and ritual specialists and their communities. Once the decision is made to perform or order a ritual, the king can chose to join in a modest way or with his favourite symbols of power and wealth. This will thus become a statement to himself, to his neighbouring kings and to his subjects, and that too a statement which he could never have expressed otherwise than through the medium of that ritual. The "power", "wealth", "moral and social status" of the epic hero Yudhiṣṭhira remained entirely abstract both to his own people and to his enemies until he started to express it in the form of a Vedic ritual, the Rājasūya.

It is the dimension of performative messages that links up best with a performative approach to ritual (TAMBIAH 1979, SCHECHNER 1993) but also with historical studies and with an approach to ritual as social practice (BOURDIEU 1977, BELL 1992, 1997: 76-83). Ritual studies specialists such as Richard SCHECHNER have been mainly interested in the performance dimension of ritual – as SCHECHNER wrote (1986: 360) "Ritual is performance" – and attribute only

marginal significance to the canonical dimension.[15] For Vedic ritual we start to have evidence from outside the ritual texts themselves on performative messages through inscriptions from the beginning of the first millennium onwards. For period A no such source is available, although a few aspects can be derived and inferred from the hymns.

3.3 Extensive rituals are presupposed throughout the R̥g-veda. Hence, we have to infer that even at the time of the early R̥gveda there was a very developed canonical dimension. Apart from being a favorite object of study for indologists, what was the function of this canonical dimension from a ritual point of view? We will start with some general considerations.

The simple fact that ritual actors leave their secular or mundane life and enter into a ritual, next engage in that ritual and experience, through the force of the canonical dimension of the ritual, a "time out of time", and finally come back to their mundane life, is central to the working of a ritual. In different fashions and terms, this has been brought out by several specialists in ritual studies such as Arnold van GENNEP (1909), Maurice BLOCH (1992) and RAPPAPORT (1999).

Activities in mundane time, according to RAPPAPORT, "are guided by rational discursive thought. . . . When people are engaged in farming, trading, cooking, arranging marriages, hunting, fighting, prosecuting court cases and composing quarrels it is 'normal' for them to 'act rationally'. . . " (1999: 218). Mundane activities thus form a continuing flow of narrativity and historicity (HOUBEN 2002), and "the events which they form or to which they respond are continuously lost to an irretrievable past" (1999: 234).

The situation is quite different in the case of ritual acts: "That which occurs in ritual's intervals is not historical but. . . timeless, and to participate in a canon is to escape from time's flow into 'what is, in fact, often regarded as the unbounded, the infinite, the limitless', the absolutely true and the immortally vital" (1999: 234). Experiencing and participating in this "time out of time" contributes to the special bonding between ritual actors which RAPPAPORT calls, following Victor TURNER, "communitas". Those involved in the ritual action of a liturgical order "do not simply communicate to each other about that

[15] The discussion which emerged in the 1980s on the occasion of the publication of STAAL's *Agni* in 1983 (SCHECHNER 1986, 1987, STAAL 1987, 1989: 250-251) remained, not unexpectedly, undecided. The scholar who succeeded in giving due recognition both to STAAL's and to SCHECHNER's dimension within a comprehensive theory of ritual is Roy A. RAPPAPORT (1999).

order but commune with each other within it" (RAPPAPORT 1999: 220). The distinction between time within ritual and mundane time outside ritual is thus not merely a distinction in subjective experience. On account of its canonical dimension and in interaction with its performative dimension, ritual has the capacity to create nothing less than eternity as an experiential and communal reality, in contrast with the narrativity and historicity inherent in mundane life.

Parallel to the analysis of RAPPAPORT, Maurice BLOCH (1992) proposed an account of (various types of) rituals which accepts, like RAPPAPORT, that a shift in "times" is important, from mundane to transcendent and back, but which emphasizes that this shift involves a double "violence": first a form of "violence" against the vital aspect of the participant who leaves mundane time, next, in the form of a "rebounding violence" that comes with the participants who return to the world after they have, in the central (liminal) part in the ritual, appropriated knowledge and acquired a non-mundane, spiritual status. In one of its milder forms, the "rebounding violence" consists in the consumption of food after the ritual or in the latter part of the ritual.[16] This appropriation of a new vitality after the central part of the ritual may under certain circumstances extend into aggression to neighbours and even to expansionist wars, hence Bloch's claim that this theory can explain also political violence. In these types of rituals, self-referentiality of the performer or performers is crucial. The performer concerned in this self-referentiality, however, does not remain the same throughout the ritual, but is transformed, either in a (more or less) reversible or in an irreversible way, with regard to basically two variables, (a) vitality and (b) transcendence (spirituality, knowledge). In this analysis, therefore, we can speak of a virtual causality caused by the interplay of the performance dimension and the canonical dimension of the ritual, a virtual causality that may manifest itself in the form of an increased consumptive behaviour, a changed or transformed identity, or even in the form of an expansionist war.

3.4 To what extent do these considerations apply to the Vedic ritual system? In the classical system the eligible brahmin is required to have a daily routine of a simple fire ritual, the Agnihotra, which is expanded to a new- and fullmoon sacrifice twice per month. The classical Agnihotra

[16] A mild form of causality is also implied in a concept which has been proposed from within the Vedic tradition itself, that of *loka-paktí*: cf. MALAMOUD 1989, 1996.

as currently known on the basis of texts that may not be older than period B, is to be regarded as a post-Ṛgvedic development. On the part of early Ṛgvedic priests we should nevertheless expect regular and probably daily engagements with a fire ritual. When possible, the ritualist will also perform a yearly Soma sacrifice. In its basic form this may have been similar to the classical Agniṣṭoma and related Soma sacrifices. Although the details of the rituals of pre-classical times are not known with certainty, this much is clear, that the Vedic ritual system, even an early Ṛgvedic one, imposed on mundane or secular activities a schedule, a clear and emphatic cyclicity in connection with daily and yearly cosmic rythms of sun and moon.

In the work that is to be done by Vedic rituals, i.e., in the creation of "time out of time" and of virtual causality, the canonical dimension has a central role to play. The textual "ingredients" of Vedic rituals – the hymns and formulae to be recited, the chants to be sung – consist to a large extent of poetic praises of abstract powers or personalities, with only sporadic references to mythic "narratives", and still less to possible tangible circumstances and events. The authors of the hymns of, for instance, the ninth or Soma-book of the Ṛg-veda are usually engaged in giving a poetical description of the physical process of the preparation of the soma-drink. These hymns were intended as accompaniments to the pressing and purification of the soma-juice in the Soma-sacrifice. On account of their repeated descriptions of the same process and on account of the grammatical categories used, these hymns are largely devoid of anything that could trigger the reciter's or listener's imagination in the direction of worldly narrativity and historicity.[17]

[17] This is perfectly illustrated by the observations of Louis RENOU (1961: 3): "Au Livre IX la référence au cosmos est conditionnée par la situation rituelle; elle en est la projection; c'est dire qu'il n'y a place que pour les grands événements, non pour le détail des combats ou pour l'itihāsa légendaire. Soma y est bien appelé *vṛtrahan* en quelques passages, mais l'épithète ne déclanche aucun rappel d'exploits précis."; id. p. 7: "Au peu d'attrait pour la narration mythique et pour la spéculation s'associe, sur le plan du langage, la dominance des phrases indépendantes, la rareté relative des subordonnées, même celles de type participial; les auteurs procèdent par petites touches, multipliant l'asyndète, les qualifiants et appositions. En matière de morphologie de morphologie, le parfait est relativement rare; l'aoriste, en revanche, plus fréquente qu'ailleurs." id. p. 13: "Combien de versets du Livre IX voyons-nous commencer par décrire l'opération matérielle, ébaucher le geste de l'officiant, puis s'élancer brusquement au domaine céleste? Soit que ce domaine se conçoive hors du temps actuel... Soit... qu'il n'y ait aucune intervalle de temps, que le passage d'un domaine à l'autre soit insensible ... "

When the participant transits from mundane to ritually created time and back to mundane time, the virtual causality generated for him depends on the interplay of the performative and the canonical dimension. It depends, naturally, on the intensity of the participant's moral and substantial engagement (of his *śraddhā́*, 'putting one's heart' or 'trust') in the ritual, in other words, on the intensity of his investment in the performance dimension of the ritual. It also depends on the efficiency and force with which the canonical dimension is able to create "time out of time" or "eternity" and how it is able to impress these on the participants. Encouragements to engage fully in a ritual and to pay large sacrificial fees to the employed priests we find as early as in the Ṛgveda (where *śraddhā́*, 'putting one's heart' or 'trust', is addressed as a deity in hymn ṚV 10.151). The fee which a Vedic poet can expect depends not only of his own skill but also on the patron of the ritual in which he is engaged. The brief "praises of generosity" (*dānastuti*) which are found at the end of around forty hymns in the Ṛg-veda (GONDA 1975: 170f) have therefore a direct bearing on the performative dimension.

Apart from these references which have become part of the central canonical texts fo Vedic ritual, we have no access to the performative dimension in the oldest period, period A. For later periods we do have additional historical sources such as royal inscriptions, literary texts and documents, etc.

3.5 In addition to the intensity of personal engagement which refers to the performative dimension, the canonical dimension has its own, important contribution to make to the creation of virtual causality for the performer or participant in a Vedic ritual. In some ritual systems the canonical dimension may be minimal, but in Vedic ritual it was, as it seems, from the earliest times impressive and quite developed, so impressive that king Sudās, in the Battle of Ten Kings against a confederation of powerful enemies, was most eager to enlist the help of Vasiṣṭha, who is praised as priest (*brahman*, voc., ṚV 7.33.11) whose prayer (*bráhman*, ṚV 7.33.3) overrules those of other priests, whose functioning as appointed priest (*puróhiti*, ṚV 7.83.4) had proven to be reliable (*satyā́*), who together with his people, in white cloths and with their hair in a braid (*śvítyañco ... kapardíno*), engaged himself in ritual worship (*ásapanta*, ṚV 7.83.8) at the very moment (*yátra*) that king Sudās is encircled by enemies during the Battle of Ten Kings

(*dāśarājñé*), from which he next emerges victoriously against all odds, as a ram winning from a lioness (R̥V 7.18.17).

Although rare action-oriented accounts like this one of the Battle of Ten Kings, which no doubt goes back to some historical event, do not emphasize the canonical dimension, it is visible even there. The structure of this canonical dimension is accessible in more details through a later genre of texts, the Śrauta-sūtras, that give descriptions of rituals that were in many, though not all, details similar to the one presupposed in the R̥g-veda. It is open to formal analysis, and it is important to distinguish different organizational levels. Just as in language we distinguish, in one and the same string of (tenaciously meaningful) linguistic units, the distinct organizational levels of (a) phonemes, (b) morphemes, (c) words and (d) sentences, similarly in Vedic ritual we have to distinguish, in one and the same string of (tenaciously meaningful) ritual episodes, distinct organizational levels. Now, with regard to its possible interaction with the environment, what further distinctions need to be made within this canonical dimension of Vedic ritual?

First of all, at one extreme, there are forms of circularity, which implies that there is no interaction at all with the environment. This applies to ritual acts which refer to themselves or to ritual episodes that include themselves, cases where ritual acts are concerned with their own transmission, cases where the ritual deals not with any external aim but with the instruments that have to execute that ritual. Even in the Vedic poetry that is to be employed in the ritual, self-referentiality – that is, poetry that is occupied with the process of its own creation – is not uncommon. These circular ritual forms may be problematic from a logical point of view, but they were regarded as efficacious and were apparently much appreciated as such by the ancient authors of Vedic ritual.

There are, next to this, episodes which concern intra-ritual events such as the production, libation and consumption of the Soma-drink, and the restricted meals of the fasting sacrificer. Also the dramatic but unrealistic "buying" of the soma (CALAND & HENRY 1906) can be placed in this category. Although there is no direct interaction with the environment, these episodes often mirror, or else obliquely refer to, real events or situations of daily life.

Finally, there are ritual episodes that refer to extra-ritual events or that contain prayers for (real-life) success and well-being, for rain,

cows, etc. The reference may be verbally through hymns and formulae, but also through substances and actions that belong to the extra-ritual world, for instance the offering of milk or the making of fire through a fire-drill. The collection of funds for the ritual (*sanihāra*) and the giving of sacrificial fees (*dakṣiṇā*) to the priests are also instances of a material interaction with the environment and the surrounding economy.

References to and interactions with the environment are possible within the last two of the above mentioned three components of canonical ritual. Scholars (such as J.C. HEESTERMAN 1993, Bruce LINCOLN 1981, Shereen RATNAGAR 2006, Michael WITZEL 1997) did or still do refer to the environment of the Vedic Aryans, and they are also well aware that they follow a particular mode life that suits that environment. However, the environment appears everywhere as a passive backdrop, as the inert stage where the drama of Vedic pastoral, political and ritual life unfolds. The *interaction* between the Vedic man's pastoral and ritual activities and his environment, first of all physical and economical, but also social and political, has been largely neglected.

4. Vedic ritual as medium, and ecology

4.1 The exploration of the *interaction* between the Vedic man's ritual activities and the environment, should start from an observation that is quite obvious but still sometimes overlooked: the Vedic ritual system, and texts such as the R̥g-veda which have a central place in it, point to a non-sedentary, agro-pastoral way of life for those who established and transmitted them. This is in contrast with Hindu ritual that centres around geographically fixed places such as temples, mountains, etc. Vedic ritual, however, both in its ancient and in its classical form, presupposes, requires and promotes – is full of useful routines for – a mobile, agro-pastoral mode of life. By the same token, Vedic ritual is not suited to a heavily urbanized and agriculturally fully cultivated area.

Although it follows naturally from the preceding observations, the next question has hardly ever been asked systematically: to what type of environment would Vedic ritual in its basic structure be suitable and entirely appropriate, in what environment would it prosper? In view of its non-sedentary agro-pastoral character, a preliminary answer to this question is: Vedic ritual would suit a not yet cultivated, lightly or

densely forested area. To this should be added that Vedic ritual – and those engaged in Vedic ritual – will in the course of a shorter or longer period unavoidably transform the environment which it needs to have as its starting point. If the Vedic people are able to successfully stay – to roam, temporarily settle, and roam again – in a not yet cultivated, lightly or densely forested area, this area can be expected to gradually become either savanna and shrubland or agricultural area.

This leads to two further crucial questions: when and where was not yet cultivated, lightly or densely forested area available in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent? This question should specifically be asked for the period between ca. 1750 BCE and 250 BCE, the period after the disappearance of the Indus civilization and before the references to brahmins in Aśokan inscriptions. And: when and where was this not yet cultivated, lightly or densely forested area replaced by savanna, shrubland or agricultural land?

4.2 In the absence of detailed paleoecological data for the relevant chronological and geographical ranges, we will make a start here with exploring a few textual sources and with examining a scenario that has been proposed earlier by GADGIL & GUHA. Let us, to begin with, have a look at a passage from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, the first and main commentary on the grammar of Pāṇini. Patañjali, who composed his commentary around 150 BCE gave the following description of Āryāvarta, "the land of the Āryas"[18]:

> Which is the land of the Āryas ? It is the region to the east of where the Sarasvatī disappears (*ādarśa*), west of the Kālaka forest, south of the Himalayas, and north of the Pāriyātra mountains.

The next passage is from Manu's lawbook or the Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra. According to the editor Patrick OLIVELLE, who edited this text for the first time critically making use of over one hundred manuscripts, it can be dated to the second or third century CE (OLIVELLE 2005: 18ff), so it would represent a situation around 500 years later than the Mahābhāṣya passage. In this text we find a different, much wider characterization of Āryāvarta, namely as follows[19]:

[18] MBh 1:475.3 and 3:174.7-8: *kaḥ punar āryāvartaḥ / prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam uttareṇa pāriyātram.* Tr. BRONKHORST 2007: 1, who discusses the passage from a slightly different perspective. The passage corresponds with BauDhS 1.2.12, cf. OLIVELLE 2000.

[19] Manu 2.22 *ā samudrāt tu vai pūrvād ā samudrāt tu paścimāt / tayor evāntaraṁ*

> The land between the same mountain ranges [i.e., Himalaya and Vindhya] extending from the eastern to the western sea is what the wise call "Āryāvarta" – the land of the Āryas.

The same text is also familiar with a description of a narrower area similar to the one indicated in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, but designates it not as Āryāvarta but as *madhyadeśa* or "Middle Region"[20]:

> The land between the Himalaya and the Vindhya ranges, to the east of Vinaśana and west of Prayāga, is known as the "Middle Region."

According to Johannes BRONKHORST (2007: 2) there are reasons to believe that "Patañjali's Kālaka forest was near Manu's Prayāga" which corresponds to the city nowadays called Allahabad, "situated at the confluence of the two rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā." These texts therefore suggest that "the land of the Āryas" considerably expanded in the centuries between Patañjali and the Mānava-dharma-śāstra, and that the old "land of the Āryas" is in later ages regarded as the heartland of the expanded Āryāvarta.

From these passages we can infer, with BRONKHORST, that there was a spread of brahmins and Brahmanism eastward, starting from the north-west of the Indian subcontinent (BRONKHORST 2007 : 2). This eastward spread of Brahmanism is also clear from a famous passage from another Vedic text, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1.4.1.14-17[21] :

> 14. Māthava, the Videgha, was at that time on the (river) Sarasvatī. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east ; and Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and the Videgha Māthava followed after him

giryor āryāvartaṁ vidur budhāḥ // Tr. BRONKHORST 2007: 2.

[20] Manu 2.21 *himavadvindhyayor madhyaṁ yat prāg vinaśanād api / pratyag eva prayāgāc ca madhyadeśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ //* Tr. OLIVELLE.

[21] ŚB 1.4.1.14-17 : *tárhi videghó* (*acc) *māthavá āsa / sárasvatyāṁ̐ sá táta evá prā́ṅ dáhan abhīyāyemāṁ pr̥thivī́ṁ (/) táṁ gótamaś ca rāhugaṇó videghā́ś ca māthaváḥ paścā́d dáhantam ánv īyatuḥ / sá imāḥ sárvā nadī́r átidadāha / sadānīréty úttarād girér nírddhāvati tā́ṁ̐ haivá nā́tidadāha / tā́ṁ̐ ha sma tā́ṁ purā́ brāhmaṇā́ ná taranty ánatidagdhāgnínā vaiśvānaréṇéti // 14 //*

táta etárhi / prācī́naṁ bahávo brāhmaṇā́s tád dhā́kṣetrataram ivāsa srāvítaram ivā́svaditam agnínā vaiśvānaréṇéti // 15 //

tád u haitárhi / kṣétrataram iva brāhmaṇā́ u hí nūnám enad yajñáir ásiṣvadant sā́pi jaghánye naidāghé sám ivaivá kopayati tā́vac chītā́natidagdhā hy agnínā vaiśvānaréṇa // 16 //

sá hovāca / videghó (*accent) *māthaváḥ kvā̀háṁ bhavānī́ty úta evá te prācī́naṁ bhúvanam íti hovācá sáiṣā́py etárhi kosala-videhā́nāṁ maryā́dā te hí māthavā́ḥ // 17 //*

as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that (river), which is called Sadānīrā, flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain : that one he did not burn over. That one the brahmins did not cross in former times, thinking, "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara."

15. Nowadays, however, there are many brahmins to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadānīra) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara.

16. Nowadays, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brāhmans have caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that (river), as it were, rages along : so cold is it, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara.

Māthava, the Videgha, then said (to Agni), "Where am I to abide ?" "To the east of this (river) be thy abode !" said he. Even now this (river) forms the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas ; for these (Videhas, inhabitants of Videha) are the Māthavas (or descendants of Videgha Māthava).

On this passage, KULKE & ROTHERMUND 1998: 48f observe: "The movement east was certainly the most important one. . . . There is. . . a highly instructive text in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. . . which throws light on the extension of the late Vedic civilisation into the eastern Gangetic plains. This text reports the founding of a realm called Videha to the northeast of Patnaby a prince, Videgha-Mathava. This prince is said to have started from the river Sarasvatī in the company of the fire god, Agni-Vaiśvānara. . . The events reported here are of great significance. At the time when this text was composed there was obviously still a clear recollection that the land to the east of the river Sadanira (Gandak) was originally unclean. . . "

It is important to note, however, that this and the preceding passages not only point to an eastward expansion of Brahmanism, *they also point to a transformation of the land from marshy and uncultivated to cultivated*: in the earlier passage, the one from the Mahābhāṣya of the second century BCE, the Kālaka forest is an important landmark indicating the easternmost limit of "the land of the Āryas" at the confluence of the Yamunā and Gaṅgā river. The later passages point to a situation in which not only "the land of the Āryas" has significantly

expanded, we also see that the Kālaka-forest as landmark is replaced by another landmark, the city Prayāga, equally situated at the confluence of the Yamunā and Gaṅgā.

4.3 I am aware of only one work offering reflections on the interaction between Vedic people and ecology, backed up by at least some textual references and some archeological research. This work was published almost twenty years ago but it has been forgotten or neglected not only by indologists but, it seems, also by the two authors themselves, who never have tried to elaborate their proposal. In 1992, Madhav GADGIL and Ramachandra GUHA proposed their scenario for the interaction between Vedic people and ecology in the first part of their book *This Fissured Land: an Ecological History of India.* Although it is an important proposal, several points in GADGIL & GUHA's 1992 scenario remain open for modification, amendment, testing and elaboration. In broad outlines their scenario can be summarized and, where it is too sketchy, interpreted as follows:

(I) After the collapse of urbanized centers (the Harappan or Indus-civilization) and their long-distance trade networks in the north-west of the Indian subcontinent, when the northern half of the Indian subcontinent from west to east was still largely forested, clans or tribes adopting "[a] n ethic of exhaustive resource use, with the [Yajña] as its cornerstone" (GADGIL & GUHA 1992: 83) found here extensive exploitable niches. The Vedic ritual system must have been in an early stage of creative development and it catalyzed the transformation of forested areas into cultivated land suitable for pastoralism and agriculture. The Vedic people's ritual and religion system had a progress-oriented character, to which GADGIL & GUHA refer with a term from population ecology: *r*-strategist character.

This refers specifically to the well-known equation of population dynamics proposed by Pierre François VERHULST in 1838. In this equation r = growth rate and K = capacity of the environment to support a population. In the light of this equation, three types of biological organisms (and, by extension, three types of sociological "organisms") can be distinguished:

(a) *r*-strategist: who strive for fast and massive reproduction (limit defined by *r*);
(b) *K*-strategist: niche-exploitation (limit defined by *K*);
(c) those having a continuous spectrum of *r*-traits and *K*-traits.

(II) Precisely thanks to the broad overall success of pastoralism and agriculture [or rather semi-nomadic agro-pastoralism, J.H.] in the transformed areas, the population grows rapidly and the earlier favourable land-to-man and livestock-to-man ratios decrease significantly. The society and its environmental context leave little scope for expansionist *r*-strategists. Instead, society enters a phase suitable for niche-exploiting *K*-strategists. The numerically strong components of the population engaged in [by now settled, J.H.] agricultural pastoralism are in need of a new belief system that stresses careful and sustainable patterns of resource use. Buddhism and Jainism prove to be able to cater to this broadly-felt need. Brahmins as inheritors of the old *r*-strategist belief system oppose the new religions.

(III) In spite of the ethic of careful resource use of Buddhism and Jainism, the population increases and the resource crunch continuous. *Endogamous tribes become endogamous casts*.[22]

The proposed scenario is promising, but the following points are problematic.

(A) In the context of India's prehistory and early history, GADGIL & GUHA treat nomadic pastoralism and settled cultivation (the peasant mode of resource use) not as separate modes but as a single one, as they consider the former to be integrated in the latter (from society's point of view, not from the clan or tribe point of view).[23] As has been made clear in recent publications by S. RATNAGAR (e.g., 2006), the Vedic people neither represent just any form of nomadic pastoralism, nor settled agriculture, but a specific mode of semi-nomadic agro-pastoralism which is particularly expansionary and consequential for the environment. Moreover, in the northwest, the area of the ancient Harappa-civilisation, the agro-pastoralists were in an area where forest-coverage was probably already weak.

(B) The chronology of the main moments in the environmental developments in the northern part of the subcontinent remains

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[22] In the present context it is not possible to explore this important point.

[23] This is clear from several earlier passages in their work, and it is stated by them explicitly at GADGIL & GUHA 1992 : 64 : "in the Indian context nomadic pastoralism is best treated not as a separate mode but as being integrated with the peasant mode of resource use, within whose ecological zone it occupied a special niche." This could perhaps be applicable to the situation from South Asia's "second urbanization" in the Gangetic plains (from the 6th century BCE) onwards, but does not seem appropriate for the preceding millennium.

undetermined. Textual sources (the epics) employed by GADGIL & GUHA for what is supposed to be an earlier stage in their scenario are in their present form not older, rather younger, than those representing GADGIL & GUHA's later stage (Buddhist texts). Both groups of texts refer, moreover, to areas more than thousand km apart (the Mahābhārata in the northwest, Buddhism in the east). There are, to be sure, also textual sources regarding the earlier stage which must indeed be textually older (Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas).

(C) Another problematic point in GADGIL & GUHA's account: it is too simplistic to oppose brahmins and Buddhism and Jainism as entirely distinct and separate groups, as the former are often depicted (in Buddhist and Jain texts) as converting to Buddhism and Jainism and becoming their most influential protagonists. Those who were brahminical, semi-nomadic agro-pastoralist *gr̥hapati*s in earlier days, became the agriculturalist *gahapati*s of buddhist texts when the environment could no longer support extensive agro-pastoralism.

(D) In GADGIL & GUHA's account the people who live in the pastoral and unsettled agricultural mode (rather, in our understanding, those living in the agro-pastoralist mode) are basically also the ones who shift to settled agriculture, with pastoralism integrated in it and with urbanized centers for trade, etc. The language (with words such as *grā́ma*, *mahānasa*) does indeed point to a continuity of the dominant communities and their shift from (semi-) nomadism to a settled existence. However, other communities, such as those of food gatherers whose forest-habitat was slowly destroyed, must have joined in the momentum of the formation of a new population. Moreover, according to BRONKHORST's recent study of Greater Māgadha (2007) the available evidence of early religious and philosophical texts points to some form of an encounter between Brahminical groups and a population already present in the eastern Gangetic plains. The old idea of a massive, "complete" Vedic population, with priests, rulers and settlers, shoulder to shoulder, invading India from the north-west remains in any case entirely unconfirmed from our present perspective. Instead, we have tribes or clans adhering to an agro-pastoral ritual system and finding ample scope for expansion, starting from the north-west, both ecological expansion (in the still largely forested plains of north India) and politically, as current rulers were apparently happy to invite their moral and ritual support.

4.4 In spite of these and other debatable points, the main importance of GADGIL & GUHA's account derives from the fact that, with all its uncertainties, it is open to verification from paleoecological and historical ecological research against the background of textual data and ritual practice reconstructed on the basis of these textual data. An important illustration of GADGIL & GUHA's argument derives from their analysis of a specific episode in the Mahābhārata, the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest.[24] GADGIL & GUHA seem here to be inspired by analyses proposed by Irawati KARVE (1974[25]). The famous episode of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest can be briefly summarized as follows.

> Kr̥ṣṇa and Arjuna are at a picnic in the great Khāṇḍava forest which lies on the banks of the Yamunā, approximately where the city of Delhi stands today. A brahmin with a reddish beard approaches them and begs for alms. When he is being granted his desire, the brahmin reveals himself as Agni, the fire god. He then asks that his hunger be satiated by the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest, along with every creature within it. Kr̥ṣṇa and Arjuna agree to this, whereupon Agni gives them a fine chariot, and bows and arrows, to perform the task. The forest is set on fire, and Kr̥ṣṇa and Arjuna patrol its perimeter, driving back all the creatures who attempt escape. They also fight against Indra who, in vain, tries to extinguish the fire with his rain for the sake of his friend, Takṣaka, the mighty king of the snakes. With a few exceptions, all living beings of the Khāṇḍava forest die in the fire.

We are surprised to see here that Arjuna is directly engaged in killing living creatures, and that too apparently without any qualms – as it was his duty as Kṣatriya to comply with the request of the brahmin. Do these living creatures of the forest also include humans? While the Mahābhārata narrator mostly speaks of living creatures (e.g., *śarīriṇaḥ, prāṇinaḥ*: which could refer mainly to animals but also to human beings) that try to flee the burning forest and are driven back into it by Arjuna

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[24] Their account of the episode does not remain close to the Sanskrit original.

[25] GADGIL & GUHA refer to Irawati KARVE elsewhere in their book but not at this place. Nevertheless, I suspect that they are here too influenced by the original analysis of Mahābhārata characters of Irawati KARVE's *Yuganta*, which appeared first in Marathi in a publication which I have not been able to obtain, and later in English (KARVE 1974).

and Kṛṣṇa, he makes nevertheless the gods, shocked by what they are seeing in the Khāṇḍava forest, ask Indra in heaven: "Why are all these people (*mānavāḥ* !) being burned by the Fire?"[26] Moreover, the handful of creatures that in spite of everything survive the burning forest, includes the snake Aśvasena, the son of Takṣaka, and four birds, and moreover one personality with most humane characteristics, namely the architect Asura Maya, who will later on help the Pāṇḍavas by building their palace in Indraprastha. Also Takṣaka survives the event because he is not in the Khāṇḍava forest but in Kurukṣetra.[27]

Arjuna's actions here contrast remarkably with his character as it appears elsewhere in the Mahābhārata. In book six of the Mahābhārata at the beginning of the Bhagavad-gītā, Arjuna is famously depicted as being overwhelmed by emotions at the beginning of the great battle in which he foresees life-and-death fights with relatives and teachers whom he does not want to kill. After he has explained his doubts to Kṛṣṇa, the latter addresses Arjuna "who was overcome with compassion, despairing, his troubled eyes filled with tears,"[28] and starts his actual discourse known as the Lord's Song or Bhagavad-gītā.[29]

GADGIL & GUHA point to a solution, though their solution remains rather undeveloped, when they remark that (1992: 79) "Arjuna evidently wants to clear the Khāṇḍava forest to provide the land for his agricultural / pastoral clan, and to build their capital city, Indraprastha." Also in VAN BUITENEN's interpretation and translation the episode of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest is explained or justified as follows: "In order to found their own kingdom, the Pāṇḍavas need to

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[26] MBh 1.217.16 *kiṁ nv ime mānavāḥ sarve dahyante kṛṣṇavartmanā*.

[27] GADGIL & GUHA (and KARVE 1974) take the term *nāga* here not in its lexical meaning of 'snake' or 'cobra' but as "food-gathering tribe"; this is clearly motivated by their theory on ecological conflict but not, as far as I know, by usage in the Mahābhārata (MW: 532-533 does mention that *nāga* are regarded as human creatures with Buddhists).

[28] BhagG 2.1 *taṁ tathā kṛpayāviṣṭam aśrupūrṇākulekṣaṇam / viṣīdantam idaṁ vākyam uvāca madhusūdanaḥ //*

[29] In another famous passage, Mahābhārata 3.244, Arjuna's elder brother Yudhiṣṭhira is depicted as feeling "very sorry" (*suduḥkhārtaḥ*) when deer surviving the regular hunts by the brothers staying in the forest appear in his dream and ask him to move away so that the few surviving deer are left as "seed of the future" (*bījabhūtāḥ*). After waking up next dawn Yudhiṣṭhira is "filled with compassion" (*dayāpannaḥ*) towards the deer and tells his brothers to prepare to leave this forest and go to another area (cp. VAN BUITENEN 1975: 698-699).

clear the forest, which is done by fire in the form of the God of Fire" (VAN BUITENEN 1973: 13). The appalling violence against numerous innocent creatures, including humans and near-humans, remains here unaddressed.

It may be impossible to make the two sections, on the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest and the Bhagavad-gītā, harmoniously fit with a consistent character-structure of Arjuna, at least not with what would be a consistent character-structure from our modern readers' point of view. However, the public for which the stories were initially intended, may not have perceived an unsurmountable contrast or conflict. It is indeed likely that for this public it was not only the immediate justification of the acts in terms of Kr̥ṣṇa's and Arjuna's duty to fulfil the wish of a deserving brahmin that was entirely acceptable. They must have felt that an additional justification of their deeds derived from the useful results expected from occasional forest fires caused by humans. An underlying conflict between communities with different principal modes of resource use would go a long way to explaining the acceptability of other aspects of the narration to this public, that is, to semi-nomadic pastoralists who are mostly in indirect but sometimes also in direct competition with hunting and gathering men and animals.[30]

One more important point: if such conflicts were there on a large scale, we should expect that traces of the events hinted at in this story – tangible traces of anthropogenic fires and of sudden transitions from forested area to agricultural area – can be found in paleoecological investigations.

4.5 GADGIL & GUHA depict Vedic ritual first as ecologically causal and consequential in the period in which Vedic people (Vedic tribes and clans) were expansive *r*-strategists, and next as ecologically "outdated" in the period in which Buddhism and Jainism emerged and became dominant. For the purpose of their ecological history of India, the two authors completely lose their interest in Vedic ritual at this point.

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[30] Several recent examples could be cited of fast changes in perception and evaluation. Two should here suffice: in 1931 G.P.R. Hergé published the comic "Les Aventures de Tintin ... au Congo" which was redrawn in 1946. A call for a ban of the book (English version "Tintin in the Congo") on account of "racist" representations was formulated by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in the U.K. in 2007 (The Telegraph, article by Martin Backford, 12 July 2007; accessed through www.telegraph.co.uk). The comic has also been criticized for its scenes of animal abuse.

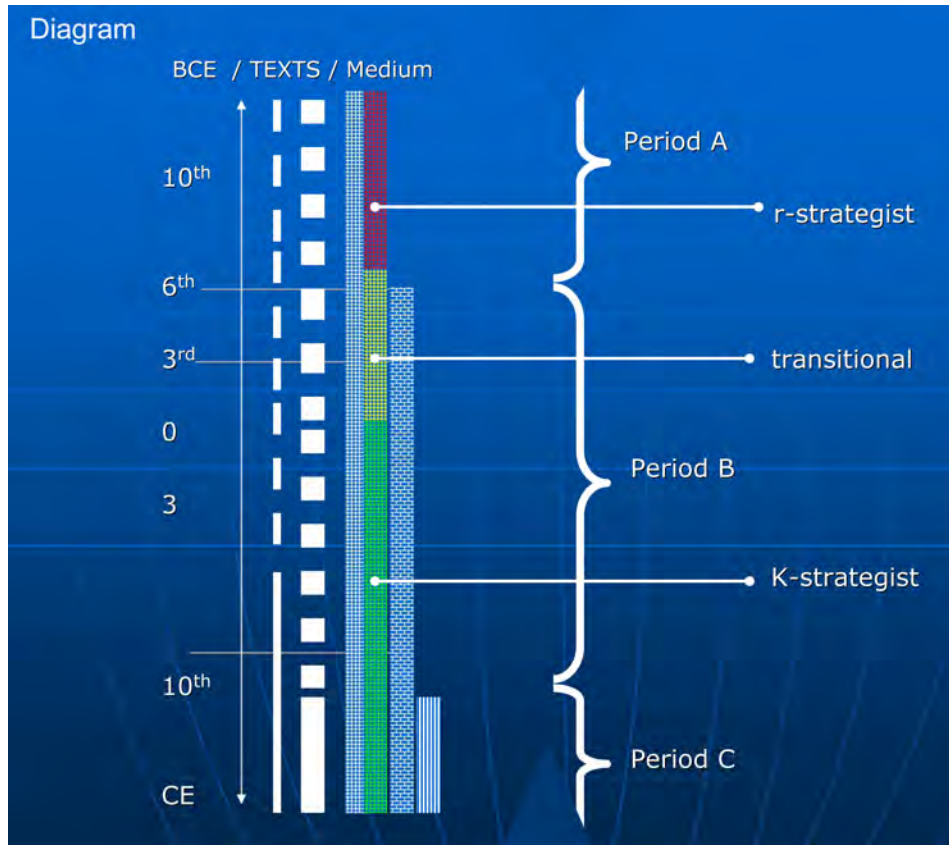
But we do not. A detailed examination would make this article too long and is hence to be postponed to a future occasion. However, a few brief remarks can be made already now. After a period of apparent decline and restriction for Vedic ritualists under the Mauryan rulers, there is a very remarkable comeback of Vedic ritual at the state level when the brahmin general Puṣyamitra becomes king in an empire till then for several generations ruled by kings with strong Buddhist sympathies. Echos of this apparently most impressive event are found in the famous line in Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya (MBh 2:123.3-4): *iha puṣyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ* "Here we are conducting a sacrifice for Puṣyamitra"; in Kālidāsa's drama Mālavikāgnimitra (where Puṣyamitra's son Agnimitra is a major character); and, finally, in Buddhist sources such as the Aśokāvadhāna.

Even if the Vedic ritualists had, before the decline started, an extensive ecological niche at their disposal – probably from the area around Kurukṣetra to the former forests of the Gangetic plains – where they could expand progressively, they had also from very early times another niche, which was not so much ecological but political. An example was given above: the help of the priest Vasiṣṭha was sought for by king Sudās. By the time of the Mauryas, the ecological niche for Vedic ritualists was already exhausted. For the political niche, however, time was not yet over, as became clear under Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. His royal horse sacrifice is the Ur-revival of Vedic ritual which gave a new lease of life to a ritual system that was ecologically already outdated but which had nevertheless still several strong points through which on the one hand individual Vedic ritualists and their families could survive; and, on the other hand, political centers could employ to their advantage the features of Vedic ritual as a unique medium. It is the Ur-revival on which future revivals depend as they take as starting point a ritual system that is already ecologically dislocated.

With the revival of Vedic ritual under Puṣyamitra in Māgadha, a long period of renewed contact, interaction, overlap and competition of Brahmanism with Buddhism and Jainism starts, in which Brahmanism goes back and forth between reverting to *r*-strategist elements and adopting characteristics of *K*-strategists. In some respects, for instance with regard to the avoidance of killing animals, Brahmanism will ultimately outdo Buddhism by adopting the strictest rules of vegetarianism and by giving not only a protected but even a sacred status

to the cow. The ancient aptness of Vedic ritual to help its exponents to thrive on not yet cultivated soils had become defunct, but the equally ancient attraction which this ritual system exercised on the political elite remained or perhaps it even increased. The real creative period of Vedic texts and rituals, however, was since long over. Vaidikas, whose number had dwindled, are now engaged in conserving and transmitting their tradition and in searching and exploiting suitable niches for their survival. While earlier Vedic ritualists were semi-settled agro-pastoralists, the post-Puṣyamitra ones are to a much greater extent agricultural settlers (unless they get a function in a court or temple). The nomadic character of Vedic ritual had gradually become inappropriate to the changing circumstances, but there were other components to the by then technically quite well established system of causal Vedic ritual. The availability of the pada-plus-saṁhitā mode of transmission of Vedic texts made possible the revival under Puṣyamitra of an already archaic set of texts and an ecologically outdated set of solemn rituals. On the other hand, the availability of the pada-plus-saṁhitā mode increased the burden of texts – all family collections (maṇḍalas), sometimes a second, and third, and even a fourth Veda – to be learned by heart by the students, leaving at the same time no scope for the creation of new hymns according to ancient techniques.

In this post-Puṣyamitra period, Vedic ritual continues its interaction with the pada-plus-saṁhitā mode of text transmission but it also starts to interact and also to compete with new media. These include royal inscriptions and coins that commemorate an Aśvamedha, later on written versions of first secondary and next central Vedic texts.

The main parameters which we have distinguished in the preceding paragraphs regarding Vedic ritual as medium, its dynamic "*r*-strategist" or "*K*-strategist" relation with the environment (and a transitional period between the two), Vedic texts, central ones and marginal ones (thick and thin line), which are first transmitted orally (dotted line) and next in written form (solid line), the association or non-association of Vedic ritual with pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission and later with writing: these parameters and their mutual relation are can be represented as follows in a Diagram.

5. Conclusion and prospects

Now around 15-20 years back, Michael WITZEL proposed a strategy and a methodology to localize Vedic civilization geographically and chronologically and get a better grip on the authors and transmitters of Vedic texts and the exponents of Vedic culture (esp. WITZEL 1987, 1989, 1995a, 1995b, 1997). Unlike WITZEL, however, we are at present not searching for traces of "the movement of Indo-Aryan spearkers into South Asia and their rise to dominance once there" (1995a: 87). At the beginning of the period in which we are interested the Indo-Aryan speakers are already in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent. In the course of subsequent centuries, Indo-Aryan speakers and Vedic ritualists spread throughout the Indian subcontinent. The processes through which this expansion took place were probably more "memetic" than "genetic" but further details of these processes are still largely unclear

and require further research. WITZEL's individual judgements are therefore occasionally to be revised or updated, but the methodology is basically sound as it leads to verifiable or falsifiable statements regarding the Vedic people and their culture.

WITZEL explains this methodology in two articles (WITZEL 1995a and 1995b) that focus, respectively, on the linguistic and textual parameters of the entire body of Vedic literature and on parameters and variablies in the study of the Ṛg-veda. With regard to the Ṛg-veda, WITZEL asks attention for the following key parameters (1995b: 307-308): (a) the structure of the Ṛg-veda with its relative order of hymns divided into books; (b) relationships of various tribes and clans to the books of the Ṛg-veda; (c) the authors of the hymns as determined from internal references and from later texts (Anukramaṇī); (d) geographical features: rivers and mountains; (e) a combination of these data in a grid of places, poets and tribes; (f) a combination of this grid with a chronological grid on the basis of a few pedigrees of chiefs and poets available from the hymns. This information is again to be combined with data from linguistic investigations, cultural data on religion, ritual, material culture, local customs, etc.

The main parameters in the grids which WITZEL proposes to set up for the Ṛg-veda deal with linguistic and textual regularities, and with textual references to rivers and mountains and those to chiefs and poets. A broad chronology derives from the "collapse" of the Indus civilization (1900 BCE) and the beginning of the use of iron (1200 BCE), and a rough geography derives from the references to rivers and mountains, which points to the area of the "Greater Punjab" (currently in Pakistan and northwestern India). Everything else remains speculative as it is based on textual references which have no chance to be verified or falsified.

WITZEL's grids are therefore to be expanded or supplemented by a grid that takes other relationships into account. First of all, the texts presuppose rituals in several ways, through explicit references and otherwise, so that texts and chapters of texts can be linked with a ritual. Next, it is important to determine how the available text relates to modes of transmission such as the pada-plus-saṁhitā transmission and manuscripts, and whether the ritual presupposed in the text appears in an expansive *r*-strategist mode or in a defensive and niche-exploiting *K*-strategist mode. The ritual can then be linked up with ecological conditions. Finally, the ecological conditions presupposed in the rituals

are to be matched with conditions as actually found in paleoecological investigations.

On the basis of currently available data we expect to find from such studies some movement from the Ṛg-vedic Panjab to Kurukṣetra and next towards, initially, the west and the middle of the Gangetic plain. Such movement may or may not match with other archeological data, for instance regarding the distribution of Painted Gray Ware and of Northern Black Polished Ware. It is also possible that other movements, from east to west, are perceived, for instance in connection with the spread of paddy-culture. Much research is of course already done that can be re-employed and that will be of direct or indirect and partial use with regard to this new perspective on a causal and ecologically consequential ritual presupposed in Vedic texts.

In addition, textual references may point to specific areas where paleoecological investigations may be useful. For instance, in connection with the story of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest (south of Kurukṣetra, TĀ 5.1.1), whether we take it as a semi-historical, as a legendary or as a mythical account, the search for traces of anthropogenic fires or of a remarkable transition from forest to cultivated soil would be called for. Similarly, more research data are needed regarding deforestation and the emergence of urbanism in the area around Allahabad (Prayāg).

A better grasp of Vedic ritual as medium is thus crucial for translating the textual data into rituals and into possible tangible traces in the period for which no other historical data are at our disposal. The expansive period of Vedic ritual was precisely in the time before historical data become available. When other historical data are at our disposal, from the time of the Aśokan inscriptions onwards, and in fact a few centuries earlier, Vedic ritual has already entered into a difficult period as the environment has been transformed as a consequence of its own success. Moreover, when other historical data are available, there is an interaction, to some extent distortive, between various newer media and Vedic ritual. However, for these later periods too, the study of Vedic ritual as medium can explain and clarify remarkable features of Vedic ritual, its survival through the first one and a half millennium CE, and its marginal survival to the present day – where some aspects of its capacity as medium can still be appreciated by modern spectators and participants, who feel to be transported to a distant age when, for instance, the creation and maintenance of fire were at once crucial and

awe-inspiring enterprises, when water was a lively, divine and purifying substance, when simple grass could create a comfortable seat, etc.

As it was observed by the poet of R̥V 10.130.6cd:
páśyan manye mánasā cákṣasā tā́n yá imáṁ yajñám áyajanta pū́rve.
"I feel that I am seeing with my mental eye those ancients who engaged in this ritual worship formerly."

Abbreviations

AA[31] = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī; (a) ed. and german translation, O. Böhtlingk 1887; (b) translation, analysis and extracts from commentaries, Ram Nath Sharma 1987-2003; (c) translation and analysis, S.D. Joshi and J.A.F. Roodbergen 1992-...

BauDhS = Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra. See OLIVELLE 2000;

Manu = Manu-smr̥ti or Mānava-dharmaśāstra. Ed. and tr. P. OLIVELLE 2005.;

MBh = (Vyākaraṇa-) Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, ed. by F. Kielhorn (vols. I-III), Bombay. 1880-85 ; Third revised edition K.V. Abhyankar, Poona, 1962-1972. Ref. to vol. no.: page.line;

R̥V = R̥g-veda, ed.: F.M. MÜLLER, (a) samhitā and pada texts (2 vols), 3rd reprint, Varanasi 1965;

TĀ = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka. Ed., with commentary of Sāyaṇa, by Abhyankarshastri and G.A. Joshishastri. Poona, 1897; book 5, transl.: HOUBEN 1991.

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[31] Current abbreviations for Pāṇini's work, P and A, are inconsistent, confusing and unsatisfactory; hence this abbreviation that evokes the derivation of Aṣṭādhyāyī as *aṣṭan+adhyāya+ṄīP* and that is parallel to the generally accepted abbreviations such as VP for the Vākyapadīya.

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Earliest transmissions of Avestan texts

RAMIYAR PARVEZ KARANJIA

Historically the Zoroastrians have been considered a people of the book. The Dēnkard states that the Avesta was committed to writing at the instance of King Vishtāspa, the patron king of Zarathushtra. The king's prime minister, and Zarathushtra's foremost disciple Jāmāspa, was the scribe. He kept one copy in the treasury, another in the archives. A few more copies were also made. Centuries later, the copy in the treasury was burned and the one in the archives was carried away by the Greeks and translated. Almost four centuries after this, king Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian dynasty got the scattered fragments collected and Herbad Tosar was entrusted to make the scripture as it was originally in the treasury.[1]

This tradition about a written transmission of the Avesta is considered either erroneous or a fallacy by most present day Indo-Iranists. A written account of the Avesta, especially during the time of Zarathushtra is generally not acceptable to the western indo-Iranian academia on account of the antiquity of the age of the prophet. They contend that the Avestan texts were transmitted purely through an oral tradition on account of the absence of words related to roots for "to write" and "to read" in the Avestan texts.[2] A lack of archaeological evidences for written Avesta in that period strengthens their contention.

This paper is an attempt to shed light on this conundrum, on the basis of the information about the development of writing, archeological

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[1] Dēnkard, Book 3, last chapter, paragraph 1-8, in Sacred Books of the East, E.W. West, Vol. 37 edited by Max MÜLLER, Intro p. 30-32. [The Dēnkard is a quite late work, written at a time that the written transmission of the Avesta was already completed. n. J.H.]

[2] MIRZA 2000: 390-393.

evidences in the Indo-Iranian belt, as well as internal evidences in the Avestan texts.

Tradition of writing in the history of mankind:

A perfunctory look into the earliest attempts at writings by mankind indicates that it was evolved for recording sound and ideas, mainly for religious purposes. They were done on available surfaces and materials like walls of caves, on stones, ivory, bones, leather, papyrus, papier-mâché, gold/silver/copper plates, tablets, palm-leaves, cloth clay or tortoise shells.

The evolution of writing follows the stages of pictorial hieroglyphic writing leading to word-based writing, and culminating in phonetic syllabic / consonantal writing.[3]

The earliest evidence of use of recorded symbols dates back almost 30,000 years. From this developed the pictorial writing with ideographic symbols, like those on tortoise shells in Jiahu, China (ca. 6000 BCE), the Tărtăria tablets in Vinca-Turdaş script (ca. 5500 BC), in Romania, and the Early Indus script (ca. 2000 BCE).

Alphabetic writing started to develop around 3500 BCE[4]. On the basis of available archaeological evidences, the Egyptians, the Phoenicians and the Babylonians were among the first ones to start the alphabet.[5] Traces of early Sumerian phonetic writings have been found in Mesopotamia (southern Iraq) dating back ca. 2000–1500 BCE.[6]

In the Indo-Iranian belt, Iranian words have been found in the ancient near east from ca. 1500 BC. The al-Amarna tablets from Palestine dated at about 15th century BC and the Mitanni treaty between the Hittite and Hurrite kings, a century later have names of Indo-Iranian origin – both of royalties as well as of divinities.[7]

During the Achaemenian times, at least two scripts were used by the royalty, the cuneiform script and the cursive Aramaic script. Writing

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[3] Ignace GELB, *Britannica online encyclopedia*, Aug. 2010.

[4] [Actually this is the time when logographic and/or ideographic symbols start acquiring a phonetic value on word or syllable level (See DIRINGER and DANIELS). This period is still far removed from anything that comes close to an alphabet or alpha-syllabary such as Ugaritic cuneiform of 1500 BCE. Phonetic writing, which we can understand as the first step in the direction of alphabetic writing, started to develop around 3500 BCE. n. J.H.]

[5] BULSARA 1928: 5.

[6] HALL 1920: 172.

[7] *Encyclopedia Iranica*, *Avesta*.

and reading was prevalent during the times of King Cyrus (558–529 BCE).[8] Herodotus indicates that writing was prevalent even when the later Median kings were in power (ca. 550–600 BCE).[9]

The Tradition of a written Avesta

The tradition of a written word (Phl. *nipig ī dipirīh*) in the Iranian civilization goes prior to the advent of Zarathushtra. An early Pishdadian king Tehmurasp (Av. *taxma urupa*) is reported to have mastered the art of writing, having learnt it from non-Mazdayasnis, who were generally referred to as *daevayasnis*.[10]

King Vishtāspa ordered the Avestan texts to be recorded as also the dialogues between the first believers, the prophet and his disciples.[11]

We have accounts from diverse sources, Iranian as well as non-Iranian, about the tradition of the Avesta texts being written. The information about the medium on which the texts were written varies in different sources. One text states that King Vishtāspa ordered the writing of Avesta, whereby "1200 chapters were engraved and written in the Avestan script on golden tablets."[12] Another source states that it was recorded on "decorated cow hides with golden ink."[13] The Greek writer Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) quotes his predecessor Hermippus (3rd century BCE) that he studied two million verses composed by Zoroaster. Arabic historians Tabari and Masudi state that Zoroastrian texts were copied on 12 000 cowhides.[14] The quantifications, like those given by Pliny probably refer to a written tradition.

Kazwini (ca. 1300 CE) and Mirkhond (ca. 1500 CE) note that the Avesta was already written during the time of King Gushtasp. The latter corroborates the fact mentioned in the Ardā Virāz Nāmag and Greater Bundahishn that texts were written on cowhides.

The tradition of a written Avesta during the Achaemenian times has archeological support. The oldest written Avestan word is found in Aramaic script amidst the ruins of Persepolis. It is a three lettered

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[8] Chronicles 36.22-23, Ezra 4.14-15; 5.17-6.3.

[9] Herodotus, I.123-4.

[10] In *Menog I Xrat* (26.21-23), edn. A. TAFAZZOLI 1985 and *Aogemadaecha* (91-92), edn. K.M. Jamasp ASA 1982 and Ferdowsi Shahnameh I, (39-44) edn. DEHEGHI-MOTLAGH 1988.

[11] Dēnkard III.420.

[12] Shahriha I Eran, Pahlavi texts, p.18, 10-14.

[13] Ardā Viraz Namag, Dēnkard V.

[14] DHALLA 1938: 3.

inscription *hwn (*Av. *hāvana)*, on the mortar (a ritual implement). This corroborates a tradition of the written Avesta in the consonantal Aramaic script during the Achaemenian period.

We also have accounts of Avesta being written during the Parthian period. Pausanius indicates that the Magians during the Parthian period used to intone invocations from a book.[15] The Parthian emperor Valkhash (Vologeses V: 51–77 CE) attempted to collect scattered fragments of Avesta. This indicates that there was a written tradition much prior to the Sasanian period, when traditionally the Avestan is said to have been committed to writing.

Mani, in the early Sasanian times, records that the immediate disciples of Zarathushtra wrote books.[16] Sasanian Emperor Ardashir (Artakhshir I: 226–240 CE) ordered Dastur Tosar to have fragments collected and arranged. These early Sasanian attempts also indicate a pre-existence of a written body of texts. That the early Sasanians and monarchs before them attempted to write down the Avestan in a script in which the vowel system had not yet been properly developed, can be deduced from Avestan words found in documents like Aramaic papyrus of Eliphantine and other Aramaic documents of the Achaemenian times, the Awroman documents and inscriptions at Duro-Europas of the Parthian times.

This very early Sasanian, consonantal, non-vocalised script was instrumental in the composing and invention of the *dēn dibīrīh* script which was invented in the mid Sasanian period. The Avestan texts were historically committed to writing in a highly phonetic script which could record almost all nuances of the spoken word, around 4th-5th century CE. Though we do not have any archaeological evidences of this, the existence of such a Sasanian archetype has been more than satisfactorily established.

Internal evidences in the Avesta:

The extant Avesta shows a complex method of grouping texts. There are words which indicate a system of divisions and sub-divisions of texts. Although such classifications is not a conclusive proof of a written model, division of texts is more probable when there is a recorded basis and it suggests the use of an early tradition of recording. We will survey such words and their occurrences.

[15] MIRZA 2000: 403- 4.
[16] MIRZA 2000: 404.

naska – "collection of books, a Volume";
haomō taēcit yōi kataiiō naskō frasāoŋghō āoŋhəu̯te spānō mastīmca baxṣ̌aiti – "Haoma grants wisdom and greatness to those house holders who sit learning the Volumes." Yasna (Y) 9.22;
haṇdāta – "what is put together, a collection (of writings)."
yazamaide vә̄ ameṣ̌ā speəṇtā yasnahē haptaŋhātōiš haṇdātā – "We venerate thee, O Amesha Spentas, through the collection of Yasna Haptanghaiti." Y. 42.1;
hauruuąm haṇdāitīm staotanąm yesnyanąm yazamaide – "We venerate all collections of Staota Yasnya" Y. 58.8. (The collection of Staota Yasnya is also remembered in Visperad (Vs) 1.3);
yasnahē haptaŋhātōiš haṇdātā yazamaide – "We venerate the collection of Yasna Haptanghaiti." Vs. 16.4.

The word *haṇdāta* stands for a collection of texts. It is derived from Indo-Iranian root *dā-* "to make, to create, to put", with the prefix *ham* "together". Such collections are possible in context of written or recorded texts.

kərəti – "section";
vīspåsca yasnō.kərətayō – "all the sections of Yasna"; Y. 8.22.
hāiti – "a chapter, a section";
fraorəitīm hāitīm yazamaide – "we venerate the chapter *fraorəiti.*" Y. 13.8;
ahiiā yāsām hāitīm yazamaide – "we venerate the chapter ***ahiiā yāsā.***" Y. 28.12.

Such venerations come after the completion of each of the 17 chapters of the Gāθās (Y.28-34, 43-51, 53) in the Yasna.

The *hāiti* "chapter" is further sub-divided as *afsmana* "metric line, stanza, verse", ***vacas*** "word", *vacas-tašti* "syllables , lit. word-formers" (Vs. 13.3 and 16.4). This division is on the basis of meter and rhyme, which again is highly improbable if there were no recorded texts. Such division is also mentioned in Y. 57.8 and other places, especially for poetic compositions like the Gāθās.

It is pertinent to note that the words *kərəti* and *hāiti* are used even at present in the Parsi tradition to mark the sections and chapters of the texts of Visperad and Yasna respectively.

baγa – "a part, a portion";

baγa aēša as ahunahe vairyiiehe – “portion of Ahuna vairya” Y. 19.3, cf. 19.6: *baγąm ahunahe vairyiiehe*;
baγəm aṣ̌ahe vahištahe – “portion of Asha Vahishta (Ashem Vohu Prayer)” Y. 20.5, Yasht (Yt.) 3.14;
baγąm yeŋ́he-hātąm – “portion of Yenghe Hātām (Yenghe Hātām Prayer)” Y. 21.5;
baγąm staotanąm yesniianąm – “portion of Staota Yasnyas” Y. 55.7.

Thus we have seen that in the Avestan texts there are words for text division right from Volumes to a single syllable in a word, which strongly imply a recorded tradition.

However, since these recorded texts were very few, they were not in use for the purpose of individual study. Moreover with the consonantal type of script that was used for recording, writing by themselves these ‘written’ texts would be of hardly any use and would only assist if there was an oral tradition going along with it.

It needs to be noted that the Avestan tradition has never regarded writing or recording of the texts as sinful. Unlike in the Sanskrit texts like the Mahābhārata, where it is stated that that one will go to hell if one writes down the Veda, writing of the Avestan was never considered sinful.

Conclusion

The two main objections to the idea of an early written Avestan tradition are those of antiquity of the Avestan language depending on the time of Zarathushtra on the one hand and internal evidences to the contrary in the Avestan language, on the other.

As to the objection of antiquity, ca. 2000 BCE is generally held to be the acceptable date for prophet Zarathushtra and the Avesta. Accepting this date, it is very plausible that the account given in the Dēnkard and by other Greek and Roman writers as regards the original Avesta having been recorded/written on cowhides etc. can very well be plausible and true as the alphabets[17] had already been discovered by then.

It is generally held that the Avesta texts indicate “mental and oral”[18] transmissions as there are no words for “reading” and “writing” in the extant Avestan texts. However, reading and writing are associated

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[17] [They cannot be yet called alphabets, but phonetic, syllabic writing systems. n. J.H.].

[18] MIRZA 2000: 391.

more with the tools of paper and stylus. If the records are on surfaces other than paper, perhaps some other words like etching, engraving and recording have to be considered as a means of recording the texts.

These recorded texts were primarily not for reading (as a means of private study), but for recording and hence the word for to write and read may not have been sufficiently developed during the Avestan times. The recorded texts were just kept as records and aid to memory and may never have been independently used, as they may not have been able to record the nuances of the sounds properly. They could be of help only if the texts were known orally.

Thus the seemingly conflicting accounts of earliest transmission of Avestan texts – oral and written – on closer scrutiny do not seem conflicting, as there is merit in both the accounts. The written account that existed may be of a special kind, not for general use but only for archival records. Hence, though the earliest Avestan texts were recorded, they may not have been committed to writing as we understand it. It was just for documentation and record and not for general use and dissemination. The texts were by and large used and transmitted orally.

The Avestan oral tradition was highly regarded, since scriptural recitation went hand in hand with ritual performance. The small number of Avestan texts that survived the post-Sasanian cataclysm and mayhem, were those which were committed to memory on account of their being widely used for ritual purposes. So orality was vindicated and still stands vindicated as it has served one of its main purpose.

Orality as well as recorded/written traditions have gone hand in hand. They have been there since the inception of Avestan texts. Early orality should not be regarded as a proof for there being no written/recorded tradition. Even after the Sasanian period, when the recording of text has been historically testified (thought no written text of that period has been archaeologically available) the oral tradition has continued and continues till date when printed versions are so easily available. Recorded versions (divisions) and orality are testified together in the following reference *haṇdātā … hāitišca* (Vs. 16.4) and *hāitišca … frasraoθrəmca …* (Vs. 13.3)

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Sraoša : de la terminologie indo-iranienne à l'exégèse avestique

JEAN KELLENS

Sraoša et Aṣ̌i sont les deux seules divinités omniprésentes du panthéon avestique. Elles apparaissent, pleinement personnifiées, dans l'Avesta ancien (à l'exception, pour Sraoša, du Yasna Haptaŋhāiti), ce qui, il y a bien longtemps, avait convaincu Martin HAUG d'accorder à Sraoša le statut exceptionnel d'« archange de Dieu » et qui fut ensuite oublié jusqu'à l'essai de KREYENBROEK en 1985 (*Sraoša in the Zoroastrian Tradition*, Leiden). Elles donnent leur nom à un jour du mois dans les calendriers religieux et reçoivent, à ce titre, l'hommage d'un hymne personnel (le Yašt 11 à Sraoša et le Yašt 17 à Aṣ̌i). Fait remarquable, ce sont aussi les deux seules divinités à qui soit consacré un chapitre spécifique du Yasna, le Y52 à Aṣ̌i, qui est intercalé entre les deux dernières Gâthâs, et le Y57 à Sraoša, posé en lisières du corpus ancien. Cette caractéristique commune suffirait à expliquer leur union, qui est crûment entérinée par la série épithétique *sraoša aṣ̌iia- aṣ̌iuuaṇt-* « Sraoša qui accompagne Aṣ̌i et qu'Aṣ̌i accompagne » (ou vice-versa). Un autre trait commun est que leur nom est solidement ancré dans la phraséologie indo-iranienne du sacrifice, mais que, dans l'Inde védique, aucun équivalent, même approximatif, n'a accédé au rang d'allégorie divine.

Pour ce qui est de Sraoša, cette origine est encore lisible dans le Y56 « Petit hymne à Sraoša » (*Srōš yašt-ī kēh*), où l'attention à quatre sacrifices particuliers est exigée au moyen de l'ordre lapidaire *səraošō iδā astū… yasnāi…* Une comparaison saisissante, que je n'ai pu pister jusqu'à ses origines, a été faite avec les premiers mots de l'hymne védique I 139 *ástu śraúṣaṭ* « Qu'il soit là ! Qu'il écoute ! ». L'hymne se développe de telle sorte qu'il n'est pas possible de déterminer à qui

cet ordre s'adresse. C'est la TS1, 6, 11, 1 qui permet de le mettre en situation[1].

> L'adhvaryu à l'āgnīdhra : *ā́ śrāvaya* « exhorte (le hotar) ! »
> L'āgnīdhra s'exécute : *ástu śraúṣaṭ* « que (le hotar) soit là ! Qu'il écoute !
> L'adhvaryu au hotar : *yája* « sacrifie ! »
> Le hotar : *yé yájāmahe* « nous voilà qui sacrifions », puis *vaúṣaṭ* « qu'(Agni) véhicule ! » [2]

Il s'agit d'un échange d'exhortations qui sert en quelque sorte de séance d'échauffement au collège sacerdotal en préliminaire de la cérémonie. Que l'utilisation partielle qu'en fait l'hymne du RV ne soit destinée ni aux dieux, ni à l'hypothétique assistance, mais elle aussi au hotar, est confirmé par sa réémergence dans l'avant-dernière strophe : 10. *hótā yakṣat* « que le hotar sacrifie ! ». Il n'est pas inutile de noter que l'exhortation initiale est directement suivie du choix de la cible sacrificielle : *nú… indravāyū́ vr̥ṇīmahe* « à présent, nous choisissons Indra et Vāyu ». De la même manière dans le Yasna, l'investiture du collège sacerdotal (insertion du Vr3 dans Y11 ou, allusivement, Y11.16) est immédiatement suivie de la déclaration *frauuarānē* (Y12).

L'exhortation *səraošō iδā astū* du Y56, qui clôture l'Avesta ancien est aussi un renvoi en écho à celle qui, juste avant l'Ahuna Vairiia, l'inaugure : Y27.6 (*sraošō…*) *hə̄ca iδa yōiϑβā astū* « Sraoša doit avoir pris place rituelle ici ! » Les premiers paragraphes du Y27 terminent le récitatif du second pressurage de haoma, le *Hōmāst* « Consécration du haoma », qui commence avec le Y22 (aussi Y27.6 s'ouvre-t-il par *haoma pairi.harəšiieṇte…* « les haomas vont être filtrés… »). Le paragraphe suivant est une strophe charnière qui juxtapose les deux préoccupations successives du Y27, le pressurage de haoma et la récitation de l'Ahuna Vairiia (avec, entre crochets, les additions de la variante de Vr 12.2) : Y27.7 *humaiia upaŋhå cīšmaide ahunahe vairiiehe aṣ̌aiia frasrūtahe* [*frasrāuuaiiamnahe*] *hāuuanaiiåsca* [*haomą hunuuaiṇtiiå*] *aṣ̌aiia frašūtaiiå* [*frasrāuuamnaiiå*] « Nous croyons qu'ils sont magiques les *upaŋhā* de l'*Ahuna Vairiia* que l'on entend retentir selon l'Agencement et les deux pressoirs pressurant les haomas qui sont

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[1] Armand MINARD, Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins I, Lyon 1949, 101-102.

[2] *śraúṣaṭ* représente **śróṣat* avec pluti et *vaúṣaṭ* est une déformation de **vákṣat* induite par *śraúṣaṭ* (Johanna NARTEN, *Die Sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*, Wiesbaden 1964, 260 n. 816 et 240 n. 725).

mus en retentissant selon l'Agencement ». Les deux opérations sont qualifiées avec une redondance insistante par des formes passives de la racine *sru* « entendre, écouter ». Ainsi, après avoir été confiées à la notion ou au dieu *sraoša*, elles se manifestent avant tout comme des pouvoirs sonores[3]. On remarquera que RV I 139.10, qui commence par le segment exhortatif *hótā yakṣat*, finit lui aussi par évoquer « le chant de la pierre » : *jagṛbhmā́ duráādiśaṃ ślókam ádreḥ* « nous avons perçu la sonorité, portant au loin, de la pierre ».

L'espace de quatre paragraphes qui nous sépare de l'introduction liturgique à l'*Ahuna Vairiia* (Y27.12 = Y11.16) est dévolu à la citation des quatre dernières strophes du Y33 gâthique, dont la première et la dernière sont :

> Y33.11
> *yə̄ səuuištō ahurō, mazdåscā ārmaitiščā*
> *aṣ̌əmcā frādat̰.gaēϑəm, manascā vohū xšaϑrəmcā*
> *sraotā mōi mərəždātā mōi, ādāi kahiiācīt̰ paitī*
>
> Y33.14
> *at̰ rātąm zaraϑuštrō, tanuuascīt̰ xᵛaxiiå uštanəm*
> *dadāitī pauruuatātəm, manaŋhascā vaŋhə̄uš mazdāi*
> *šiiaoϑanahiiā aṣ̌ā.yācā, uxδaxiiācā sərao šəm xšaϑrəmcā*

Que conclure de ceci, sinon que la citation est pleinement, pour les auteurs de l'Avesta récent, une technique de commentaire, un zand ? Nous trouvons ici une spéculation, malheureusement implicite, sur la nature de Sraoša et sur son rôle à la fin de l'avant-dernier chapitre de la première Gâthâ. Sa nature appartient à l'héritage indo-iranien, comme l'exhortation védique le laisse présumer : il est l'incarnation des sonorités du rite et l'aimant de l'écoute attentive que le récitant requiert des dieux. Mais son rôle relève de l'exégèse, juste ou déviée, des Gâthâs : sa phase décisive se déploie entre l'injonction d'écouter adressée à Ahura Mazdā et aux quatre principales entités (Y33.11 xšaϑrəmcā sraotā mōi) et son union finale avec Xšaϑra (Y33.14 səraošəmcā xšaϑrəmcā).

Si, dans l'Avesta comme dans le Rigveda, les épithètes divines sont rarement la propriété exclusive d'un membre du panthéon, elles ont néanmoins un caractère plus ou moins officiel. Celles qui visent à la description spécifique d'une divinité forment série dans le cadre de deux

[3] Sur Y27.6 et 7, voir Jean KELLENS, *Etudes avestiques et mazdéennes III*, Paris 2010, 111-113.

énumérations répétées à l'envi, l'une au génitif, l'autre à l'accusatif. La première est celle dite du *šnūman*, c'est-à-dire de la dédicace du Yašt, la seconde est celle du *yašt* proprement dit, c'est-à-dire du refrain en *yazamaide* qui introduit chaque *karde*. Dans le cas de Sraoša, ce sont les suivantes : Y51.1 *sraošahe aṣ̌iiehe taxmahe tanumąϑrahe darši.draoš āhūiriiehe* « Sraoša, le compagnon d'Aṣ̌i, l'agressif qui a pour corps la Formule, l'adorateur d'Ahura Mazdā à la lance hardie ».

Y57.2 *sraošəm aṣ̌īm huraoδəm vərəϑrājanəm frādaṯ.gaēϑəm* « Sraoša, le compagnon d'Aṣ̌i, celui qui a atteint la belle taille (de quinze ans), brise l'obstacle et multiplie les vivants ».

Le cas de *vərəϑrajan-* est particulièrement intéressant. Ce vieux composé indo-iranien, dont l'équivalent védique s'est spécialisé comme on sait, s'applique occasionnelleemnt à plusieurs divinités, mais Sraoša est la seule dont il compose l'énoncé officiel des qualités. Comment en est-on arrivé à cette étrange situation que, si on s'en remettait à l'attribution de cette seule qualité, on opposerait Indra *vr̥trahan* indien à Sraoša *vərəϑrajan* iranien ? La réponse se trouve aussi dans l'exégèse des Gâthâs. Le Y44.16 pose la question de savoir qui, parmi les dieux (*haṇt-*), est *vərəϑrajan* et permet ensuite de comprendre que la réponse pourrait être Sraoša (ce qui n'est pas nécessairement le cas, car la question pourrait être purement rhétorique ou la réponse se trouve tapie dans *hōi*) :

Y11.16
taṯ ϑβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā
kə̄ vərəϑrəm.jā, ϑβā pōi sə̄ṇghā yōi həṇtī
ciϑrā mōi dąm, ahūm.biš ratūm cīždī
aṯ hōi vohū, səraošō jaṇtū manaŋhā
mazdā ahmāi, yahmāi vašī kahmāicīṯ

La notion de « briser l'obstacle » a été arrimée à la personnalité de Sraoša dans le cadre d'une représentation bien déterminée. Le Y57 ou *Srōš yašt-ī mēh* (« Grand hymne à Sraoša ») est ponctué par la description de trois sacrifices : celui que Sraoša, comme premier sacrificateur du monde matériel, a offert aux dieux du monde antérieur, Ahura Mazdā et les Aməṣ̌as Spəṇtas (Y57.2-12), celui que les mazdéens ordinaires rendent régulièrement à Sraoša (Y57.13-18-, celui que Haoma, comme zaotar d'Ahura Mazdā, a rendu à Sraoša pour l'investir de ses fonctions spécifiques Y57.19-26). Or, chacun de ces sacrifices est explicitement mis en rapport avec la notion de « briser l'obstacle ». C'est la « capacité

à briser l’obstacle » du sacrifice rendu par Sraoša que la chantre prend pour modèle (Y57.3). C’est en tant que Sroaša est « briseur d’obstacle » que les mazdéens l’honorent du sacrifice (Y57.14). Enfin, « briser l’obstacle » est la définition même de la fonction dont le sacrifice de Haoma investit Sraoša (avec insistance, de Y57.21 à 23). Et Vr 20.2 permet de préciser : *auuaṯ vərəϑraγnəm yazamaide yaṯ asti aṇtarə vohuxšaϑrąm vahištōištīm* « le bris de l’obstacle, qui a lieu entre la (Gâthâ) Vohuxšaϑrā (Y51) et la (Gâthâ) Vahištōišti (Y53) ». Le bris de l’obstacle est donc un événement spécifique qui se produit à un moment précis du cursus sacrificiel, entre l’avant-dernière et la dernière Gâthâ et qui est la définition même de la réussite finale du rite. Ainsi, le dieu qui incarne les sonorités sacrificielles, qu’il porte sans embûches à l’oreille des dieux, incarne en même temps cette réussite parce qu’il est, comme sacrificateur primordial, le premier à l’avoir atteinte. Aussi partage-t-il la qualité préférentielle de briseur d’obstacle avec le Saošiiaṇt qui, à l’autre bout de la permanence sacrificielle, y procédera pour la dernière fois.

C’est dire que l’opposition Indra *vr̥trahan* : Sraoša *vərəϑrajan* n’a aucune validité comparative pour deux raisons fondamentales. Ce sont d’abord les discrépances qui ont affecté primitivement la représentation du « briseur d’obstacle » et que nous connaissons bien depuis longtemps, grâce à Louis RENOU et à Emile BENVENISTE (*Vr̥tra Vr̥ϑragna*, Paris 1934). Ensuite, les théologiens de l’Avesta récent s’en sont forgé une représentation radicalement neuve, justifiée à tort ou à raison par l’exégèse des Gâthâs et intégrée à une innovation fondamentale, dont ils sont eux-mêmes les auteurs : la doctrine des âges du monde, dont, selon eux, les Gâthâs font le récit.

Contrairement à *vərəϑrajan-*, *aṣ̌iia-* n’est pas hérité et s’applique exclusivement à Sraoša. Qu’il s’agisse d’une création ad hoc sur Y43.12 est suggéré par le remodelage avestique récent introduit dans Y27.6 et sa variante Vr 12.1 :

Y43.12
…, para hiiaṯ mōi ā.jimaṯ
səraošō aṣ̌ī, mązā.raiiā hacimnō
yā vī aṣ̌īš, rānōibiiō sauuōi vīdāiiāṯ

Y27.6/Vr 12.1 [*hā*] *vaŋhuš sraošō [aṣ̌iiō] yō aṣ̌ahe hacaite mązaraiia*

La substitution d’*aṣ̌ahe* à *aṣ̌ī* suscite plusieurs questions :

1. elle n’est possible que si l’adaptateur prend *mązaraiia* (= scr.

maṁhayád + *rayi-* « qui dispense la richesse ») pour un substantif, comme le fera beaucoup plus tard le traducteur pehlevi (*mas rad* « le grand ratu »).

2. elle fait disparaître toute trace d'Aṣ̌i dans Y27.6, en même temps que Sraoša est affublé d'un *vaŋhuš*, fort banal il est vrai, mais que les Gâthâs ne lui accordent jamais.

3. Aṣ̌i réapparaît via le dérivé secondaire adjectif *aṣ̌iia-* dans la variante de Vr12.1.

Y43.12 ne peut donc être la source doctrinale de l'association entre Sraoša et Aṣ̌i qu'à deux conditions : 1. qu'*aṣ̌iiō*, malgré son absence de Y27.6, soit une part nécessaire de l'adaptation et 2. qu'*aṣ̌ī* figure bien, primitivement, dans la strophe gâthique, ce qui n'est pas une certitude absolue. La bizarrerie syntaxique qui fait qu'Aṣ̌i soit, dans la relative finale (*aṣ̌ī… yā vī aṣ̌īs… vīdāiiāṯ*), à la fois le sujet singulier et l'objet pluriel du verbe ne rassure pas.

La raison qui vaut à Sraoša et à Aṣ̌i un hommage personnel au cœur du Yasna est clairement leur rapport avec le *vərəϑraγna* censé se produire entre le Y51 et le Y53, Sraoša le manifeste par sa titulature *yašt* et le Y27 extrait des strophes Y33.11-14 son association avec *xšaϑra-*, la notion qui enserre cette phase cruciale du rite, avec les premiers mots du Y51 *vohū xšaϑrəm* et le dernier vers du Y53 *taṯ mazdā tauuā xšaϑrəm… vahiiō*. Quant à Aṣ̌i, il s'agit plutôt de sa connivence avec le *mīždа-* « prix de victoire », dont Vr 20.1 et Vr 24.1 relèvent l'importance dans ce même secteur final de l'Avesta ancien (Y51.15 et Y53.7). La proximité sémantique des deux mots, qu'a bien analysée Almut Hintze[4], se double d'un emploi contigu dans le point d'orgue de l'*Airiiaman Išiia* (Y54.1 *yā daēnā vairīm hanāṯ mīždəm aṣ̌ahiiā yāsā aṣ̌īm yąm išiiąm*). Le rôle que l'un et l'autre jouent dans la réussite finale du sacrifice crée entre Sraoša et Aṣ̌i un lien qu'exprime la série épithétique *sraoša- aṣ̌iia- aṣ̌iuuaṇt-* et qui se traduit, selon Y10.1, par le partage d'une même maison, révélant ainsi sa nature matrimoniale.

Il existe entre les Gâthâs et le Y57 un nombre si grand de parallèles qu'on voudrait les appeler des sources, car ils forment série (mais je laisse aux néo-duméziliens l'argument « ce ne peut être un hasard ») :

Y28.5	ahurāi … səraošəm	: Y57.1	sraošahe… āhūiriiehe
Y28.5	səraošəm… mąϑrā	: Y57.1	sraošahe… tanumąϑrahe
Y33.5	səraošəm… apānō	: Y57.4	sraošəm… yō aṣ̌ahe apanō.təmō

[4] Almut HINTZE, *« Lohn » im Indoiranischen*, Wiesbaden 2000, 141-204.

Y33.14	pauruuatātəm… səraošəm	:	Y57.20	sraošəm… mąϑraheca pauruuatātəm
Y44.16	ahūm.biš … səraošo	:	Y57.15	sraošəm… yō jaṇta… ahūm.mərəcō
Y44.16	vohū səraošō	:	Y57.29	vohūm sraošəm
Y46.17	afšmānī… səraošā	:	Y57.8	sraošəm… yō… afsmaniuuąn

Le panthéon de l'Avesta récent n'est pas homogène. Les personnalités divines qui le composent sont d'origine diverse. Il y a des dieux fossiles en voie de perdre leur emploi, comme Apąm Napāt. Significativement, les auteurs du calendrier ne l'ont pas sélectionné et, par suite, son Yašt est perdu (quoiqu'il ait existé, puisque son refrain est préservé comme Yt19.52). Miϑra est un dieu hérité, mais recyclé, qui n'a guère en commun avec le Mitra védique que son nom. Sraoša, Aṣ̌i, les Frauuaṣ̌is (et, j'ajouterai, *vərəϑraγna*) représentent encore un autre cas de figure. Quoique leur apothéose soit exclusivement iranienne, leur nom est ancré dans les vieilles conceptions et imageries indo-iraniennes du sacrifice. Les Frauuaṣ̌is incarnent le choix de la cible sacrificielle et l'intégration à la lignée ininterrompue des sacrifiants. Le corps même de Sraoša matérialise la parole des dieux sur l'aire sacrificielle et les sonorités du rite dans le ciel divin. Aṣ̌i est l'aurige du convoi qui mène les offrandes chez les dieux et en ramène le prix chez les hommes. Mais l'activité attribuée à chacun est indissociable d'une représentation particulière de l'histoire du monde – en gros, la doctrine des millénaires – dont les théologiens récents voulaient lire les péripéties successives dans le cursus récitatif des Gâthâs. D'une certaine manière, ces nouveaux dieux sont les enfants du *zand*.

The Text, Commentary and Critical Editions: A Case of the Commentary of Sāyaṇa on the Atharvaveda

AMBARISH VASANT KHARE

Introduction

There are three famous editions of the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā belonging to the Śaunaka school (AVŚ). Two editions out of three also provide the commentary of Sāyaṇa along with the *pada-pāṭha*, viz. the edition of Shankar Pandurang PANDIT (SP) and of VISHVA BANDHU (VB).[1]

Sāyaṇācārya was the famous scholar who worked as minister of Bukka (and also of others, including Harihara), emperor of Vijayanagara, belonging to 14th Century AD. Sāyaṇa's elder brother, Mādhava, told him to begin the task of commenting on the Vedic texts as per the king's wish.[2] It seems from his available commentaries that Sāyaṇa commented on all the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas of different Vedic schools that were available to him. The commentary of Sāyaṇa is famous as *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, but its *genuine* name (as mentioned in the colophons) is *Mādhavīya Vedārthaprakāśa*. Thus it seems that Sāyaṇa has given the credit of the commentaries written by him to his elder brother, Mādhava.

As the title of the present paper indicates, the commentary of Sāyaṇa is also available on the AVŚ and this is the only existing commentary on this text. Scholars have argued that the author of this commentary is not the same person (Sāyaṇa, who was the minister of the kings of Vijayanagara) who has commented on the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā.[3] However,

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1 The third edition is of ROTH and WHITNEY.

2 See MODAK (1995).

3 This point was raised by PISCHEL and GELDNER (1889) and many other

the present paper avoids entering into the issue of genuine authorship of this commentary and aims to discuss about the text of the AVŚ as well as some other texts from the same tradition, as known to that commentator (henceforth Sāyaṇa) and variant readings from this commentary as presented by the two critical editions of the AVŚ mentioned above.

The Extent of Sāyaṇa's Commentary

Sāyaṇa has not commented on all the verses of each hymn of the AVŚ. At the beginning of each hymn, however, he has explained its employment with the help of the Kauśika Sūtra and the other *kalpa*s of the Atharvaveda. His commentary on all the verses is available for Kāṇḍas 1 to 4, 6, 7, 11 and 17 to 19. The eighth Kāṇḍa contains 14 hymns, out of which, the first six have the commentary on each verse. As for the remaining hymns, Sāyaṇa has merely written the introductions. Similar is the case of the last (twentieth) Kāṇḍa. His commentary is found on each verse up to thirty-seventh hymn. He writes only the introduction for the remaining 106 hymns. He has written only the introduction of hymns for the Kāṇḍas, 5, 9, 10, and 12 to 16.

In short, Sāyaṇa's commentary is available completely on nine Kāṇḍas and partly on two Kāṇḍas. He has written only the introduction of each hymn for the remaining nine Kāṇḍas.

There are some variations in the colophons, too. The colophons of the Kāṇḍas that are partly or not at all commented in detail by Sāyaṇa, do not contain his name. In the remaining Kāṇḍas, we find the reference that Sāyaṇa is minister of the king Harihara. He is referred to as Sāyaṇācārya or Sāyaṇārya. The name of the commentary is also diversely mentioned as *Atharvasaṁhitābhāṣya*[4], *Atharvavedaprakāśa*[5], *Mādhavīya Atharvavedaprakāśaka*[6], and *Mādhavīya Atharvavedasaṁhitābhāṣya vedārthaprakāśa*[7]. The opening verse of the colophon (*vedārthasya prakāśena...*) is absent in the fourth Kāṇḍa. In the colophons a reference to Sāyaṇa is made as *Hariharamahārājadhurandhara*[8] or *Harihar*

scholars after them. See for example, SŪRYA KĀNTA (1950) who takes a particular case to prove the point or see latest SLAJE (2010) for complete analysis.

4 E.g. Kāṇḍa 1 and 6.

5 E.g. Kāṇḍa 18.

6 Kāṇḍa 2.

7 Kāṇḍa 19.

8 *śrīmadrājādhirājaparameśvaraśrīvīrahariharamahārājadhurandhareṇa sāyaṇācāryeṇa viracite* (Kāṇḍa 1).

mahārājasāmrājyadhurandhara[9]. The colophon of the eighteenth Kāṇḍa, however, adds the word *kārite* and takes it as an adjective of the commentary.[10]

Peculiarities of the Commentary

As mentioned above, Sāyaṇa has not commented on every verse of the AVŚ, but has at least written an introduction explaining the employment of the hymns. He refers to the *kalpa*s such as the Kauśika Sūtra, the Vaitāna Sūtra, the Nakṣatrakalpa, the Śāntikalpa and the Āṅgirasakalpa. He frequently quotes the rites from the Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭas.

He generally separates the words of the Saṁhitā and explains the meaning and grammatical formation of each word. He offers more than one meaning of the word, if any of them alone is not satisfactory. He also tries to explain different grammatical processes accordingly, in order to formulate the word with that particular meaning.

Sāyaṇa sometimes mentions the verses from the Atharvaveda itself, but frequently quotes from the other Vedic texts like the Ṛgveda, the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, the Aitareya and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas etc. He also refers to the Vedāṅgas like the Nirukta, the Āpastamba Śrautasūtra, the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini etc. He cites the texts such as the Jaiminīya Sūtras, the Bhagavadgītā and the Manusmṛti. Sometimes he interprets the words on his own, in the style of the Nirukta. For example, he explains the word *nakula* (mongoose, *Viverra Ichneumon*) as *nāsya kulam astīti nakulaḥ prāṇī*.[11] He uses *kārika*s such as *bhartāram uddharen nārī praviṣṭā saha pāvakam / vyālagrāhī yathā sarpaṁ balād uddharate bilāt //*.[12] He does not cite the source of each *kārikā* and many times just states *smaryate*.

He also mentions the persons such as *ācārya* Upavarṣa and the *bhāṣyakāra*s Rudra, Bhadra and Paiṭhīnasi. The works of these persons are not available today. However, it does not denote that their works were known to him, as all the citations quoted by Sāyaṇa are present in the Dārilabhāṣya and the Kauśikapaddhati. He has also referred to these two texts separately in his commentary.

[9] *śrīmadrājādhirājaparameśvaraśrīvīrapratāpahariharamahārājasāmrājyadhuran-dhareṇa sāyaṇāryeṇa viracite* (Kāṇḍa 2).

[10] *...parameśvaravaidikamārgapravartakaśrīvīrahariharamahārājakārite sāyaṇācāryaviracite*.

[11] Sāyaṇa on VI.139.5.

[12] Sāyaṇa on XVIII.3.1.

Variant Readings in the Commentary

It is found at many places that the reading of Sāyaṇa differs from the reading accepted in the critical edition of the AVŚ. Some of them can be reckoned as scribal errors but few indicate other possibilities. These readings can be listed under different groups as follows:

1. Variations of *r̥*, *ri* and *ru*: Sāyaṇa often oscillates between–*r̥*, *ri* and *ru* while commenting. For example, he reads *r̥śyapadīṁ* instead of *riśyapadīṁ* and *sridhaḥ*[13] instead of *sr̥dhaḥ*[14]. He has also read *nagharuṣāṁ* instead of *naghāriṣāṁ*.[15] It appears that the confusion is between *a* and *u* in this case. Still, this case is considered here because some manuscripts provide the reading *naghār̥ṣāṁ*.[16] *R̥* is pronounced as *ri* and *ru* in the different regions of India. It may be said that these regional variations would have affected Sāyaṇa's exact rendering of *r̥*, *ri* and *ru* from the manuscripts he possessed. Sometimes this has lead Sāyaṇa to different interpretation of the verse. A case of *Śālānirmāṇa* hymn can be considered in this regard.[17] The words *imāṁ pātr̥̄n amr̥tenāsamaṅgdhi* have been read by him as *imāṁ pātrīm amr̥tena samindhi*.[18] There is also an instance where Sāyaṇa has read *vr̥ḍḍhi* instead of *viḍḍhi* and has considered the root *vr̥h* (to grow) in it.[19]
2. Variations of *ḍa*, *ḍha* with *ḷa*, *ḷha*: It is a well-known fact that the consonants *ḍa* and *ḍha* change to *ḷa* and *ḷha* respectively, in the R̥gveda, when they are placed between two vowels. But this is not the case with the AVŚ. However, Sāyaṇa frequently reads *ḷa* instead of *ḍa*. For example, *mr̥ḷa*[20], *iḷayā*[21] and *tāḷhi*[22]. Here the influence of the R̥gvedic tradition on the commentator (or manuscripts in front of him) is clearly seen.

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[13] This word is reconstructed by editors.

[14] *áti ního áti sŕ̥dho* – II.6.5a.

[15] *jīvalā́ṁ naghāriṣā́ṁ* – VIII.2.6a. The *padapāṭha* reads *nagha'riṣā́m*. Hence this is a case of lengthening for metrical fulfillment (*chhāndasa dīrghatā*).

[16] See SP (1896, Vol. 2: 571, fn 3 and 4) and VB (1993: 1073, fn 7 and 9)

[17] See MONE (1983) for details.

[18] See Sāyaṇa's commentary on the AVŚ III.12.8c.

[19] *viḍḍhí śakra dhiyéhyā́ naḥ* / – II.5.4b. Sāyaṇa remarks, *vr̥her vr̥ddhyarthāt loṭi chhāndasaḥ*...

[20] *sā́ no mr̥ḍa vidáthe gr̥ṇānā́* – I.13.4c.

[21] *ihéḍayā sadhamā́daṁ mádanto* – VI.62.3c.

[22] *ví śátrūn tāḍhi ví mŕ̥dho nudasva* // – VII.89.3d.

3. Variations of *ta*, *tha* and *dha*: Sāyaṇa reads *tha* instead of *dha* and *ta* instead of *tha*. For example, *atha* instead of *adha*[23], *yacchāta* instead of *yacchātha*[24], *stana* instead of *sthana*[25]. Sometimes it can be considered as scribal error, but this is not the case with I.10.3a. Here, the portion *yad uvakthānr̥taṁ* is read by Sāyaṇa as *yad uvaktānr̥taṁ*. He understands the corrupt reading but takes it to be a *Vedic* variation.[26] Similarly once he reads *uktham* instead of *uktam*.[27] These examples clearly suggest that some readings before Sāyaṇa were corrupt.
4. Variations of *ba*, *bha* and *va*: Sāyaṇa reads *vātavrajā* instead of *vātābhrajā*[28] and at other place *bhrāja* instead of *vrāja*[29]. It is seen from the collation given by VB that some manuscripts have the reading *vātavrajā*.[30] There are some instances where Sāyaṇa considers *va* instead of *ba*, such as *pīvaspāka* in place of *pībaspāka*[31] and *āvayo anāvayo* for *ābayo anābayo*[32]. VB notes that these readings are present in the Paippalāda tradition.[33]
5. There are some instances where Sāyaṇa wrongly reads *pr̥*, *mr̥* and *vr̥*, such as *śatapr̥ṣṭī* for *śatam r̥ṣṭī*[34]. Another interesting example is from the sixth Kāṇḍa. Here, he reads *vr̥ṇīhi* for *mr̥ṇīhi*[35] and faces the problem while commenting on it. Then he takes it to be *pr̥ṇīhi*.[36]
6. Variations of *śa* and *sa*: The word *śamopyāt* was read by Sāyaṇa as *samopyāt* and is accepted in SP as correct reading on the authority of Sāyaṇa alone. VB has discussed this case in his

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23 *ádhā no rayím ā́ kr̥dhi* / – VI.65.1d.
24 *śárma yacchātha sapráthāḥ* / – I.26.3c.
25 *catvā́ra sthána devā́ḥ* / – I.31.2b
26 *chhāndaso varṇavyatyayaḥ*.
27 *uktham vākyam / vaca paribhāṣaṇe / asmād auṇādiko bhāve kthanpratyayaḥ* / – Sāyaṇa on I.30.2b (*sácetaso me śr̥ṇutedám uktám*).
28 *vātābhrajā́ stanáyann eti vr̥ṣṭyā́* / – I.12.1b.
29 *udásthur vrājám attríṇaḥ* / – I.16.1b.
30 See VB (1990: 87, fn. 1)
31 *pībaspākám udārathím* / – IV.7.3b.
32 VI.16.1a.
33 See VB (1990: 427, fn. 2) and (1993: 663, fn. 2)
34 *śatám r̥ṣṭī́r ayasmáyīḥ* / – IV.37.8b.
35 *mr̥ṇīhí víśvā pā́trāṇi* – VI.142.1c.
36 ***viśvā*** *viśvāni sarvāṇi pātrāṇi kusūlakoṣṭhāgārādīni* ***vr̥ṇīhi*** / *varṇavyatyayaḥ* / *pr̥ṇīhi pūraya* /...

preface.[37] In IV.11.10, Sāyaṇa has mistakenly read *kīnāśasyābhi* instead of *kīnāśaścābhi*.

7. There are various places in the commentary, where the number, person and case of a word differ from the critical edition. Few examples are: *yātudhānī* for *yātudhānīḥ*[38], *nāmadhāḥ* for *nāmadhaḥ*[39], *prathamajāḥ* for *prathamajām*[40], *āpaḥ* for *apaḥ*[41], *vṛṇakta* for *vṛṇaktu*[42], *vidhyatu* for *vidhyata*[43] and *upātiṣṭhet* for *upātiṣṭhe*[44].

    It may be noted that, sometimes, Sāyaṇa detects the corrupt reading and tries to change or explain it. In the hymn to *Mahadbrahma*, Sāyaṇa reads *abhīvāraḥ* for *abhīvāra*. Unable to explain it properly, he remarks, *abhito varaṇaṁ chhādanam / bhavatīti śeṣaḥ / vṛñ varaṇe / vṛṇoter ācchādane iti abhipūrvād api vyatyayena ghañ/ upasargasya ghañy amanuṣye bahulam iti pūrvapadasya dīrghaḥ / athavā viśvaṁ kṛtsnaṁ jagat anyām anyayā divā / vyatyayena dvitīyā / abhīvāraḥ abhivṛtam / karmaṇi ghañ / ācchannam ity arthaḥ / liṅgavyatyayaḥ* etc.

    Similarly, in the fourth Kāṇḍa, he has a reading *bādhate* instead of *bādhase*. He remarks, *vi bādhase / puruṣavyatyayaḥ / vibādhate*.

8. Sometimes, the reading accepted by Sāyaṇa is found in the Paippalāda Saṁhitā. For example, the first hemistich of II.4.1 reads *dīrghāyutvāya bṛhate raṇāyāriṣyanto dakṣamāṇāḥ sadaiva*. Sāyaṇa reads *rakṣamāṇāḥ* (the reading found in the AVP[45]) instead of *dakṣamāṇāḥ* and comments, *sadaiva sarvadaiva rakṣamāṇāḥ ātmānaṁ pālayamānāḥ*. Many times the readings similar to those of the AVP — and also similar to the readings available in the other Vedic schools — are found in the manuscripts of the AVŚ and can be treated as scribal errors. However, this reading has not been recorded elsewhere.

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[37] VB (1990: vii, no. 7)

[38] *putrám attu yātudhānī́ḥ* – I.28.4a.

[39] *yó devā́nāṁ nāmadhá éka evá* – II.1.3c.

[40] *úpātiṣṭhe prathamajā́m ṛtásya* / – II.1.4b.

[41] *śáṁ no bhavantv apá óṣadhayaḥ śivā́ḥ* / – II.3.6ab. ROTH-WHITNEY accepted this reading.

[42] *śatám anyā́n pári vṛṇaktu mṛtyū́n* / – I.30.3d.

[43] *dáivīḥ manuṣyeṣavo mámāmítrān ví vidhyata* / – I.19.2cd.

[44] See fn. 37 above.

[45] AVP II.11.1.

9. There are certain variations in the readings of the commentator suggesting that the *padapāṭha* of the AVŚ was not before him. In I.11.4, he reads *māṁsena* (instrumental singular of *māṁsa*). But the padapāṭha is *māṁse / na /*. This verse, in fact, contains all the locatives such as *māṁse*, *pīvasi* and *majjasu*.[46] Again in the fourteenth hymn from the same Kāṇḍa, he reads *kulapā* instead of *kulapāḥ*, as indicated in the *padapāṭha*.[47] The *padapāṭha* of III.1.4ab is *prá'sūtaḥ / indra / pra'vátā / hári'bhyām / prá / té / vájraḥ / pra'mṛṇán / etu / śátrūn /*. Instead of taking *prasūtaḥ* with *vajraḥ*, Sāyaṇa separates *pra*, *su* and *ta* (*te*) and explains as *he indra te tava rathaḥ...su suṣṭhu pra etu śatrusenāṁ prāpnotu*. That the Ṛgvedic tradition has the similar verse[48] and also the same *padapāṭha* as explained by Sāyaṇa is important to note here.[49]
10. Some errors in his explanation suggest that he had either a wrongly accented or an unaccented text before him. He explains the accent of the word *rárāṇā*[50] (which is accented on the first syllable) from the *Alakṣmīnāśana* hymn as, *citaḥ iti antodattatvam* (the accent on the last vowel is explained by the rule *citaḥ* of Pāṇini[51]).

    He describes the accent of *astṛtáḥ*[52] as *nañsamāse avyayapūr vapadaprakṛtisvaratvam*. It is interesting to note that the similar verse is present in the Ṛgveda, with the word *adbhutaḥ* instead of *astṛtaḥ*.[53] Here the accent of *adbhutaḥ* is on the first vowel.

    He similarly explains the word *juṣṭā́* as *ādyudātta*, i.e. having accent on the first vowel.[54] MONE (1981) discusses AVŚ III.10.12, where another parallel instance of erroneous comment regarding the accent occurs in the commentary.

    II.35.4c reads *bṛhaspátaye mahiṣa dyumán námo víśvakarman*. Its *padapāṭha* is *bṛhaspátaye / mahiṣa / dyu'mát /*

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46 *néva māṁsé ná pī́vasi néva majjásv ā́hatam /* – I.11.4ab.
47 *eṣā́ te kulapā́ rājan* – I.14.3a.
48 ṚV 3.30.6, where only the last words differ from those present in the AVŚ.
49 *prá / sú / te / indra...* – ṚV 3.30.6.
50 *nír asmábhyam ánumatī rárāṇā* – I.18.2c.
51 Aṣṭādhyāyī VI.1.163.
52 *amitrasāhó astṛtáḥ /* – I.20.4b.
53 ṚV 10.152. 1b.
54 *juṣṭā́ varéṣu sámaneṣu valgúḥ* – II.36.1c. Sāyaṇa remarks, *juṣṭārpite ca chhandasi, nityaṁ mantre, iti juṣṭaśabda ādyudāttaḥ*.

námaḥ | víśva'karman. Sāyaṇa, unacquainted with it, separates *mahiṣa dyuman* as *mahi*, *ṣ(s)ad*, and *dyuman*. It is to be noted that the equivalent reading with such *padapāṭha* is found in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.[55]

11. The variation of the text-division: SP and VB have discussed this in details in their editions. Sāyaṇa by deviating from the division of Anukramaṇikā, followed a different division for the sixth Kāṇḍa. He elucidates – *yady api asmin kāṇḍe prāyeṇa sarvāṇi sūktāni tṛcātmakāny eva tathāpi adhyāpakasampradāyānurodhena tṛcadvayam ekīkṛtya sūktatvena vyavahriyate*. He has also combined the second and third verse of the seventeenth hymn and has called this hymn of four verses as a *tṛca*.

Sāyaṇa on the other Atharvavedic Texts

Sāyaṇa cites the examples from the other texts belonging to the tradition of the Atharvaveda. In the case of the Kauśika Sūtra, he sometimes adds the words to the sūtra, such as *ye'māvāsyāṁ rātrīm*[56] *iti saṁnahya*.[57] Sometimes he follows the words of Keśava. To illustrate, he reads *catuṣpathe ca śirasi darbheṇḍuke'ṅgārakapāle'nvaktāni*.[58] Here he has used the word *darbheṇḍuka* instead of *darbheṇḍu*.[59] This word is used by Keśava in his commentary to explain this sūtra.[60] Another error of Sāyaṇa in understanding the sūtra of Kauśika is discussed by VB (1990: x) in his Preface.

His awareness of the Śāntikalpa and the Nakṣatrakalpa will be discussed in the following. We shall here refer to the case of the Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭas. After the description of the five *kalpa*s, Sāyaṇa mentions the Pariśiṣṭas in his introduction as- *eteṣu kalpeṣv anuktāni yāni rājyābhiṣekopayuktadravyaprakṛtidravyaparigrahapurohitavaraṇ ādīni pariśiṣṭoktāni tāny api anukramyante | prathamaṁ rājyābhiṣekaḥ |*. It is interesting to note that the Nakṣatrakalpa is counted as the first Pariśiṣṭa. The second is Rāṣṭrasaṁvarga and the third Pariśiṣṭa is named as Rājaprathamābhiṣekaḥ. Thus, Sāyaṇa had probably used some other version of the Pariśiṣṭas which does not open with the Nakṣatrakalpa

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55 Taittirīya Saṁhitā 3.2.8.2.

56 The word *rātrīm* is absent in the sūtra. See KS 47.25.

57 Introduction of I.16 by Sāyaṇa.

58 Introduction of II.2 by Sāyaṇa.

59 *catuṣpathe ca śirasi darbheṇḍve'ṅgārakapāle'nvaktāni* | – KS 26.30.

60 *catuṣpathe vyādhitaṁ kṛtvā tasya śirasi darbheṇḍukaṁ kṛtvā...*

and the Rāṣṭrasaṁvarga, but begins with the kings' *abhiṣeka*.

Two editions of the AVŚ

As mentioned at the beginning of the paper, two critical editions of the AVŚ with commentary are available. However, there are some variations in the commentary of Sāyaṇa, as printed in these editions. Sāyaṇa in his introduction mentions the contents of five *kalpa*s of the Atharvaveda.

SP (1895: 27) reads the commentary as- *nakṣatrakalpepi prathamaṁ kṛttikā-nakṣatrapūjāhomādi* and further (1895: 28) *śāntikalpepi prathamaṁ vaināyakagrahagṛhītalakṣaṇāni / tacchāntaye sambhārāharaṇam / abhiṣekavaināyakahomāḥ / tatpūjāvidhānam / ādityādinavagraha-yajñādikam iti /*. However, in his edition, VB (1960: 25) has emended the former reading of SP as *śāntikalpe'pi prathamaṁ kṛttikānakṣatra-pūjāhomādi*.

The latter reading given by VB (1960: 26) is same as that given by SP. In short, according to VB's edition, though Sāyaṇa has mentioned five *kalpa*s in the beginning; he has referred twice to the Śāntikalpa, and had not quoted the Nakṣatrakalpa at all. This does not go with the evidence provided by the manuscripts, where he actually refers to each *kalpa* once. The reason behind the emendation by VB is obvious. The contents mentioned by Sāyaṇa as belonging to the Nakṣatrakalpa, are actually found at the beginning of the second chapter of the Śāntikalpa, and not in the Nakṣatrakalpa (though some contents of these texts match). Thus it can be inferred from Sāyaṇa's citations, that the texts of the Śāntikalpa and the Nakṣatrakalpa in front of Sāyaṇa were different than those which are known to us. The first chapter of the Śāntikalpa is the '*Śāntikalpa*' referred to by Sāyaṇa. On the other hand, the second chapter of the Śāntikalpa is understood as the '*Nakṣatrakalpa*' by Sāyaṇa.[61]

Occasionally, the variations accepted by VB make its readings different than that of SP. VB accepts only those citations of Sāyaṇa which match with the critical editions of the respective texts published in modern times. It is carefully checked whether the word is conceived correctly by the given grammatical explanation. If not, either VB emends it or marks the mistake.

For example, in the second Kāṇḍa, Sāyaṇa explains the accent of

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[61] See BAHULKAR (1985) for the relation of these two *kalpa*s and the text of the Saṁhitā.

the word Dyāvāpṛthivī as *divo dyāvā*[62] *iti dyāvādeśaḥ ādyudāttaḥ*. VB, by changing the sūtra, edits it as *divasaś ca pṛthivyām*[63] *iti dyāvādeśaḥ ādyudāttaḥ*. Once Sāyaṇa reads *cakarṣa* instead of *cakartha*[64] and explains it as *cakarṣa ākarṣatu / kṛṣa ākarṣaṇe / chhāndaso liṭ /*. VB edits it as *kṛṣa vilekhane*.[65] Now it contradicts the previous sentence of Sāyaṇa, explaining *cakarṣa* as *ākarṣatu*. Similarly in the next hymn[66], Sāyaṇa explains the word *prathayasva* as *prathayasva ca vistīrṇaśarīro bhava / pratha vistāre / curādirantaḥ /*. VB edits it as *pratha prakhyāne* which again creates the contradiction with the previous sentence.[67]

Concluding Remarks

From a brief survey of the commentary of Sāyaṇa on the Atharvaveda, following observations may be noted:

Many variant readings were present before Sāyaṇa that are not accepted in the critical editions of the AVŚ. Some of these readings are present in the manuscripts of AVŚ and are collated by the editors. Occasionally the readings match with the readings of AVP. But it shall be verified by comparing all the available variations.

Several readings indicate that the *padapāṭha* of the AVŚ was not available to Sāyaṇa. Even the Saṁhitā before him was either unaccented or wrongly accented. It may be noted that MONE thinks that Sāyaṇa would have ignored the *padapāṭha*. She (1983: 34) points out "the complete disregard of tradition for the AV through many centuries" as the reason for ignorance of Sāyaṇa regarding the correct readings of AVŚ. However, the commentary gives the impression that probably the *padapāṭha* was not available to the commentator. He follows the *padapāṭha* of the Ṛgveda at certain places which is not according to the AVŚ.

It appears that Sāyaṇa was under influence of the of the Ṛgveda and Taittirīya school, which made him understand and explain the AVŚ readings according to those schools, wherever he finds similar readings. Probably a living tradition of AVŚ was not present before him.

Sāyaṇa presents in his commentary a different tradition of the AVŚ manuscripts that was available to him. It may have been already corrupt

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62 Aṣṭādhyāyī VI.3.29.

63 Aṣṭādhyāyī VI.3.30.

64 *sā́ cakarthārasáṁ viṣám* // – VI.100.3d.

65 See VB (1993: 798) and fn. 7 on the same page.

66 VI.101.1.

67 He also remarks about *curādi* (1993: 799, fn. 5) as *adantatvaṁ nāsti / ghaṭāditvān mittvam iti nyāyyam /*.

as pointed out by these variations. PANDIT (1895: xiv) has made an important remark while grouping the manuscripts,

> Looking to the nature of several MSS. I group them as follows:... come from Gujarât, though not from the same original source. They are untainted by any attempts to revise the tradition of the text, and probably represent the original form of the true tradition of the text....are on the other hand representatives of the tradition of the Atharva-Veda as it was revised in the Deccan;... under the influence of Ṛgvedins... The third group consists of Sayana's text as found in the MSS. of his commentary. This text shows considerable variety of reading from that which prevails in Gujarât and in the Deccan.

The texts of the Nakṣatrakalpa, the Śāntikalpa and the Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭas as known to him are different than the versions available to us in the form of critical edition. He treats only the first chapter of the Śāntikalpa as Śāntikalpa and reckons the second chapter of this text as the Nakṣatrakalpa. The Pariśiṣṭas, according to Sāyaṇa, begin with the Rājaprathamābhiṣeka (i.e. by omitting the first two Pariśiṣṭas).

Sometimes the commentary differs in the two editions, due to the editorial policies of the editors. Thus it is more useful to consider both the editions for studying the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*.

It is to be noted that both the editions discussed in the present paper, are firstly the *Critical Editions of the Atharvaveda*. For considering the readings of Sāyaṇa, referring to both the editions is inevitable. His commentary is based on the corrupt manuscripts. It is also to be noted that he has tried to edit the readings at several places to reach the sensible reading, without justifying the wrong reading by the easiest way as *bahulam chandasi*. A complete study of his commentary would help to ascertain the exact importance of his work, as it is the only commentary available on the AVŚ.

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Orality and authenticity[1]

MADHAVI KOLHATKAR

Introduction and problem

The word orality 'the quality of being verbally communicated' is found, interestingly enough, in the Indian Edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2007. (In the other editions, at least I could not find it. It might be so, since it is considered as a peculiarity of the Indian tradition[2]. In ancient India it was mainly oral transmission of instruction. Much emphasis was given on memorization. (This is true even in present India.) This orality and also the creation of various ingenious devices or methods of reciting the Vedas, the existence of texts having the nature of the Prātiśākhyas and the Śikṣās and also of some portion of grammar, which explain in detail how to pronounce a certain word or syllable have led scholars to conclude that it was the need of that time to pass on from generation to generation the valuable treasure of knowledge mainly due to the absence of writing system or tradition in Ancient India. It would be interesting to see how far this can be hold true.

If the absence of writing system is accepted as the reason then it should follow that in modern India or after the introduction of writing system to India, the memorizing methods should have disappeared, which is not the case. Even today the Indians are famous for their mental arithmetic calculations which are at times faster and better than the calculators and the computers. (Actually everywhere in the modern world much importance is given to memorization, various new methods are being searched for and are included in soft skills.)

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[1] I am grateful to my son Mr. Amit Kolhatkar, who suggested to me to look at the topic in different perspective.

[2] [As a matter of fact, orality is important in Antiquity, in Bible studies, in Anthropology. Forms of orality are also important in modern African and Papua New Guinean tribes] (n.eds.).

Another corollary would be that when the written tradition and further the printing techniques came into existence, there should not have been any need for correction. The word once written or printed would be the final authority. But this also obviously is not the case. Otherwise the words like scribal error, wrong spelling, variant lexicon or reading, manuscriptology, and further proofreading and misprint would not have found entry in the vocabulary of any language. Very important is Gonda's comment in this regard (1975: 18, n. 29): "The manuscripts show that the assumption that a written text is less liable to corruption has no general validity." It must be therefore, that due to some different reasons, the various texts, viz. Śikṣās and Prātiśakhyas, etc. and various methods of reciting, viz. *pada, krama, jaṭā, mālā, śikhā, rekhā, dhvaja, daṇḍa, ratha,* and *ghana* were introduced. So, what can be the reason?

The possible human error in oral communication

It is well known that in Indian teaching method, even today, Guru 'teacher' plays a very significant role. The instruction is primarily through gurumukha 'the teacher's mouth' and hence it is direct communication irrespective of the availability of books. These devices might possibly have their origin in the need of transmitting the knowledge as accurately as possible. Since it is a deal between human beings, one has to take precautions to avoid the possible human errors in communication. In this regard it would not be out of place here to refer to the game everybody must have played in childhood, the game known with the names 'Chinese whisper' or 'Telephone' or 'Broken telephone' or 'Whisper down the lane' or 'Gossip' or 'Stille Post' or 'Kanagoṣṭa' in Marathi. There can be any number of participants in the game. As the game begins, somebody whispers a sentence in his/her neighbour's ear in such a low tone that only that person can hear and not even the next to him/her. Then the message is passed on to the next neighbor and so on, until it reaches the last member of the group. This one then announces loudly what he has heard and most of the times it is completely weird than what it was in the beginning.[3]

[3] The following anecdote is not directly related to the subject but might be of general interest. The world record (reference is from the Internet sources) for the largest game involved six hundred and fourteen participants. It was organized by stage magician Mac King at Harrah's casino in Las Vegas on 6th January 2004. King started the game by whispering 'Mac King is a comedy magic genius'; and the final outcome was, as was predicted by King, 'Macaroni, cantaloupe knows the future'.

So to cut the long story short, verbal communication is always extremely difficult. In the cases where the communication has to be verbal only, this is observed even now, in this age, much advanced in every respect and when all the facilities are available. The most widely known and used method is to say 'over' when one has finished his/her speech in radio transmission. Another field using it is the aerospace. The pilots and the controlling tower achieve correct and precise communication through the PROTOCOLS, which are nothing else but such devices, e.g. instead of the letters A, B, C etc. Alpha, Bravo, Charley are used. So the main street in this fashion would be Mike Alpha India November and so on…Also as a precautionary measure five is always pronounced as 'fife' and nine as 'niner', since on the radio they sound the same.

Methods ensuring accuracy, Poka Yoke

So when did these devices, called now as Poka Yoke (reference from the Internet sources), to ensure accuracy come into existence? What is the first occurrence of this method, especially in the field of communication?

How about dragging it back at least twenty five hundred years ago? Think of the prosperous, knowledge rich ancient Indian society, desirous of transferring the knowledge of religion, philosophy and ritual from generation to generations without the luxury of computer, printing press, video recording or audio recording! Yes! The orality of the Vedas! That is the first ever, classic example of Poka Yoke, of brilliance and vision behind the completely mistake proof transfer of knowledge; and the person devising it is Śākalya. It was the same difficulty, may be, which Śākalya must have felt and hence designed the ingenious, first ever Poka Yoke device the world has ever seen. The first reference to his name is found in the third chapter of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, regarding which it is said "Being a comparatively recent work it shows a considerable advance of phonetics, mentions various technical terms, introduces some, partly artificial, distinctions, and quotes authorities such as Śākalya and Māṇḍūkeya…."(GONDA, 1975: 426). Regarding his date as is stated further by GONDA, "…there seems to be no reason for doubting that I-III are older than IV and V. As II is probably later than I, the dates between 700 and 550 for these three parts do not seem an unacceptable supposition," (GONDA, 1975: 427). According to him, then Śākalya's date would be somewhere between 550 B.C. and 700 B.C.

What is Poka Yoke?

Now what is Poka Yoke? Poka Yoke is a device used in the Japanese Management System. It is defined as "A device of ensuring accuracy by building mechanisms in the process design"[4]. There are so many examples of it in everyday life, e.g. the sim card of a mobile. Part of it is cut off to suggest the direction in which it should be inserted lest it is inserted wrongly. Also the key of the car cannot be removed from the ignition switch of an automobile if the automatic transmission is not put in the 'park' position, so that the driver cannot leave the car in an unsafe parking condition where the wheels are not locked against movement. There are so many others.

Ancient Indian Poka Yoke

Exactly similar devices can be found in the recitation of the Vedic texts. One who is already conversant with the Sanskrit language would not understand how difficult it would be to solve the sandhi compounds. It can be understood when one begins to learn some modern language, and that also in late age, which has *sandhi* 'the euphonic combinaton' in it, e.g. Malayalam. So, some such devices are designed to bar the wrong *sandhis*. The *pragṛhya* concept and to add *iti* to it in the *padapāṭha* is similar to the locking system of the car. The words which are not to be combined could not be combined. Also the methods of recitation such as *krama, jaṭā,* etc mentioned above which are successively more and more difficult, are also mechanisms against committing mistakes and also for checking if any were committed. It can be imagined that a *jaṭāpāṭhin* when he was not sure about his reading might be asking a *ghanapāṭhin* to check from his version and correct the mistake if there was any. Exactly the same idea is expressed by GONDA (1975: 17) in his statement: "The climax of complication to secure the text from all possible error is reached in the Ghanapāṭha 'the compact texts' in

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[4] At least some of the readers might find the history of this word interesting. The term was coined by an engineer called Shigeo Shingo (Internet sources). He was working in Toyota and formalized this technique in manufacturing. Poka is 'a mistake' and yokeru is 'to avoid'. From these words a new word was formed as Poka Yoke for 'fail serving' or mistake-proofing'. Originally, the term was 'baka-yoke', i.e. 'fool-proofing' or 'idiot-proofing'. But in 1963 a woman worker at Arakawa Body Company refused to use baka-yoke mechanisms in her work area, because of the dishonorable and offensive connotation of the term. And hence the term was changed to the euphemistic word poka-yoke.

which the order is ab ba abc abc bc cd bcd etc." One can add many more examples to this.

Reference to Poka Yoke in the Vedic texts

Now there might be a query whether there is any mention or reference towards such purpose in the texts themselves? One point should be made clear in this regard. Later we find that a scientific treatise needs to have certain format, viz. *upakramopasaṁhāra*, etc, i.e. it should begin with the proper introduction stating the purpose and have a tapering [?n.eds.] end. But no such format seems to have been followed in the ancient ancillary texts like Prātiśākhyas. They neither have the *maṅgala* 'prayer or homage to god for the safe journey towards completion' nor the statement of the purpose of writing the book, etc. Hence it is difficult to understand what purpose they had in mind. But some similar principle is found stated in the Vedic texts. In ritual, sometimes a rite is performed and it is therefore announced three times. While stating the importance of repeating, not only once but twice, it is said, *dviḥ baddhaṁ subaddham bhavati* 'that which is tied twice is well-tied, i.e. confirmed'; also further, *triḥ baddhaṁ subaddham bhavati* 'that which is tied thrice becomes well-tied or (more) confirmed'[exact bibliographical reference is wanting, n.eds.]. By sheer multiplication then, how many more times would it be *subaddha* 'ascertained' or 'confirmed' or 'correct' in these various *pāṭhas*?

Also, in the text of the Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā, one comes across the purpose of these. Thus it is "*padādhyayanam antādiśabdasvarārthajñānārtham* / 'The study of the Padapāṭha is for the purpose of gaining understanding of the ends and initials of words, their accents and their meaning'; *saṃhitā-dārḍhyārtham* / '[The study of the Padapāṭha is] for the purpose of firmly grasping the text of the Vedic Saṃhitās'; and *kramādhyayanaṃ saṃhitā-pada-dārḍhyārtham* / 'The study of the kramapāṭha is for the purpose of firmly grasping the Saṃhitāpāṭha and the Padapāṭha', 4.4.7-9 (DESHPANDE 1997: 612, n.13).

Additional purpose: Moreover, there might have been some other additional purpose in the creation of the Prātiśākhyas and the Śikṣās[5]. In the course of time, the Vedic people must have been spread over a vast region. Then the temporal as well as the spatial distance might have

[5] The additional purposes of Kramapāṭha are noted by DESHPANDE in his Introduction (2002: xiv, xv).

started affecting the pronunciation of the texts. The regional languages also might have started influencing the way of pronouncing certain syllables. At such point of time, it might or must have been necessary to describe the letter correctly and have the utterances as perfect as possible. Such difficulty and also the need are felt even today. E.g. so many stray words are being circulated from other languages without knowing the exact nature of that language and then therefore mistakes occur. The word Hyundai is pronounced as it is written, whereas the exact Korean pronunciation is Hyandä. There are so many such examples: Seoul, P/Busan, P/Beijing. The t in Tokyo or Kyoto is pronounced most of the times as 'ṭ' 'the retroflex t' whereas there is no retroflex 'ṭ' in the Japanese language. It is dental 't'. Innumerable examples can be cited from so many languages. Such is the case in modern times when ultra modern aid like audio and video tapes and c.d.roms, recorders, native speaker informants, computer, etc are available. It is easy to imagine how difficult it would have been to preserve the texts as correct and perfect as possible in ancient times. The Prātiśākhyas must have been created as a Poka Yoke device against it; and moreover, in a way they acted as the audio tapes or c.d. roms of those times, from which people were practicing and correcting their pronunciations. And their efforts in this regard are undoubtedly praiseworthy. They have reached the ultimate limit of perfection. (Even now after all such devices were formed there still remains mystery regarding the exact pronunciation of *jña* and *ṛ*.)

The unavoidable human error

But the Poka Yoke function does not end here. It has several other aspects as well. Let us come back to it later.

Thus it is seen that much care was taken by Śākalya's Poka Yoke methods. But the problem goes further since the basic human nature is to err. It is worthy to quote here GONDA's statement (1975: 18) which is quite eloquent in many ways, "Although after Śākalya the text of the Ṛgveda has for many centuries remained unaltered – there are no variants– the fact that before assuming its present form it had been subject to human frailties explains that there nevertheless is occasion for criticism."

It has been observed that afterwards in course of time there seems to have been a break in the tradition of the Vedic studies. It might not be without any valid reason that Patañjali in the 2nd century had to emphasize

and assert that *brāmhaṇena niṣkāraṇo ṣaḍaṅgo vedo'dhyetavyaḥ/* 'A Brahmin person should study the Vedas without any reason, i.e. without any material purpose.' Such a break must have afflicted the Vedic texts and also the tradition of studies in so many ways. There must have occurred mistakes, interpolations, anachronisms and inexplicable mysteries. Here comes the next aspect of Poka Yoke and that is, 'It prevents error that is about to occur.'

Thus now it is the duty of the scholars in general and those working in the famous Dictionary Department in Pune in particular, to employ Poka Yoke in the matters of interpretations, and make the meaning, explanation or interpretation of any passage or word fully mistake proof. Some such examples can be cited from the work already done. E.g. the word *adhvara.* Until now its meaning as 'not having violence involved' was accepted unquestionably. But it was Prof. Mehendale who applied these principles and established new meaning of the word. [the exact bibliographical reference is wanting, n.eds.]

Similar effort is seen done in finding the original meaning of Lakṣmī also. A careful study of the references to *lakṣman* and Lakṣmī could throw some light on the possible original meaning of the word and lead to the conclusion that Lakṣmi basically means a branded animal (KOLHATKAR forth.).

Some such doubt is also presented regarding the exact date of Yājñavalkya, Vājasaneyīsaṁhitā, Śatapathabrāhmaṇa etc. and their relation to Buddha's date. A careful study of these texts and also of the related material gives rise to certain questions, viz.

1) If Yājñavalkya is a Vedic *ṛṣi* then why is it that all the names of the persons related to him, e.g. Vaiśampāyana, Vājasani, etc. are not found in the Vedic texts and are found first in the Mahābharata?

2) Why is it that the story regarding the origin of the name of Taittirīyasaṁhitā does not occur in any of the Vedic texts as also not in the Mahābhārata, where at least the name of Vaiśampāyana occurs?

3) Why the story occurring first in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa is accepted as the explanation of the word Taittirīya – and more important than that – of the name Vājasaneyī and also Śukla Yajurveda?

4) Further, when the myth is accepted and interpreted that Yājñavalkya wanted to reorganize the black Yajurveda text, then why only Taittirīyasaṁhitā was selected for that purpose and not

the other black Yajurveda Saṁhitās, such as Maitrāyaṇī, Kāṭhaka, Kapiṣṭalakaṭha etc.

It is not easy to find answers to these questions immediately. But efforts have been started in this regard. Distinguished scholars like BRONKHORST (2007), and others are examining the available data with such purpose. It might take time but at least there is some beginning in that direction.

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Manuscript Transmission and Discrepancies in Interpretation

NIRMALA KULKARNI

It is said that the "present form of the Kauśikasūtra (KS) is a composite whole made up of parts of different origin and authorship" (GONDA 1977: 615). This argument is yet to be established with the help of a thorough analytical study of the text. As proposed by BAHULKAR (2009: 13), the original KS might have been restricted simply to *viniyoga* of the hymns of the Atharvaveda Śaunaka (AVŚ) (VIŚVA BANDHU 1960-64). It might have been redacted more than once by Yuvākauśika and thereafter by many others. Therefore, the present form of the KS indicates the presence of many redactors since it quotes *mantra*s from the Paippalāda 'in extenso'. In the context of the *strīkarmāṇi* section it could be said that although this section forms a congruent unit, some changes might have crept in due to written transmission. Some of these changes could be inferred with the help of the KS text as has appeared in the commentaries of Dārila (DIWEKAR et al. 1972) and Keśava (LIMAYE et al. 1985) in addition to the manuscript material of the KS text proper. Besides, pseudo-Sāyaṇa (Sā), while commenting on the AVŚ, has explained the employment of the hymns with the help of the KS. The text quoted by him also helps in the text-critical study of the KS. These three sources function as testimonia in the textual study of the KS.

Not only the text of the KS, but even the text of the Dārilabhāṣya (DB)[1] as well as that of the Kauśikapaddhati (KP) might have undergone

[1] Julieta ROTARU in the present volume of proceedings (2010: 454-467) has dealt with in detail with the manuscript details of the Dārilabhāṣya. Some of the details supplied by her also prove the corrupt condition of the available manuscripts of Dārilabhāṣya for at least two or three centuries. She has supported her argument on the basis of a comment of Devabhadra.

some changes in due course of time. All these texts might have been transmitted through either oral (?), i.e. practical ritual tradition, or though written tradition at least for six or seven centuries. It is but natural for these texts to carry the impressions of the scribes who might have intentionally or unintentionally modified the text. The modifications in the text also create a possibility of variant interpretation. An attempt has been made in the present paper to discuss some cases which show discrepancy in interpreting the KS. Such a variance in interpretation might have occurred because of the following reasons:

a. owing to the manuscript tradition in front of the commentator,
b. or because of the modification carried by the scribe to the text,
c. or maybe because of the modification made by the scribe to the text of the commentaries.

In this paper the following illustrative cases of discrepancy have been discussed:

1) Emergence of a variant reading in the KS and possibility of diverse interpretation;

2) *Sūtra*s of the KS not recorded uniformly by the commentators;

3) A case of discrepancy in the DB.

While discussing these cases I have not taken into account any new manuscript material other than that is used by the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth (TMV) editors.

(1) Emergence of a variant reading in the KS and the possibility of diverse interpretation

The *strīkarmāṇi* section of the KS (32.28-36.35) prescribes pacificatory rites for a woman who does not have progeny for various reasons. These rites are known as '*putrakāmāmṛtāpatyāśantiḥ*' (KS 32.28 & 29) (a pacificatory rite for a woman desirous of begetting a son and whose child is dead)' '*vandhyāprajananakaraṇam*' (KS 34.1) (a rite to make a barren woman fertile) & and '*mṛtāpatyāśāntiḥ*' (KS 34.3-11) (a pacificatory rite for a woman whose children do not survive). In all the three rituals the rite that is performed after the woman returns home shares similar details, though the main ritual differs. Just the hymns or verses to be recited are different.

The ritual to be performed after her return at home is described in detail in the *putrakāmāmṛtāpatyāśāntiḥ* as

> *āvrajitāyai puroḍāśapramandālaṅkārān sampātavataḥ prayacchati* | (KS 32.29) – The performer offers the woman *puroḍāśa* (sacrificial

cake), *pramanda* (a fragrant substance)[2] and *alaṅkāra* (i.e. collyrium, amulets etc.).

In the rite *vandhyāprajananakaraṇam* the ritual to be performed after her return is described in brief with the words "*āvrajitāyai*" (KS 34.2).

The *sūtra*s of *mṛtāpatyāśāntiḥ* optionally prescribe two *śānti* rites in the main ritual. The ritual to be performed after her return is described in the *sūtra* 34.11. At this place the manuscript transmission of the KS shows variation.

The photocopy of the DB ms reads the *sūtra* as "*utamāvrajitāyai*". However, the exposition of Dārila on this particular *sūtra* reads as follows:

> '*Puroḍāśa-pramandālaṅkārān sampātavataḥ prayacchati*' (KS 32.29) *ityetad atra bhavati / Uktagrahaṇam anarthakam / avayavagrahaṇād eva siddhattvāt /* (DB on 34.11) – In this rite the priest offers (her) a sacrificial cake, a particular fragrant substance, and ornaments sprinkled with dregs. The rite is performed (in accordance with the KS 32.29). Acceptance of the word *ukta* in the *sūtra* is redundant; since the procedure of the ritual could be accomplished on the basis of the part of the *sūtra*.

On the basis of this comment it could be said that Dārila has discussed redundancy of the word *uktam* while commenting on the sutra 34.11. This statement is similar to the statement occurring in the opening paragraph of the DB. Both these statements frame a principle of formulating a *sūtra*. Accordingly, the forms of the root *vac* are to be used only when utterly necessary. To quote,

> *tripadasūtre na vacipadaṁ eva vaktavyam …ākhyātasya sāmarthyalabhyatvāt /* (DB p. 1) – The forms of *vac* are not to be used in the *sūtra*s that contain three words, because the meaning of the verb is conveyed collectively.

This comment seems to be a prima-facie view[3]. Even while commenting on the *sūtra* 34.2 either Dārila or the Pūrvapakṣin implies that the word *uktam* is redundant. According to him the principle of

[2] V. KULKARNI 2006 for the meaning of this hapax legomenon.

[3] In the introductory paragraph this comment seems to be as of *pūrvapakṣa*. I am thankful to Prof. Bahulkar for this suggestion. However, at other occasions the reader is confused to identify similar comments as from the pen of the *pūrvapakṣa*. A thorough analysis of similar comments in all the contexts is required.

formulating a *sūtra* (i.e. not to use forms of *vac* in a *sūtra* containing three words) is followed in the *sūtra* 34.2 since it reads simply as, "*āvrajitāyai"*. Dārila's text reads that the entire *sūtra* could be applied just by quoting a part of the *sūtra* 32.29. To quote,

> *Āha āvrajitāyai iti / avayavagrahaṇāt puroḍāśapramandālaṅkārān sampātavataḥ prayacchati (32.29) iti bhavati* / (DB on 34.2) – The sūtrakāra has uttered 'āvrajitāyai'. On the basis of quoting a part of the sūtra the ritual "he gives sacrificial cake, a fragrant substance and amulets etc" is to be followed.

From the above quoted comment it seems that according to Dārila the word *uktam* is redundant in the perspective of this principle of structuring a *sūtra*. This principle is followed in the *sūtra* 34.2 since it reads simply as, "*āvrajitāyai'*.

This is how, Dārila's intention on the *sutra* 34.11 could be guessed on the basis of his comments quoted above that he had read the *sūtra* as "*uktamāvrajitāyai*" to mean "the ritual to be performed on the woman after she returns has been already discussed". Thus, the text of Dārila understands the reading '*uktam*' even though the photocopy of the ms reads "*utamāvrajitāyai"*. On the basis of this discussion it could be said that the manuscript of the DB intends the reading '*utamā*' whereas the published text of the DB indicates the reading *'uktam'*.

All the mss. of KP recorded in the TMV edition as well as the TMV edition read the KS 34.11 as "*uttamāvrajitāyai*". Sā explains the employment of the AVŚ 2.14 as follows:

> *niḥsālāṁ' ity avatokāyai kṛṣṇavasanāyai triṣu vimiteṣu ….ityādi 'audumbarīḥ ādhāpayati', uktam āvrajitāyai* (KS 34.3.-34.11) *ityantam* |

BLOOMFIELD (Reprint 1972: 93) reads probably in accordance with the KP manuscripts "*uttamāvrajitāyai*". He says nothing about Dārila's comment.

Thus, the manuscript tradition along with the testimonia presents two variant readings:

1) *uktam āvrajitāyai* and 2) *uttamāvrajitāyai*. These two readings imply two different connotations: the reading *uktam āvrajitāyai* conveys that, "the ritual to be performed on the woman after she returns (home) has been already discussed"; another reading "*uttamāvrajitāyai*" conveys that the last verse of the hymn is to be employed after she returns home".

The KP has its own ritual terminology since it is a *paddhati* type of text. The ritual in which a single verse of the hymn is employed is called by Dārila and Keśava as '*avidhikarma*' whereas a ritual in which the entire hymn is employed is called '*vidhikarma*'. Thus, apparently one may interpret that the last verse of the hymn is employed in the ritual to be performed when the woman returns home. However, if one takes into consideration the explanations of both the commentators it could be said that the entire hymn is employed in the ritual. To quote the KP, "*tato niḥsālāṁ iti sūktena*……." Therefore, the reading *'uttamā'* seems to be redundant.

Such a change seems to be unintentional one. The reason behind this change is the writing style of Devanāgarī characters. All the available mss of the KS, as well as that of the DB and of the KP are in the Devanāgarī script. One finds negligible difference in the old writing style of Devanāgarī letters '*kta'* and '*tta*'. It is possible that some scribe might have read the word '*uktam*' as '*uttamā*' forming *sandhi* with the following word *āvrajitāyai*. The mss. tradition of the KP as well as that of the DB records it. The other reading, possibly the original one, has been wiped out from the tradition. However, Dārila's exposition and Sā's Bhāṣya have recorded it. Thus, the manuscript transmission has caused a possibility of discrepancy. The editors of the DB have rightly taken into account the comments of Dārila and hence accordingly have emended the reading "*utamāvrajitāyai*" as '*uktam āvrajitāyai'*. All the manuscripts of the KP recorded in the TMV edition and the edited text of the KP read the *sūtra* as *uttamāvrajitāyai* to mean "the last verse of the hymn is to be employed after she returns home". Most probably, because of it the reading of the DB has been slipped off from the editors' sight.

Thus, on the basis of the above discussion, it is possible to say that the KS intends the reading '*uktam āvrajitāyai*' and not "*uttamāvrajitāyai*".

Furthermore, in the first rite of *mṛtāpatyāśāntiḥ* described in the KS a *sūtra* reads '*śākhāsūktam*' (34.9) to mean, "The procedure of the ritual 'making her sit on the branch etc.' has been explained before". The *sūtra* "*uktamāvrajitāyai"* forms a part of the second optional rite. It would seem redundant if a *sūtra* for similar ritual conveying the same meaning uses two significantly different words, '*uktam*' and '*uttamā*' . However, the *sūtra* "*śākhāsūktam*" and "*uktam āvrajitāyai*" would convey the same meaning. The *sūtra* "*śākhāsūktam*" proves to be internal evidence for accepting the reading '*uktam āvrajitāyai*'.

CALAND (1900: 112) has accepted the reading cited by Sā, i.e.

uktam. His book is based on BLOOMFIELD's edition of the KS. In the context of this particular *sūtra* BLOOMFIELD has not recorded the reading of the DB. Still, CALAND has translated the *sūtra* keeping in mind the reading "*uktam āvrajitāyai*".[4] Further in the footnote, he says that he has agreed with the reading accepted by Sā and has quoted another stylistically similar *sūtra* (57.20) "*uktam care*"[5]. Thus, on the basis of the explanations and from the expositions of the commentators like Dārila and Sā, it seems that the reading '*uktam'* was intended by the KS as well as by all the commentators. Some late scribe of the KP and DB was confused because of the similarity in writing style of '*kta*' and '*tta*'. The part of '*kta*' after the vertical stroke was not written and it gave rise to the reading '*uttamā*' which in fact does not suit the context. This is how the manuscript transmission has given rise to a discrepancy in interpretation.

2) *Sūtra*s of the KS not recorded uniformly by the Commentators: A Case of Pativedanāni

Pativedanāni is a type of ritual commonly found in the Vedic literature. The ritual has two objectives. In case of a spinster, it helps in finding a husband, whereas in case of a woman already married, it helps regaining the husband if another woman controls him. The manifold meaning of the root *vid* has facilitated these objectives[6]. That is why the rituals for obtaining husband as well as certain oracles regarding knowing the girl's future are included in this group. Some of these rituals form part of the marriage ritual in the Atharvanic tradition.

In the ritual tradition of the KS the hymns 2.36, 5.1.4, 5.2.8, 6.60 from the AVŚ are employed. These constitute two complete hymns (2.36 & 6.60) and two verses from the other hymns. The KS 34.12 to KS 34.24 describe a variety of rituals and thereby importance given to marriage in case of a girl in the then society could be inferred.

Discrepancies in the Text of the KS:

i) The *sūtra* 34.20 reads as "*jāmyai 'pra yad eta'* (AVŚ 5.1.4) *ityāgamakṛśaram* /". The text recorded by BLOOMFIELD does not

[4] Erörtert ist (die Handlung, die stattfinden soll), wenn sie nach Haus zurückgekehrt ist (vgl. 32.29).

[5] This *sūtra* cannot be traced in all the three published texts of the KS as well as in the electronic text – (GRIFFITHS: 2009).

[6] *Vid* 2PP *jñāne* and *vid* 6 P *lābhe.*

vary from the KS text of Dārila as well as of KP published by TMV. However, Sā does not include '*pativedana'* as the employment of the verse. Furthermore, the *sūtra* does not have any special ritual to prescribe. The ritual seems to be added in the line of the ritual to be performed by 2.60, i.e. making the girl eat *kṛśara*.

The verse certainly implies '*pativedana'* for sister. (*jāmyai dhūryam patiṁ airayethām*).

Non-mention of this particular verse in the '*pativedana*' points out to two possibilities;

1) Sā's text might have undergone some changes and *viniyoga* of this verse was omitted.

2) It is possible that the text of the KS known to Sā could be the oldest one in comparison to the present day manuscripts. The manuscripts of Dārila and Keśava available today might have included this *sūtra* at some later date, may be because of addition by scribes.

At least apparently, the second possibility prevails.

ii) The immediately succeeding *sūtra*, 34.21, reads as "'*imā brahma'* (AVŚ 5.2.8) *iti svasre* /".

This *sūtra* is recorded in BLOOMFIELD's edition in the footnotes. The footnote 16 on this *sūtra* in the BLOOMFIELD's edition cites occurrence of the verse in the AV as V.2.8 and XX.107.11. The next note reads as "This *sūtra* is wanting in D." i.e. in Dārila.

The DB edited by TMV cites *sūtrapāṭha* of the KS based on BLOOMFIELD's edition. However, the editors have modified the readings with the help of the DB. The readings of BLOOMFIELD are recorded in the footnotes (DIWEKAR et al. 1971: 1). In case of the said *sūtra*, no change is recorded either in the main body of the text or in the footnotes (DIWEKAR et al, 1971: 25). Thus, it seems that the KS text quoted in the DB and the KS (edition of BLOOMFIELD) do not show any variance.

The TMV edition of the DB has reproduced the Berlin codex of the DB on which the edition is based. The Berlin codex as seen in the offset copy does not record the *sūtra* 34.21 "*imā brahma iti svasre*" |. However, the edited text of DB reads the *sūtra* without showing any variation with BLOOMFIELD (DIWEKAR et al. 1971: 104).

The KP has recorded the *sūtra* along with the commentary without any variant reading. Thus, it seems that the manuscript tradition at the disposal of the TMV editors records the said *sūtra* as a part and parcel of the text.

The commentary of Sā produces interesting evidence. The said verse forms part of AVŚ 5.2.8 as well as AVŚ 20.107.11. At both the places Sā does not cite its *viniyoga* in the *pativedana.* Thus, it is possible that Sā does not know the text of KS that notes this verse to be employed in the Pativedanāni ritual.

Absence of this *sūtra* in the Berlin codex of the DB as well as silence of Sā regarding *viniyoga* of the AVŚ hymns in Pativedanāni indicate the possibility of its later addition in the KS. The text of the verse might have been favorable for its inclusion in the *pativedanāni*.

The verse AVŚ 5.2.8[7] (as well as AVŚ 20.107.11) runs as follows:

> imā brahma bṛhaddivaḥ kṛṇavad indrāya śuṣam agniyaḥ svarṣaḥ /
> maho gotrasya kṣayatisvarājā turaścit viśvam arṇavat tapasvān //

The Padapāṭha of *svarṣaḥ* is given as *sva-sāḥ* |. This word might have induced inclusion of the verse in the *pativedanāni*, i.e. for *svasṛ*, for a sister.

Sā notes that the entire hymn AVŚ 5.2 should be employed to fulfill any desire. However, he has not specified *viniyoga* of 5.2.8[8] .

Thus, it seems that the *sūtra* 34.21 finds no space in the KS text which is possibly known to Dārila and Sā. It might have been added in later period, especially by the KP.

3) Discrepancies in the Dārilabhāṣya: Analysis of a Case

The opening *sūtra* of the *strīkarmāṇi* section prescribes a pacificatory rite for a woman whose progeny is dead. The *sūtra* reads as follows:

> *Pūrvasya putrakāmāvatokayor udakānte śānta adhiśiro'vasiñcati /* (KS 32.28) – Nearby a water stream, the priest while reciting the hymn known as '*pūrva*' sprinkles the pacifying herbs on the head of the woman desirous of begetting a son or whose progeny is dead.

The comment of Dārila on this *sūtra* runs as follows:

> *Pūrvasyeti pratīkāntaratvāt putrakāmāyāḥ mṛtāpatyāyāśca 'yaḥ kṛṇoti'* (AVŚ 8.6.9)[9] *iti mantraliṅgād eva prayogaḥ / udakasamīpe*

[7] The verse also occurs in the RV 10.120.8, AVP 6.1.8 (RAGHU VIRA 1936, BHATTACHARYA 1997) with variations.

[8] The performer offers libation to Indrāgnī or he simply meditates upon them with this hymn. To quote "*tathā sarvaphalakāmo'nena sūktena indrāgnī yajate upatiṣṭhate vā"*. It is possible that '*pativedana*' is also included in the '*sarvakāmanā*s'.

[9] *yaḥ kṛṇoti mṛtavatsāṁ avatokāṁ imāṁ strīyaṁ /*
oṣadhe tvaṁ nāśāya asyāḥ kamalam añjivam //

> *śānta oṣadhir upari śiraṣo'vasiñcati* / – *Pūrvasya* being another '*pratīka*', the ritual for a woman desirous of son as well as for a woman whose progeny is dead should be performed only with '*yaḥ kṛṇoti'* since the words in that verse indicate the ritual. The priest (the performer) sprinkles pacifying herbs over the head of the woman.

This statement of Dārila gives the following implications:

It seems that according to Dārila a contingency has emerged regarding employment of the verse. The KS prescribes the hymn '*pūrva*'. Still, the verse *'yaḥ kṛṇoti'* bears the words '*mṛtavatsā*' and '*avatokā*'. Therefore, this verse could be the appropriate verse to be employed in the ritual for *mṛtāpatyāśāntiḥ*. Thus, Dārila prefers the employment of the verse '*yaḥ kṛṇoti'* over *'ye triṣaptāḥ*' since the words of the verse indicate the ritual. (*mantraliṅgād eva prayogaḥ*). This statement of Dārila which apparently looks convincing gives rise to the following contingencies:

i) His statement completely goes against his own comment on the KS 7.8. In the Paribhāṣā section while defining the scope of the term *pūrva* the KS says:

> *pūrvaṁ triṣaptīyaṁ* / (KS 7.8) – The *trīṣaptīya* hymn should be known as '*pūrva*'.

In this context, Dārila comments:

> *Pūrvagrahaṇeṣu 'ye triṣaptāḥ' iti sūktam pratyetavyam / matau chaḥ sūktasāmnoḥ (P 5.2.59) iti chapratyayāntatvāt / 'Pūrvasya medhājananāni' 'Pūrvasya Pūrvasyām paurṇamāsyām'; 'pūrvasya citrākarma'; pūrvasyodapātreṇa sampātavadānkte; 'Pūrvasya putrakāmāvatokayoḥ' it pūrvapradeśaḥ uktaḥ* / – One should understand the hymn '*ye trīṣaptaḥ'* in the citation of the word '*pūrva*' ; since the word *triṣaptīya* ends in '*cha*' i.e. *iya* suffix according to the rule "*matau chaḥ sūktasāmnoḥ*" (Pāṇini 5.2.59). The domain of the term '*pūrva*' has been listed as *Pūrvasya medhājananāni* etc.

ii) Secondly, the other commentators, Keśava and Sā, do not refer to the verse '*yaḥ kṛṇoti'*.

iii) His comment is contradictory to the principles of rubrication he himself has formulated in the introduction. He says,

> "*pratīkābhedāt vidhibhedaḥ* /" – The ritual differs if the verses to be employed show variation. (DIWEKAR *et al.* 1972: 6)

Thus, the ritual involved must be different if the verses referred to are two different *pratīka*s.

In the context of *mṛtāpatyāśāntiḥ* Dārila has quoted two *pratīka*s. However, he has not explained two types of ritual procedures. Furthermore, even the results demand variation if two ritual procedures differ. According to Dārila results do not differ only if the *pratīkas* are quoted by the KS. Dārila follows the maxim,

> *yatra pratīkāntarasambandhārthaḥ upadeṣaḥ tatra na phalāntaram* /
> (DIWEKAR et al. 1975: 1)

iv) In the introduction to his commentary Dārila says that it was possible for Kauśika to explain the rites in accordance with the *mantra*s[10]; but it would have been a lengthy narration. The same problem would have arisen if he had formulated the *sūtra*s taking into consideration the results.

v) It seems that he not only prescribes the verse '*yaḥ kṛṇoti'* but prefers its employment by giving second preference to the hymn *pūrva* on the basis of *mantraliṅga*. (i.e. indication of ritual by the wording of the *mantra*). His comments in entirety go against his own comment on the KS 7.8 where he quotes 32.28 as domain of *pūrva*. The other commentators ignore the alternative verse suggested by Dārila. Moreover, it goes against the principles adhered by him. For these reasons an attempt is made elsewhere to emend his comments in the light of his discussion on the principles of interpretation. (KULKARNI 2001) The available text of the DB must have undergone many changes in due course of time. Dārila's comment under discussion whether occurred in the autograph of the DB or not is difficult to answer. However, Sā provides some clue for its incorporation in Dārila's text at a later stage. While explaining the *viniyoga* of AVŚ 1.1, Sā opens the question of the hymns employment in accordance with the content and context of the hymn. The wording of the *pūrva* hymn does not indicate any connection with the rites in which it is to be employed. Sā, taking resort to Mīmāṁsā principles, explains that we can employ the hymn by taking resort to its secondary meaning. It could be inferred that the final redactor of the DB might be trying to make his text somewhat parallel to that of Sā. However, he could not incorporate the *uttarapakṣa* recorded in the Sā. To quote a parallel passage from Sā:

[10] *mantrādhikāreṇaśeṣuvidhivacanaṁ asya nyāyyam, granthagauravān nāha* / DIWEKAR et al. p. 1.

(Pūrvapakṣa) *Nanu mantrāṇām anuṣṭheyārthaprakāśakatvāt 'tadarthaśāstrāt' ityadhikaraṇena sthāpitatvāt tattalliṅganusareṇa viniyogo vaktavyaḥ/ itarathā 'agninā siñcet' itivat asamarthavidhānam prasajyeta* / – The *mantra*s shed light on the ritual and the section '*tadarthaśāstrāt*' of Jaimini's Mīmāṁsāsūtras have established this principle. Therefore, the rubrication of the *mantra*s should be explained in accordance with the ritual indicated by the individual verse. Otherwise, there will arise a contingency of a meaningless statement like "One should sprinkle with Fire."

(Siddhantin) *Nāyaṁ doṣaḥ / 'aindryā gārhapatyaṁ upatiṣṭhate' itivat balīyasā śrutyā liṅgam bādhitvā guṇakalpanayāpi viniyogasambhavāt / tatra hi aindramantre indraśabdasya gauṇīm vṛttim āśritya gārhapatyopasthāne viniyogaḥ kṛtaḥ / evam atrāpi gopathabrāhmaṇaśrutyā udīrita-nikhila-karmasu viniyogaḥ kṛtaḥ / iti tattatkarmānusareṇa mantraliṅgānām gauṇyādivṛttyāśrayeṇa viniyojyārthaparatā boddhavyā* / – It is not a defect. The indication of ritual with the words should be eradicated with a strong verse like "he praises *gārhapatya* with the verse addressed to Indra." This is how employment of even a secondary verse is also possible. Similarly here, i.e. in the context of the hymn "*ye triṣaptāḥ*", the hymn is said to be employed in all the rituals as quoted by the Gopathabrāhmaṇa. Thus, the implication of ritual in the *mantra*s is to be understood secondary to the ritual.

Conclusion: On the basis of the above discussion it could be said,

1. The text of the KS as well as that of its commentaries have undergone many changes.
2. These changes could be manifold.
3. To some extent, a group of two commentators act as a control while noticing the modification in the text of the KS as well as that of the commentaries.
4. On the basis of the available manuscript tradition it could be noted that the available text of Sā's commentary records the KS text older than that is cited in the available texts of both the commentators. Therefore, it could be said that the available text of Sā presents relatively older layer of the text of the KS.
5. Dārila's text available today can not be the Ur-Dārila text. It shows presence of many redactors. Thus, though Dārila was

considered as older to Pseudo-Sā, the available text cannot be said to be older to Sā. It shows influence of AV Sāyaṇa Bhāṣya. This hypothesis is yet to be proved.

6. Dārila's text is older to the KP.
7. Thus, as a general remark, it could be said that Sā quotes comparatively older layer of the text of the KS. The text quoted by Dārila could be called the second one and that of Keśava is the last one.

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Sacred sound becomes sacred scripture: the Veda Mandir in Naśik, Mahārāṣṭra

BORAYIN LARIOS

"If there is one thing the Vedas are not, it is books […]"
Frits STAAL[1]

The efficiency of Vedic mantras has traditionally been correlated with its proper articulation by the worthy Brahmin male. It has been the ritual use of the *veda*s in their sound form, rather than its contents or their later written form which have been the main preoccupation for Vedic practitioners. In this paper I intent to show with a concrete example from contemporary Mahārāṣṭra how a recent shift in perception of the nature of the *veda*s has taken place through the influence of elements originally alien to the Brahmanical tradition, namely the so-called "reform movements" from the 19th century onwards and the Sikh attitudes towards sacred scripture.

Across the millennia it was the sonic form of the vedic corpus which was most carefully preserved by tradition. Writing, a form of material culture that became available in approximately the fourth century B.C.E. in India, was not used as a medium for the transmission of the *veda*s: moreover it was often explicitly condemned.[2] Examples of this rejection of writing as an "unfit" medium of expression are found in several texts and perhaps most strongly in the *Mahābhārata*, in which it is stated that one will "go to hell if one writes the veda down"[3]. Further passages that discourage the use of writing have already been briefly discussed by other colleagues in this panel and further references can be found in Kane's *"History of Dharmaśāstra"*.[4]

Other scholars in this panel have dealt with the notion that the proper

1 STAAL, 2007: XV.
2 FALK 2010: 215-216.
3 MhB XIII, 24.70 [वेदविक्रयणस्चैव वेदानां चैव दूषकाः। वेदानां लेखकाश्चैव ते वै निरयगामिनः॥]
4 KANE 1974, Vol. II, part, I: 348-349.

recitation of the *veda*s irrespective of their meaning has been paramount at least among larger circles of Brahmins throughout many centuries. Moreover, today we can still observe the meticulous preservation of the *veda*s in their sound form in Vedic schools across India in which the strict recitation and memorization of the Vedic texts is still being perpetuated; the two learned Brahmins that are participating in this symposium are a living example of this.

In this paper I intend to present a contemporary example in which the traditional emphasis on the sound form of the veda is challenged: a temple situated in Mahārāṣṭra in which the veda is represented as a book bound in contemporary style and crafted in white Italian marble to be worshipped by anyone irrespective of cast, gender or nationality. This veda temple, called *Shri Guru Gangeshwar Ved Mandir* (*sic*), will help me to elucidate a shift in perception from the veda as the spoken word to the veda as "Holy Scripture".

The *Shri Guru Gangeshwar Ved Mandir* is found in the outskirts of Naśik City, in the present state of Mahārāṣṭra, India. This temple was built in the early seventies of the last century through the inspiration of Guru Gangeshwaranand Maharaj, a popular saint who became widely known across India and beyond.

According to hagiographic accounts, Guru Gangeshwaranand Maharaj was born in a Brahmin family in Punjab in 1881. When he was five years old he became blind through chicken pox and was left by his family under the care of a saint, Swami Ramanand. According to the website maintained by one of the trusts founded by him, after many years under Swami Ramanand's tutelage he succeeded his guru as the seventeenth head of the *udāsin* sect, which claims that the "lineage [was handed down] from Sant Kumar, son of Lord Brahma, the creator."[5]

Guru Gangeshwar Maharaj lived presumably for 111 years and passed away in 1992. He wrote a book called *"Bhagavān Ved"* which compiles the mantras from all the four Vedic *saṁhitā*s supposedly "for the first time in a single book."[6]

His book was widely distributed in India and abroad.

The temple which is topic of this paper was sponsored by the rich businessman Shriman Seth Kisanlalji Sarda and his wife Akhand Saubhagyavatee Kiran Sarda in memory of Kisanlal's father, Shriman Bastiramji Sarda. They established a trust in the name of his mother that maintains the temple and provides a number of charitable works and

[5] Taken from http://gurugangeshwaranandjimaharaj.org/experiences2.htm

[6] See http://gurugangeshwaranandjimaharaj.org

religious services. The trust is called: "Matoshri Rampyaribai Sarda Dharmik Pratisthan". The Sarda Group, a family enterprise established in 1922, is one of the largest *bidi* companies in western India.

The temple was inaugurated on the 25th of January 1977. The construction has three spacious vaults. The left chamber enshrines lord *Rāma* accompanied by *Sitā* and *Lakṣmaṇa* guarded by *Hanumān*. The right chamber is dedicated to *Tryambakeśvara* one of the twelve famous *jyotirliṅga-s* of India.[7] Here the *śivaliṅga* is guarded by *Gaṇeśa* and a black *Nandi.* The shrine also includes a smaller image of *Pārvatī*, *Śiva's* consort.

In the main vault at the centre of the building we find the sanctum sanctorum which enshrines the idol of what it is called "*Bhagavān Ved*", a two meter-tallB representation of the *veda*s bound in contemporary style and crafted in white Italian marble. Opened in the middle one can see in big golden *devanāgarī* characters the words: *bhagavān vedaḥ* engraved on the book. Under this title one can see in a slightly smaller font the *gāyatrī mantra*[8] carved also in golden characters into its pages:

ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं । भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

> "OM. May we receive this excellent splendor of the God *Savitā*, which should inspire our thoughts."[9]

On the right page it reads verse I.1.9 from the Ṛgveda:

स नः पितेव सूनवे ऽग्ने सूपायनो भव। स चस्वा नः स्वस्तये॥

> "Be easy for us to reach, like father to his son. Abide with us, Agni, for our happiness."[10]

In front of the monumental marble book a two meters tall bronze statue of Guru Gangeshwaranand Maharaj holding a staff has been enshrined.

Like in any other Hindu temple, the idols are worshipped daily in the temple with traditional Hindu *pūja* elements. *Bhagavān ved* is often decorated with fresh flower garlands. On festivities, such as *gurupūrṇimā*, Gangeshwaranand's birthday, *mahāśivarātri,* etc. the

[7] The original *Tryambakeśvara* temple is located only around 30 km from the Ved Mandir.

[8] Ṛgveda III.62.10

[9] Translation: STAAL 2007: 220. More on the implications of displaying the *Gāyatrī* and this *ṛgvedic* mantra will be addressed below.

[10] DONIGER O'FLAHERTY 1981.

idols are worshipped accordingly with more pomp and the temple attendance substantially increases.

From the official website of the above mentioned trust, we can read:

> "[…] *Vedmandir is a unique gift to humanity.*"
>
> *"*[…]*Vedmandir is a modern presentation of the eternal truths of Indian Culture.*"
>
> *"*[…] *Above all, visit to Vedmandir is a pilgrimage.*"
>
> "[…] *Vedmandir is a cultural nucleus dedicated to Guru Gangeshwaranandji Maharaj, the torch bearer of Ved in modern times.*"[11]

The temple, as we can read from the passage above, shows elements that differ from the traditional view on the sonic nature and the oral transmission of the *veda*s. Here we can observe a shift in emphasis and perception of what the *veda*s are and how they are to be "used", from the primarily oral form of the *veda*s to be used in the Vedic ritual, to the worship of the *veda*s as a scripture containing soteriological teachings for the individual and society. A "scripture" that not only contains meaning, but the contents are considered meaningful for the modern man. Claims that the *veda*s contain all eternal truths, including all the discoveries of modern science are constantly made by many Hindus, Nationalists or not.[12] Here the *veda*s are not just meant to be praises of the ancient Vedic gods and an inseparable element of Vedic ritual, but they have evolved to a sort of mystical codex containing truths to be used as a guide in one's daily life once they have been correctly explained to us by the knowledgeable guru.

In our example, Guru Gangeshwar Maharaj is perceived by his devotees as **"**[someone who] dedicated all his life to *bhagavān Ved*. The very objective of his life is to propagate Vedic knowledge in the various countries all over the world and make human life meaningful."[13]

It is also worth noting, that the carving of the *gāyatrī mantra* on the marble idol in representation of the whole veda is a powerful statement for itself. To have this mantra on display to any visitor who comes to the

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[11] http://www.vedpradip.com/vedtemple.php?linkid=15

[12] On the construction of the *veda*s as books of science see NANDA Meera 2005.

[13] Translated from a brochure in Hindi published by "Matoshri Rampyaribai Sarda Dharmik Pratisthan". […गुरुदेव सम्पूर्ण जीवन वेद भगवान को समर्पित है। उनके जीवन का उद्देश्य हि वैदिक ज्ञान का देश-विदेश मैं प्रसार कर मानव मात्र को सार्थक बनाना है।]

temple does not go without saying. The *gāyatrī mantra* traditionally has been used in the initiation ceremony (*upanayana*) of the higher class of the brahmanical society, during which the mantra is secretly whispered into the young male's ear by his father or guru under a blanket or shawl veiled from the public[14]. The *gāyatrī mantra* which has been praised in many authoritative texts as the condensation of the *vedas*[15] and as MICHAELS has said denotes a "symbolic identification with the veda[16]" is here made widely available, and in doing so, following 19th century Hindu reform movements which extended the chanting of the *gāyatrī mantra* beyond caste and gender limitations. In 1898, Swami Vivekananda began initiating non-Brahmins with the sacred thread ceremony and the *gāyatrī mantra*[17] on the basis that the *vedas* and the *Bhagavadgītā* proclaim that Brahmin status is earned and not inherited.[18] The Arya Samaj notably spread the teaching that recitation of the mantra was not limited to males, but that women could rightfully be taught both the *vedas* and the *gāyatrī mantra*.[19]

The most orthodox (or orthoprax as STAAL would call them) Brahmins living in India would most likely not adhere to this universalistic and open religiosity. I suggest, as mentioned above, that this is an example of the discourse which, at least partly, crystallized out of the 19th century Neo Hindu nationalists who presented us with a "scientific" and "rational" religion found in *advaita-vedānta*.[20] Ram Mohan Roy, Vivekananda, Dayananda Saraswati, Aurobindo and many other gurus that followed, like Gangeshwar Maharaj, found a friendly echo from their western counterparts and particularly amongst western educated Indians by presenting their spirituality through the lens of "science" and "rationality".

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[14] See MICHAELS 1998: 107-114. Illustration of this act p.110.

[15] The *Manusmṛti* II, 83 states that "there is nothing greater than the *Sāvitrī* (*gāyatrī mantra*)." The *Harivamśa* calls it the "mother of the *vedas*". In the *Bhagavadgītā* X,35, *Kṛṣṇa* says: "Of the songs in the *Sāmaveda* I am the *Bṛhat-sāma*, and of poetry (chandas) I am the *Gāyatrī*. […]".

[16] MICHAELS 1998: 109. The original reads "aus der Sicht der übrigen Zweimalgeborenen ist es eine symbolische Identifikation mit dem Veda, [...]"

[17] See VIVEKANANDA 1969, Vol. VII: 108-110.

[18] BAKHLE 2005: 293.

[19] MITTRA 2001: 71.

[20] Vivekananda claimed in the World Parlament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 that only the spiritual monism taught by the advaita-vedānta could fulfill the ultimate goal of natural science and it was Hinduism the fulfillment of all other religions (see NANDA Meera 2005: 226).

In Guru Gangeshwar's writings and "Vedic speeches" (*veda-pravacana-s*) one can perceive a very particular interpretation of the Vedic hymns coloured with ideas from a Neo Hindu discourse drawing from various sources[21]. In his book "Vedas a way of life from yadnya (sacrifice) to yoga (union)" *[sic]* one repeatedly encounters the terms "scientific", "motherland", "modern age" etc. A few titles of the chapters of this book read: "Family planning in Vedas", "Sages who opened new vistas in science", "Devotion for Motherland", "Great men live for others" and "Make your Motherland rich" to mention a few.

The first missionary efforts and later on the colonial powers in South Asia introduced print technology and culture, the Western ideas of modernization, industrialization, globalization as well as what some now term the Orientalist world-view which brought about a frontal confrontation with people from all social and cultural backgrounds. The confrontation evidently included the brahmanical class who had been for many centuries the intelligentsia par excellence and the main religious elite in South Asia. With the colonialization a "strategic mimetism", as JAFFRELOT has called it[22], has been crucial to shaping a bibliolatry centred on a single "holy book".

The Western conception that knowledge is directly linked to literacy moved the Neo Hindu nationalists of the 19th century and those who followed to mimic not only the missionary zeal of their conquerors, but also to copy institutions and practices such as conversion rituals, attempts to standardize and canonize religious knowledge and practices, systematic unification of the heterogeneous sects and religious traditions of India, as well as attempts to dogmatize their beliefs and centralize religious power[23]. Not that these were completely absent from

[21] Although he mainly quoted from Vedic literature, the *Bhagavadgītā*, the poet saints from Mahārāṣṭra, and the *Purāṇas* were also part of his repertoire.

[22] "Strategic mimetism" is a mechanism model in which the Hindu nationalists mimic the new religious and political forces (the British and the Muslims) and reinterprets their own traditions in light of the "other" to better articulate and justify their existence (JAFFRELOT 1994: 184-217).

[23] One is reminded here of the many examples which illustrate this mimetism i.e. in the so-called "Catholic Hindu Mandir" proposed by Shraddhananda in 1926 in which the Hindu devotees would worship the three mother spirits: Gaumata, Saraswati and Bhumimata. More examples of these mimetic strategies and the process of formation are well described in several of JAFFRELOT's works, for example in the article: "Hindu Nationalism, Strategic Syncretism in Ideology Building." *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 28, No. 12/13 (Mar. 20-27, 1993), 517-524.

pre-colonial India, but clearly not in the modality we are addressing here.

Guru Gangeshwar Maharaj draws probably much inspiration from this tradition of Neo Hindu reformers and was himself one of the most influential figures of his time regarding the Vedic revivalism along these lines. In the official web-page he is described by one of his close disciples Arjan Advani in the following way: "He had the wisdom of Aurobindo, the enthusiasm of Vivekananda, the devotion of Chaitanya Maha Prabhu, and the divine powers of Ramkrishna Paramahansa."

Nonetheless, even within these new developments in the re-appropriation and reinterpretation of sacred texts, selected elements from the brahmanical orthodoxy prevail even today. These elements interact and (re)negotiate themselves into today's religioscape. To mention just an example of these selected elements from orthodox practices: the same trust that maintains the Ved Mandir in Naśik also runs a school for traditional learning of the *veda*s in which only Brahmin males are taught to recite the *veda*s from memory. The same trust also grants, every year since 1987, the "Guru Gangeshwar Ved-Vedang National Award" to three Vedic pandits "who recite the *veda*s in the true form and imparts knowledge of the *veda*s to maximum students"[24] in a monetary prize of Rs. 21 000/- in a public ceremony. The other two prizes are given to scholars who have contributed to the preservation and research of the *veda*s[25]

The perpetuation of the oral method of knowledge transmission and honouring the traditional Vedic reciters is a way to actively perpetuate orthodox values that were not completely transformed by the "Neo Hindu" reforms; they co-exist, although marginally, along new perceptions about the *veda*s and their role within the spiritual religiosity of the followers of Gangeshwar Maharaj.

One can also observe an objectification and personification of Vedic sound by becoming a sacred book and a deity worthy of worship. The new god is addressed as *bhagavān Ved*, or "venerable Lord Ved". With this a new god has entered the realm of *devas* (gods) along with *Śiva*, *Rāma* and their consorts. Moreover, *bhagavān Ved* is introduced as the focal point of worship by being enshrined in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, where prayers and offerings such as flowers, fruits and incense are offered to him.

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[24] http://www.vedpradip.com/vedvidyalaya.php

[25] Idem.

Guru Gangeshwar Maharaj in his missionary zeal founded over 500 temples in India and abroad in which he installed *bhagavān Ved* as the main idol. *Bhagavān ved* was not only represented by a book, as in our case from the Ved Mandir in Naśik, but also as an anthropomorphic divinity standing on a blooming lotus flower holding four manuscripts of the *veda*s*,* one on each arm. The iconography reminds us of the marble idols of purāṇic gods found across India and in many Hindu temples across the globe.

The materialization of the *veda*s into a written text and even their deification *per se* is not a new development of Guru Gangeshwaranand alone. We already have found examples of this personification in descriptions of the Vedic goddess *Vāc* and later in *Sarasvatī*, as the goddess of Speech and the mother of the *veda*s, or in *Brahmā* himself. These deities are often represented holding one or several manuscripts in their hands. Later examples of the *veda*s as scripture are found in the *purāṇa*s in which *Hayagrīva* or *Matsya*, *avatāra*s of *Viṣṇu*, save the stolen manuscripts of the *veda*s from the bottom of the ocean after killing the demon *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* or *Hayagrīva* accordingly. Other purāṇic examples in which the *veda*s themselves become personified as anthropomorphic creatures are found in several *purāṇa*s. For a detailed account on these *mūrti*s*,* see Stefano PIANO's article: "A proposito delle *mūrti* dei Veda."[26]

Nonetheless, a large scale sculpture representing the *veda*s as a printed book (rather than a manuscript) is to my knowledge, unique to Guru Gangeshwaranand. The new anthropomorphic deity presented by him in the *mūrti*s he installed in India and abroad is also unique.

As mentioned at the beginning, Guru Gangeshwar Maharaj is the heir of the *udāsin* sect. Historically the ascetic *udāsin* sect is said to point back either to Guru Shri Chand or Baba Gurditta[27]. The former was, the eldest son of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and the later was the eldest son of the sixth Sikh guru, Hargobind. The *udāsin* sect and their followers are sometimes referred as *nānak-putras* or the "sons of Nanak". According to OBEROI the early Sikh history records ten *udāsin* orders[28] some of which have survived up to the present day. The *udāsin* tradition was nonetheless excluded from the Sikh community when the *khalsa* order took over the religious power

[26] PIANO 1997: 329-359.

[27] OBEROI 1994: 78.

[28] Almast, Balu Hasne, Phūl Goinde, Suthure, Śāhī Bhagat Bhagvānīe, Sangat Sāhibīe, Mīhān Śāhīe, Bakht Malīe and Jīt Malīe. (See OBEROI 1994: 78-80.)

of the previously heterogeneous non-exclusive Sikh groups in the 18th and 19th centuries. This process took a decisive turn, particularly under the *singh sabha*'s project of "purging Sikhism from all its diversity"[29] which included ascetic branches such as the *udāsins.*

The *udāsin* sect is still active nowadays and their members can be seen at each *kumbha mela* and although many of its members still adhere to their Sikh heritage, they currently function as independent organizations[30]. Guru Gangeshwar Maharaj is seen as the successor of Swami Ramanand and the seventeenth head of the *udāsins* of the southern *dhūnī*[31] which goes back to Balu Hasne, one of the four main disciples of Shri Chand.

In our particular case, in the figure of this guru one finds predominantly Hindu[32] rather than Sikh traits. In fact, references to their Sikh heritage are rarely mentioned in their congregations and the emphasis is clearly put on the *veda*s as well as other Hindu scriptures and practices.

The name *bhagavān ved*, I would argue, also mirrors or at least alludes to the "Guru Granth Sahib". Both carry the epithets "*sāhib*" and "*bhagavān*" which are usually employed to address respectable humans, gods and demi-gods and particularly gurus, and therefore by addressing the texts with these terms reinforces their personification and their role as teachers (*guru*).

Here one can witness a fairly accomplished process of "hinduization"[33]

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29 OBEROI 1994: 25.

30 See CLARK 2010: 55-56 n.9.

31 The *dhūnī* or *dhūān* is a sacred fire and sometimes it also refers to the place in which this fire is kept. These fires are an important aspect of various ascetic groups including the Sikh-related orders: *udāsin* and *nirmala.* (For details on the *udāsin* Sikhs see: OBEROI 1994). Guru Ganengeshwaranand presumably belongs to the southern *dhūnī* "[…] saints of the respective dhoonas were ordained to go in their directions to spread the Vedic teachings. Our Guruji are from the Dakshin Dhoona." http://gurugangeshwaranandjimaharaj.org/newsdetail.aspx?id=84

32 The *udāsin sampradāya* traditionally follows the worship of five main deities (*pañca-deva-upasa*) *Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Devī* and *Sūrya*. But references to both *śaiva* and *vaiṣṇava* religiosity and practices are predominant in the publications and activities run by the trust. The spiritual initiation and blindness of the Gangeshwar Maharaj are linked to a vision of lord *Kṛṣṇa* he had when he was five years old and the founder of the *sampradāya*, Shri Chandra, the son of Guru Nanak is regarded as an incarnation of *Śaṅkara*. (See http://gurugangeshwaranandjimaharaj.org/shrichandra-bhagwan.htm)

33 Certainly not an unproblematic term, as has been shown by some scholars like VON STIETENCRON, VISHWANATHAN and others, but I'm using it in absence of a

in which the *veda*s are reinterpreted and mixed with elements, such as idol worship, which historically speaking are not "Vedic" and which have caused internal dispute amongst the brahmanical orthodoxy for many centuries (see e.g. VON STIETENCRON)[34]. The analysis of this process is certainly an enormous task and is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, I would like to point to an important element in this particular case. The Sikh worship of the *Adi-Granth* and the Sikh heritage of the *udāsin* sect had a strong influence on the perception of the *veda*s as a "holy book" for Guru Gangeshwaranand. It was the later Sikh bibliolatry and missionary endeavour within the *udāsin* tradition that inspired him to found hundreds of *veda* temples in India and abroad and to compile the *veda*s in a single book to encourage the worship of "*bhagavān ved*". He drew direct inspiration – as it is portrayed in the trust's website – from the practice of worshipping the *veda* that presumably came from the founder of the *udāsin* sect, Shri Chand.

> The book *Chandra Baashya* [sic] (written in the 16th century) describes the practice of worshipping *Bhagwan Ved* with *dhoop, aarti* and *pooja*. It says mantras are Guru and hence we should pray to them (Ved Mantras) in the same way we pray to the Guru with flowers, *dhoop* etc. Even if Bharat (India) wanted to follow this tradition there was no book form like the Granth Sahib to pray to. Keeping this in mind Swamiji decided to print and publish 'Bhagwan Ved'.[35] [*sic*]

Unfortunately I have not yet been able to find the *Candra Bhāṣya* mentioned in this passage, but it is plausible that the practice of worshipping *veda* manuscripts predates Guru Gangeshwar and perhaps was a common practice among the *udāsin*s and even other groups.

In this particular case within contemporary Mahārāṣṭra, I have tried to show how Sikh and modern attitudes towards scripture have been catalysed by Guru Gangeshwar Maharaj and his followers into new "Vedic tradition" that claims to be immemorial. I have also argued how with these new elements the emphasis has changed from the sonic form of the *veda*s to their scriptural interpretation and even shifting to a religious bibliolatry.

One would further need to carefully examine when and how these elements have been webbed into the discourses who claim the

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better one.

[34] VON STIETENCRON 2005: 52-54.

[35] http://gurugangeshwaranandjimaharaj.org/newsdetail.aspx?id=92

traditional epithet "Vedic" and by which criteria we can distinguish the "Vedic" from the "non-Vedic". Which traditions and practices have influenced the perception toward sacred scripture? How have Mahāyāna Buddhism, Jaina or Muslim practices and attitudes toward scripture, for example, changed the way the *veda*s have been internally perceived at different points in history? I would join the appeal of other fellow scholars for a study of the South Asian sub-continent in which the dynamic negotiations of antithetical religiosities and social processes are carefully taken into account.

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On the descriptive techniques of the Prātiśākhya and the Aṣṭādhyāyī

ANAND MISHRA

In this article, we examine the methodological aspects of the prātiśākhya texts and the Aṣṭādhyāyī (A) of Pāṇini (KATRE 1989) with a view to provide a general framework for their formal representation. The prātiśākhya texts which we consider here are the Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya (ṚgPrā) (VARMA 1999) and the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya (VājPrā) (VARMA 1987).

1.0

The primary purpose for the composition of prātiśākhya texts is to secure exact reproduction of the vedic corpus. Similarly, the chief concern of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is to protect the standard usage of the learned (*śiṣṭa-prayoga*). In the Paspaśāhnika (Pas), while enunciating the purpose of grammar, Kātyāyana mentions preservation or retention to be the first goal.[1] This is possible only when an exact description of the essential characteristics of the standard usage is provided.

We can represent the expressions pertaining to standard usage through a collection and call it the *object set*. The prātiśākhyas and the A attempt to provide a systematic description of their respective object sets. They execute this through a process of characterization (*lakṣaṇa*).

1.1

The object set for the ṚgPrā consists of the *mantras* of the Ṛgveda and for the VājPrā, the utterances in the Śukla-Yajurveda. The object set with which the A is concerned is the standard usage of the learned (*śiṣṭa-prayoga*), consisting of both vedic as well as common utterances.

[1] rakṣohāgamalaghvasaṃdehāḥ prayojanam (PasVā 2).

Contrary to the prātiśākhyas, which limit their object set to a particular branch (*śākhā*) of Veda, the expressions in case of the A do not necessarily and exclusively belong to Veda. Patañjali, right in the beginning of the Paspaśāhnika, mentions first the non-vedic expressions and then the vedic ones, which are sought to be instructed.[2] Clearly, the object set in case of prātiśākhyas is finite and relatively small than it is in case of grammar.[3]

1.2

The opening verse of the ṚgPrā states that Śaunaka is providing a characterization (*lakṣaṇa*) of the set of vedic verses (*Ṛcā*) of the Ṛgveda.[4] Viṣṇumitra who has written a Vṛtti on the initial ten verses of the ṚgPrā explains *Ṛcā* to be vedic utterances or *mantras* having definite numbers of syllables (*akṣara*), quarter (*pāda*) or half (*ardharca*) verses.[5] Further, *lakṣaṇa* is explained as that which is characterized with features like intonation (*svara*), phonemes (*varṇa*), syllables (*akṣara*), syllabic weight (*mātrā*) etc.[6]

1.3

The Aṣṭādhyāyī describes the given object set. Kātyāyana specifies *vyākaraṇa* (grammar) to be consisting of *lakṣya* (object set) and *lakṣaṇa* (rules or characterizing statements).[7]

Patañjali explains *lakṣya* to be *śabda* (words, utterances) and *lakṣaṇa* to be *sūtra* i.e. (the set of) rules.[8]

2.0

To achieve preservation of the standard usage, one way is through direct instruction by the teacher and then its continuous repetition (*abhyāsa*). Therefore, it is a duty to learn the standard usage and also a means to attain the goals of life. Patañjali remarks that as the vedic expressions, learned according to the appropriate constraints with respect to the standard usage, bring their reward, similarly the one who

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[2] keṣāṃ śabdānām (anuśāsanam)? laukikānāṃ vaidikānāṃ ca... vaidikāḥ khalvapi (PasBhā 2-3).

[3] For a discussion about the nature of the object set of the Aṣṭādhyāyī see BRONKHORST 2007:183-206.

[4] Ṛcāṃ lakṣaṇamāha śaunakaḥ (ṚgPrāV 1).

[5] Ṛca iti parimitākṣarapādārdharcavihitā mantrāḥ (VVṚ 1).

[6] lakṣaṇaṃ ca svaravarṇākṣaramātrādilakṣitam (VVṚ 1).

[7] lakṣya-lakṣaṇe vyākaraṇam (PasVā 18).

[8] śabdo lakṣyaḥ sūtro lakṣaṇam (PasBhā 135).

uses utterances in accordance with the teaching of grammar, attains highest state.[9]

Another way to preserve the standard is to develop a systematic device which can adequately represent it. The efforts of ancillary disciplines (*vedāṅga*) were directed to devise such systems which can describe a given (vedic) phenomenon (MISHRA 2009, 2009a, 2010a).

The general process of observing and recording a given phenomenon is common and can be stated as:

1. identification of the *constituent units*
2. specification of the identifying *attributes* of these units
3. correlation and combination of units and attributes.

Units are combined to (re)gain the given object set. In this way, the object set is described and the systematic device which performs this task assures the retention or protection (*rakṣā*) of the object set.

2.1

Ancillary disciplines or *vedāṅga* are empirical sciences. The ritual scientists and linguists of the time were engaged in scrutinizing sacrificial activities including vedic utterances and recording their observations in a systematic manner.

Pāṇini, for example, quite frequently refers to this process of observation in his Aṣṭādhyāyī through the expression *drṣyate/dṛṣyante*.[10]

The authors of Kalpa-Sūtra are observing and recording the ritual actions and those of Śulba-Sūtra systematize ritual figures and shapes. *Śikṣā* (phonetics), *Chandas* (prosody), *Nirukta* (etymology) and *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar) record the respective linguistic features.[11]

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[9] yathā vedaśabdā niyamapūrvamadhītāḥ phalavanto bhavantyevaṃ yaḥ śāstrapūrvakaṃ śabdānprayuṅkte so 'bhyudayena yujyata iti (PasBhā 113). For a detailed discussion, see AKLUJKAR 2004: 687-732.

[10] *anyebhyo'pi dṛśyante* (A 3.2.75), *anyeṣvapi dṛśyate* (A 3.2.101), *anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate* (A 3.2.178), *bhūte'pi dṛśyante* (A 3.3.2), *anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate* (A 3.3.130), *itarābhyo'pi dṛśyante* (A 5.3.14), *anyeṣām api dṛśyate* (A 6.3.137), *chandasy api dṛśyate* (A 6.4.73), *chandasy api dṛśyate* (A 7.1.76) to cite a few.

[11] It is in this sense that these disciplines were regarded as empirical sciences (*aparā-vidyā*) in contradistinction to the knowledge of the Absolute (*parā-vidyā*). For example, Muṇḍakopaniṣad states that those who know *brahman* say that there are two sciences which should be known - the spiritual (*parā*) and the empirical (*aparā*). The empirical sciences are (the mastering of) the Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, (and the ancillary disciplines:) *Śikṣā* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ritual sciences), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Chandas* (prosody) and *Jyotiṣa* (astrology). The spiritual knowledge, however, is the one through which that Absolute

2.2

The first step towards building a system is to identify the constituents of the instances or elements of the object set. This is evident in all the branches of ancillary disciplines. The ritual manuals enlist the discrete ritual actions, record their distinguishing features and provide for their interconnections (MISHRA 2010: 91-104). The rules of Śulba-Sūtra provide for the combinations of geometrical units for (re)construction of ritual altars.

Listing of *pada*s (individual words) in *pada-pāṭha* by analyzing the *saṃhitā-pāṭha* or conjoined utterances marks this step of segmentation (*anvākhyāna*). Here the basis of analysis is semantical. In case of grammar, the division is even deeper into bases (*prakṛti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*). For this purpose a process of *anvaya* and *vyatireka* i.e. reasoning by concurrent presence and absence is employed (CARDONA 1997: 429). Application of this process is largely heuristical. There are, for example, no rules for segmentation in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.[12] The descriptional device presupposes the analysis of the utterances in constituent units.

3.0

The main aim of prātiśākhya texts is to synthesize vedic utterances contained in the *saṃhitā-pāṭha* out of constituent units, namely, the *pada*s and that of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is to synthesize a given utterance using the analyzed constituents, namely the corresponding bases (*prakṛti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*). In other words, given an object set and given a set of analyzed constituent units (let us call it the *constituent set*), the statements or rules of the prātiśākhya and Aṣṭādhyāyī provide for a kind of combinatorics to (re)constitute the object set.

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is realized: dve vidye veditavye iti ha sma yadbrahmavido vadanti parā caivāparā ca. tatrāparā Ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo'tharvavedaḥ śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ nirukto chando jyotiṣamiti. atha parā yayā tadakṣaramadhigamyate (Mu 1.4-5). According to Śaṅkarācārya the word Veda here (as elsewhere in this context) means the collection of vedic utterances: veda-śabdena tu sarvatra śabdarāśirvivakṣitaḥ (MuBhā 1.5). The upanishadic approach is to know that, which is beyond and behind the given and their effort is not to return back to the given but to cross it. Similarly, the emphasis of the Yoga as well as the buddhist tradition is to get rid of the given. It is *heya*, that which is to be avoided, for which the cause (*hetu*) must be realized, a solution (*hāna*) is to be found and the corresponding prescription (*hānopāya*) must be instructed. For an analysis of this *caturvyūha* approach see WEZLER 1984: 289-337.

[12] In case of prātiśākhyas, however, some rules provide for systematic segmentation. See for example the rules for *itikaraṇa* in VājPrā 4.18-24.

3.1

Ṛgprā 2.1 states that *saṃhitā-pāṭha* is a modification of the *pada-pāṭha*.[13] Commenting on this, Uvaṭa says that *saṃhitā*, whose constituents are *pada*s, is here a modification of the constituting *pada*s. For example, the modifications *ṣatva* or *ṇatva* occur in *saṃhitā* only. Because they are the constituents, therefore, the *pada*s are established original forms.[14]

Yāska in his Nirukta (BAKSHI 1982) also states that *saṃhitā* is the one having *pada*s as its constituent and all the branches of the Veda consider it to be so.[15] Commenting upon this, Durgācārya takes up the question in a detailed manner and puts forward two possible cases:

1. That, which is the cause of *pada*s, that (*saṃhitā*) is *padaprakṛti*. Why? *Pada*s are formed out of *saṃhitā*. Therefore, some consider *saṃhitā* to be the original form (*prakṛti*) and *pada*s to be their modifications (*vikāra*).
2. Others, however, understand the statement *padaprakṛtiḥ saṃhitā* to be *saṃhitā*, whose cause are the *pada*s. Why? Because *saṃhitā* is gained out of the combinations of *pada*s only. Therefore, *pada*s are the original form and *saṃhitā* is their modification.[16]

He further raises the question, which option is better: to consider *pada*s to be the original form and the *saṃhitā* to be their modification or *vice versa* and decides for the latter, giving several justifications based on the earlier usage of *saṃhitā-pāṭha*.[17]

So, the constituent set in case of prātiśākhyas consists of the segmented *pada*s and also the fundamental sounds or phonemes.

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[13] saṃhitā padaprakṛtiḥ (ṚgPrā 2.1).

[14] padāni prakṛtibhūtāni yasyāḥ saṃhitāyāḥ sā padaprakṛtiḥ saṃhitātra vikāraḥ. tathā hi ṣatvaṇatvādayo vikārāḥ saṃhitāyā eva bhavanti. prakṛtibhūtatvācca padānāṃ siddhatvam. (Uv 2.1).

[15] padaprakṛtiḥ saṃhitā. padaprakṛtīni sarvacaraṇānāṃ pārṣadāni. (Ni 1.17).

[16] padānāṃ yā prakṛtiḥ seyaṃ padaprakṛtiḥ. kiṃ kāraṇam? saṃhitāto hi padāni prakriyante. tasmātsaṃhitaiva prakṛtirvikāraḥ padānītyevameke manyante. apare punaḥ padaprakṛtiḥ saṃhiteti padāni prakṛtiryasyāḥ seyaṃ padaprakṛtiriti. kiṃ kāraṇam? padānyeva hi saṃhanyamānāni saṃhitā bhavati. tasmāt padānyeva hi prakṛtirvikāraḥ saṃhiteti. (Durga 1.17).

[17] āha. kiṃ punaratra sādhīyaḥ padānāṃ prakṛtitvaṃ saṃhitāyā vikāratvamuta vā vikāratvaṃ padānāṃ prakṛtitvaṃ saṃhitāyā iti? ucyate saṃhitāyāḥ prakṛtitvaṃ jyāyaḥ. āha. kiṃ kāraṇam? ucyate. mantro hyabhivyajyamānaḥ pūrvamṛṣermantradṛśaḥ saṃhitayaivābhivyajyate na padaiḥ. (Durga 1.17).

3.2

In case of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the set of fundamental sound units is listed in the Śiva-sūtras (ŚS). Other constituent units are enunciated in:

- Sūtra-Pāṭha (SP) which is a big collection of constituent units like *l(a)(ṭ)*, *ti(p)*, *(ś)a(p)* etc.
- Dhātu-Pāṭha (DhP) which is an explicit collection of verbal roots, and
- Gaṇa-Pāṭha (GP) lists some nominal bases.

Enumeration of constituent units is not exhaustive in case of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, which specifies units also in an implicit manner. For example, the set of nominal bases or (*prātipadika*).

4.0

The systematic device which the ancillary disciplines in general, and the prātiśākhya texts and Aṣṭādhyāyī in particular improvise, works in a common manner. It begins by observing an object set which it seeks to preserve. The observations are aimed towards identification and characterization of constituent units. This process is not rule based. Given an object set and the corresponding constituent set, they attempt to provide a rule based synthesis of the former starting from the constituents.

The ancillary disciplines have this common methodological approach. They differ only in articulation of this general method. The object and constituent sets differ in each case as also the formulation of rules of synthesis. But the overall approach is common. We now mention some of the techniques employed in the ṚgPrā, the VājPrā and the Aṣṭādhyāyī to collect and characterize the constituent units.

4.1

One general process is formation of sets and subsets of constituent units. Mathematically, it can be represented as:

$$\textit{Collection Name} = \{unit_1, unit_2, unit_3, \ldots\}$$

Once such a set is defined, it becomes equivalent to the statement that each unit of the set $\{unit_1, unit_2, unit_3, \ldots\}$ is ascribed an *attribute* namely *Collection Name*.

Consider, for example, the rule *kta ktavatū niṣṭhā* (A 1.1.26). It enlists two units *(k)ta* and *(k)tavat(u)* and calls the collection as *niṣṭhā*.

niṣṭhā = {*(k)ta*, *(k)tavat(u)*}

This is equivalent to the statement that the units *(k)ta* and *(k)tavat(u)* are assigned the attribute *niṣṭhā*.

(k)ta-niṣṭhā, *(k)tavat(u)-niṣṭhā*

Every set of units can be seen as *unit-attribute pair* and conversely *unit-attribute pairs* can be seen as constituting a set.

5.0
We now look into the techniques of set formations and attribute assignments.

5.1
Direct enumeration of the units is the simplest way of forming a set. Of course, it can function only in case the number of units is countable. The standard examples are the enumeration of fundamental sound units. Here a common technique is to exploit the order in a list and put some kind of delimiters to demarcate the boundaries of subsets.

5.2
Sometimes the delimiting boundary is specified by prescribing a domain. The VājPrā uses explicit statements about this. For example, athāto varṇasamāmnāyaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ[18] (VājPrā 8.1) begins the domain in an explicit manner. Then the next sub-domain begins with the following statement: tatra svarāḥ prathamam[19] (VājPrā 8.2). Within this domain, the following sub-domain of *sandhyakṣara* (dipthongs) is specified by the statement: atha sandhyakṣarāṇi[20] (VājPrā 8.4). In this way, using a kind of nested bracketing, the sets and subsets are formed.

These statements, in other words, can be interpreted as characterizing the basic sounds as *varṇa*, *svara*, *sandhyakṣara* etc.

5.3
The ṚgPrā performs the same operation by formulating in a slightly different manner. Instead of using a delimiter, it refers to the individual elements in the list of phonemes. Thus, the statement aṣṭausamānākṣarāṇyāditaḥ (ṚgPrā 1.1) says that the first eight in this list are assigned the attribute *samānākṣara* (monopthongs). The next four in the list are *sandhyakṣara* (dipthongs) posits the statement: tataścatvāri saṃdhyakṣarāṇyuttarāṇi (ṚgPrā 1.2). The statement: ete svarāḥ (ṚgPrā

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18 Now we mention the set *varṇa-samāmnāya* (fundamental sounds).

19 Within *varṇa-samāmnāya*, first the set of *svara* (vowels).

20 Now begins the domain of *sandhyakṣara* (dipthongs).

1.3) states that both these, i.e. *samānākṣara* and *sandhyakṣara* are *svara*. Here a new set is defined by performing a union of two sets.

$$svara = samānākṣara \cup sandhyakṣara$$

More than one sub-sets are referred together also in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, for example in the rule *tiṅ śit sārvadhātukam* (A 3.4.113) which can be represented as

$$sārvadhātuka = ti(ṅ) \cup śit$$

5.4

Pāṇini operates with indicatory marker sounds as delimiters to form selected sub-sequences from a given sequence. In our writing convention, we indicate the markers by writing them within brackets. These marker sounds which function here as delimiters mark the final limit of the sub-sequence, the initial one can be any of the non-marker sounds.

The sounds listed in the ŚS are as follows:

a i u (ṇ) ṛ lṛ (k) e au (ṅ) ai au (c) h y v r (ṭ) l (ṇ) ñ m ṅ ṇ n (m) jh bh (ñ) gh ḍh dh (ṣ) j b g ḍ d (ś) kh ph ch ṭh th c ṭ t (v) k p (y) ś ṣ s (r) h (l)

A sub-sequence formed using the above rule is: *i(k) = i u ṛ lṛ*. Here all non-marker sounds beginning with *i* and upto the marker sound (*k*) are included in the new formed sub-sequence.

The use of *it* markers in the ŚS is special. These markers are usually attached to some unit and this attachment is regulated by a set of meta-linguistic rules. Here, however, they appear as a delimiter. They are placed at particular positions indicating the final sound of a *sūtra*. They are employed to form sub-sequences of a given sequence and also in coining the names of these sub-sequences. The relationship between the name of a sub-sequence and its content is given in a generic manner using the rule: *ādirantyena sahetā*[21]. These constitute a special group of sets called *pratyāhāra*.

The names of *pratyāhāra* like *a(c)*, *i(k)* consist of an *it* sound which, however, does not undergo elision by *tasya lopaḥ*[22]. The process which is at work here is to form sub-sequences. Given a sequence, a number of sub-sequences can be formed, not all of which are relevant

[21] The first sound and the last *it* sound include the units occurring in between the sequence (A 1.1.71).

[22] *it* is assigned the attribute *lopa* which causes elision (A 1.3.9).

for grammar specifications.[23] The sub-sequences which Pāṇini needed for his grammar are specified with the help of this special order of the listing together with the use of delimiters. This way of building sub-sequences is used elsewhere as well. For example, *ti(ṅ)*, *ta(ṅ)*, *s(u)(p)* are the names of other sub-sequences built using this method.

Through the reorderd listing of the ŚS, Pāṇini forms a number of sub-sequences which are required for the functionality of his statements.[24] This he does in a generic manner which is according to the spirit of brevity (*lāghava*).

Sometimes the order of the units within a *pratyāhāra* is important. Consider, for example, the rule *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*[25]. Here the order of units [*e, o, ai, au*] in *e(c)* must necessarily be maintained to correspond with the units [*ay, av, āy, āv*]. Sometimes, however, the order of elements within a *pratyāhāra* is of no importance. For example, in the rule *vṛddhirādaic*[26] the order of {*ai, au*} in *ai(c)* need not be fixed.

5.5

Pāṇini also specifies certain domains or sub-sections within the grammatical corpus. Sometimes certain units which are within this domain make a group by virtue of being in this domain. For example, the set of *kṛtya* suffixes is specified by putting them in one domain and demarcating it by the rule *kṛtyāḥ prāṅ ṇvulaḥ*[27].

5.6

Another important technique for building a set in Aṣṭādhyāyī is to using a marker sound which is commonly called *it* - marker. By attaching a particular marker to certain units, Pāṇini specifies a subset of all those units which carry that marker sound. For example in the rule *tiṅ śit sārvadhātukam*[28] the set *śit* refers to the set of those units which contain *ś* as *it* marker.

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[23] Given a finite alphabet $\sum\Sigma^n$ upto 2^n sub-sequences, $({}^nC_k)$ of length *k* can be generated, which needs not all be different. The contiguous sub-sequences which can be generated are n(n-1)/2 in number. Pāṇini, however, employs 41 sub-sequences.

[24] This is the purpose Kātyāyana mentions: the teaching of the sounds is to provide a special ordering for the sake of functionality of rules: vṛttisamavāyārtha upadeśaḥ (PasVā 19).

[25] *ay av āy āv* are respectively substituted for vowels *e o ai au* represented by siglum *e(c)* when *a(c)* follows (A 6.1.78).

[26] Assign *vṛddhi* to units having *ā(t)* or *ai(c)* (A 1.1.1).

[27] Assign *kṛtya* to the *pratyaya* introduced below upto *(ṇ)vu(l)* (A 3.1.95).

[28] Affixes in the siglum *ti(ṅ)* and those having *ś* as *it* marker are assigned the attribute *sārvadhātuka* (A 3.4.113).

5.7

The examples noted above indicate that the prātiśākhya texts together with corresponding *pada-pāṭha*s as well as the Aṣṭādhyāyī enumerate a number of constituent units explicitly and several techniques like use of domains, it markers or already defined groups are employed to form various subsets of these units.

These methods, however, are applicable only in cases where the object set is finite and small, as for example in case of the Ṛgveda. As the cardinality of the object set increases and a set becomes uncountable, it is hopeless to define it by enlisting the individual elements, as the story in PasBhā 51 about *Bṛhaspati* trying to enlist it for *Indra* tells us.

The other way is to provide general characteristics which specify a set and take care of the exceptions.[29]

Consider, for example, the rule *arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*[30]. Here the set of nominal bases is enunciated as a meaningful item which does not belong to certain other pre-defined collections.[31] The distinguishing characteristic in this case is a meaningful unit. The elements of this set are not exhaustively listed in the grammatical corpus. Here, instead of directly enumerating the units, sometimes it is necessary to specify an attribute which is common to all of them and which stands for them. Similarly, the VājPrā defines the set of *pada*s as a unit which is meaningful.[32]

Even in case of explicit enumeration, Pāṇini sometimes groups together related units by indicating some commonly shared feature. For example in the rule *dādhāghvuadāp*[33] the use of the syllables *dādhā* refers to certain roots containing these syllables: *(ḍu)dā(ñ), (ḍu)dhā(ñ), dā(ṇ), de(ṅ), do* and *dhe(ṭ)*.

5.8

Certain attributes mentioned in these texts carry information which does not stem from the system, but is external to it.

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[29] kiṃcitsāmānyaviśeṣavallakṣaṇaṃ pravartyaṃ (PasBhā 53).

[30] A meaningful unit which is not having the attribute *dhātu* or *pratyaya* is assigned the attribute *prātipadika* (A 1.2.45).

[31] The next rule A 1.2.46: *kṛt taddhita samāsāśca* [Units ending with *kṛt* or *taddhita* or having the attribute *samāsa* are also assigned the attribute *prātipadika*] extends the set of *prātipadika*.

[32] arthaḥ padam (VājPrā 3.2).

[33] *(ḍu)dā(ñ), (ḍu)dhā(ñ), dā(ṇ), de(ṅ), do* and *dhe(ṭ)* are assigned the attribute *ghu* (A 1.1.20).

For example, the attribute *dīrgha* points to the phonetic qualities of a spoken sound. The rule *ūkālo'jjhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*[34] associates this attribute to the appropriate sounds. The vowel sound units depending upon the length of pronunciation, are assigned the attribute *hrasva*, if pronounced short; *dīrgha*, if long and *pluta*, if pronounced with prolated length. The attribute *dīrgha*, therefore, encodes system external information.

The prātiśākhya and the Aṣṭādhyāyī not only use system internal characteristics but also a large number of system external information. This information is encoded in certain characterising expressions, which we call as attributes because that is how they are employed within the system. Either they qualify or characterize some unit, or form a part of some condition.

These attributes function as windows that provide access to information about the world which is extraneous to the system. The rules of grammar and prātiśākhya depend on such information. These external world information can be of different sorts: phonetic peculiarities (*dīrgha*, *pluta*), semantic and syntactic data (*vartamāna*, *karaṇa*), pragmatic considerations (*ekaśruti*), some special occasion (*japa, nyūṅkha*), a particular group of texts (*chandas*), special geographical regions (*prācya*, *udīcya*) etc. All these form an integral part of the description and most of them provide conditions for operations combining the units.

5.9

During the process of synthesis, certain units acquire some attributes which are dependent upon a particular distribution of units. Once this distribution is changed, these attributes also do not remain associated with these units. They are, so to say, dynamic attributes in contradistinction to some other attributes which are static i.e. they remain associated with a unit during the entire process of synthesis.

Consider, for example, the attribute *aṅga* which is assigned by the rule *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tad ādi pratyayae aṅgam*[35]. This rule assigns the attribute *aṅga* to that group of sounds that occurs before a part which enjoins a suffix based operation. So, the group of sounds

[34] *a(c)* having short, long and prolated duration are assigned respectively the attributes *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta* (A 1.2.27).

[35] That part which enjoins a *pratyaya* based operation, before that the sequence is assigned *aṅga* (A 1.4.13).

getting the attribute *aṅga* does not retain this attribute during the entire life span of the process of synthesis.

On the other hand, the attribute *dvivacana* which the unit *tas*, for example, gets by the rule *tāni ekavacana dvivacana bahuvacanāni ekaśaḥ*[36] does not leave this unit during the entire process of synthesis.

6.0

Given an element of the object set and a set of corresponding constituent units together with their attributes, the systematic device provides for a synthesis of that element using units and attributes. A controlled combination of constituent units is achieved through several operational rules which are formulated in a number of statements.

To apply the statements of the grammatical corpus, or in other words, to use the Aṣṭādhyāyī, a procedural approach is required. The regulations and constraints which are mentioned for a collection must now be applied for a particular unit. The derivational process can be seen as a gradual unfolding of a process strip. Beginning with the constituent units, this process strip advances and expands to end up in the corresponding Sanskrit expression.

6.1

The grammatical process begins with a given (provisional) linguistic expression. The first step is to associate certain constituent units with this expression. For this, there are no procedures mentioned in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The corresponding units are hypothesized or suggested depending upon the past experience with the grammar in a heuristic manner.

Once the constituent units are selected, the process of synthesis starts. This is a rule based procedure and is specified in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. It is an incremental process which gravitates towards finished Sanskrit expressions. The advancement from one stage to the next is prompted and controlled by two forces:

1. the regulations and constraints which are internal to the grammatical system, and
2. the information which the system receives from outside i.e. external to the system and usually communicated through the user of the grammar.

[36] Each of the three members of these six triads get respectively the attributes *ekavacana* (singular), *dvivacana* (dual) and *bahuvacana* (plural) (A 1.4.102).

These two forces direct the process of synthesis by controlling the combinational possibilities between the units and their attributes.

The process of synthesis takes place in a number of stages. At each stage, the distribution of units and their attributes gets changed. A typical state during a particular stage can be visualized as a sequence of units with several attributes associated with them. At a particular stage, the distribution of units and attributes must be in accordance with the constraints of grammar as well as the intention of the speaker. In other words, such a state must be *consistent*.

A typical state during the process of synthesis may be *consistent* but still not *complete*. This calls for advancement towards the next state. Graduating to the next state can be seen as responding to the suggestions of grammar and/or user. These suggestions are of two kinds:

1. to attach attributes to units, and
2. to combine units together.

These are the two basic operations which are carried out by the rules of grammar. There are, of course, rules which regulate how these should be performed.

So, the next state, which in its basic framework is identical with the previous one, may consist of new units and different attributes. The process is repeated as long as a particular stage reaches its completion or a state of saturation. This means, there are no more compelling suggestions from the grammar and/or user which must be accommodated. The resulting state should now correspond to the standard Sanskrit expression.

The combinatorics involved in prātiśākhya texts is similar and the framework which is applicable in case of the Aṣṭādhyāyī can be used for them as well.

7.0

The general structure of an operational rule is: If the condition(s) *C* are satisfied, then perform the operation(s) *O* while taking into consideration the convention(s) *V*.

7.1

The conditions, which must be fulfilled for the application of some operation, are expressed in several ways. Sometimes, the conditions are stated in terms of attributes only. For example, the rule *vṛddhirādaic* (A 1.1.1) stipulates that if the units have the attributes *ā(t)* or *ai(c)* then do the requisite operation.

Conditions are also expressed in terms of units. For example, the rule *kta ktavatū niṣṭhā* (A 1.1.26) says that if the units *(k)ta* and *(k) tavat(u)* are present, then they be assigned the attribute *niṣṭhā*.

Sometimes the conditions are expressed using a combination of units and attributes. The rule *āṅa udgamane*[37] says that a unit with attribute *ātmanepada* is added to the unit *kram(u)* when it co-occurs with *ā(ṅ)* and when *udgamana* is expressed.

The entire statements can also function as a condition. Many of the *adhikāra-sūtra*s bring in some condition. For example, the rule *saṃhitāyām*[38] ordains the condition that the operations should be performed only in case of *saṃhitā* or contiguous sound units.

Finally, the order in which some of the rules are positioned within the Aṣṭādhyāyī can also function as a condition for application of some rules. The fact that some particular rule has been applied or some particular change has taken place affects the application of certain rules. For example, in the *tripādī* section of the Aṣṭādhyāyī a rule is considered inoperative with respect to some previous rules. This is regulated by *pūrvatrāsiddham* (A 8.2.1).

The definition of *samprasāraṇa* is dependent on some previous change. According to *igyaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*[39] those units having *i(k)* are assigned *samprasāraṇa* which are a replacement of some unit with *y[a](ṇ)*.

Putting it all together, we can say that the conditions are expressed in terms of

1. attributes
2. units
3. units with attributes
4. statements
5. order of states

7.2

While checking the conditions or while applying some operation, certain conventions must be taken into consideration. Some of these guidelines are explicitly mentioned in the corpus of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Others are assumed implicitly. Some of these implicit assumptions are stipulated by later grammarians.

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[37] *ātmanepada* are attached after *kram(u)* expressing rising if it comes together with *ā(ṅ)* (A 1.3.40).

[38] Perform certain operations in case of *saṃhitā* (A 6.1.72).

[39] *i(k)* replacing *y[a](ṇ)* is assigned *samprasāraṇa* (A 1.1.45).

These meta-linguistic rules set general conventions which are valid for the entire grammar.

For example, the rule *yathāsaṃkhyamanudeśaḥ samānām*[40] sets a convention that if in a rule there are two sequences [a_1, b_1, c_1, d_1] and [a_2, b_2, c_2, d_2] which have equal length, then they correspond respectively, i.e. a_1 corresponds to a_2, b_1 to b_2, c_1 to c_2 etc. The rule *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*[41] is an example where this convention is employed. Here *e(c)* i.e. [*e, o, ai, au*] are replaced by [*ay, av, āy, āv*]. So *e* is replaced by *ay*, *o* by *av* etc.

In our framework, these conventions are taken into account while performing a particular operation or while applying a given rule. They are modeled as the background information, which one needs or uses, to represent the content and processes of the grammatical corpus.

Abbreviations

A	Aṣṭādhyāyī
ṚgV	Ṛgveda
Mu	Muṇḍakopaniṣad
MuBhā	Muṇḍakopaniṣad Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya
ŚS	Śiva-Sūtra
DhP	Dhātu-Pāṭha
GP	Gaṇa-Pāṭha
SP	Sūtra-Pāṭha
PasVā	Paspaśāhnika Vārtika (Ref. number according to JOSHI-ROODBERGEN 1986)
PasBhā	Paspaśāhnika Bhāṣya (Ref. number according to JOSHI-ROODBERGEN 1986)
ṚgPrā	Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya
Uv	Uvaṭa-bhāṣya on Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya
ṚgPrāV	Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya-Vargadvaya
VVṚ	Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya-Vargadvaya-VṚtti
VājPrā	Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya
Ni	Nirukta

40 In case of two sequences having equal number of units, their elements have a respective correspondence (A 1.3.10).

41 *ay av āy āv* are respectively substituted for vowels *e o ai au* represented by siglum *e(c)* when *a(c)* follows (A 6.1.78).

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ASKO PARPOLA

Introduction: The Jaiminīya Gṛhya project of 1983 and 1985

The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra branch of Sāmaveda is a dwindling Vedic school that survives in a few pockets of three southern states of the Indian Union: Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.[1] I became obsessed

[1] The Jaiminīya school of Sāmaveda was discovered in the middle of the 19th century by the British scholar Arthur Coke BURNELL. BURNELL himself published the *Jaiminīya-Ārṣeya-Brāhmaṇa* in 1878, but he procured manuscripts of several other Jaiminīya texts, which formed the basis of further studies (cf. BURNELL 1870; KEITH 1935: 23-55 passim). Thus Hanns OERTEL could edit and translate the *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa* in 1896, and, in his grammatical studies, take into account the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*, which was published in extracts by Willem CALAND in 1919 (in 1954 it was brought out in its entirety by RAGHU VIRA and LOKESH CHANDRA who had some additional manuscript material). CALAND also edited parts of the *Jaiminīya-Samhitā* (the *Jaiminīya-Ārcikas* and a comparison of the *Jaiminīya-Pūrvagāna* with its Kauthuma counterpart) in 1907, and twice the *Jaiminīya-Gṛhyasūtra* (in 1905 with extracts from Śrīnivāsa's commentary, and in 1922 with an English translation) on the basis of BURNELL's manuscripts. BURNELL gave a sketch of the Sāmavedic chanting of the Jaiminīyas, which has since been studied by Arnold BAKE (1935), Frits STAAL (1961) and especially by Wayne HOWARD (1977, 1988). (For a detailed history of Jaiminīya studies up to 1973, see PARPOLA 1973; for the sequel, cf. FUJII & PARPOLA, in press.) The *Jaiminīya-Grāmageya-Gāna* was published by Vibhūtibhūṣaṇ BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA in 1976, and the *Jaiminīya-Āraṇyaka-Gāna* by T. N. MAKARABHŪṢAṆAM in 2000. Large parts of the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* have been translated into English by Henk

with it in the mid-sixties during my doctoral work (PARPOLA 1968) on the Śrautasūtras of the two other known schools of the Sāmaveda. In 1966 I had the great luck of discovering that a wrongly catalogued manuscript contained most parts of the *Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra* that were thought to have been lost long ago (cf. PARPOLA 1967).[2] That same year came out an old commentary on the entire *Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra* by Bhavatrāta, a Nampūtiri Brahmin who lived around 700 CE. This commentary comprises the newly found portions, but without the actual sūtra texts commented upon. The edition (SHASTRI 1966) however is based on a single corrupt manuscript and abounds in errors. Ever since, a critical edition and translation of the whole JŚS and of Bhavatrāta's commentaries (it later turned out that he has covered the *Jaiminīya-Gṛhyasūtra* as well) has been one of my life-long ambitions. The task implied discovery of new manuscripts of not only these texts, but of other Jaiminīya texts as well, especially the *Jaiminīya-Uttaragāna* also thought to be lost. A comprehensive search for, and collection of, Jaiminīya manuscripts has been an ongoing project since 1971, when I first went to India.

While tracing and photographing manuscripts of Jaiminīya texts, I also interviewed their owners and other Jaiminīyas to complement the available information on the history of the Jaiminīya school of Sāmaveda and its distribution.[3] I got a good start from Frits STAAL, who advised me to contact a leading Jaiminīya *ācārya,* Śrī Muṭṭattukkāṭṭil Māmaṇṇù Iṭṭi Ravi Nampūtiri (MIR) (1904-1989), residing in the principal village of the Nampūtiri Sāmavedins, Panjal (Pāññāḷ). In 1972 I returned there to collect MIR's recitation of the entire *Jaiminīya-Samhitā*, which he had recorded with the taperecorder left by STAAL. This and some later recordings include the *Jaiminīya-Uttara-Gāna*, an extensive collection of songs in the shape they are to be sung at the śrauta sacrifices, which had been thought no longer to exist, but which survived as a living

BODEWITZ (1973, 1990), and a new critical edition of this important text is being prepared by Gerhard EHLERS (cf. EHLERS 1988, 2000). The *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa* has been studied by Masato FUJII (2004), whose new critical edition and annotated translation is to appear soon.

[2] The *Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra* published by Dieuke GAASTRA in 1906 on the basis of BURNELL manuscripts contains only the first part of this text, the only one known at that time.

[3] Since 1985, I have collected Jaiminīya manuscripts and other information on this school in collaboration with Masato FUJII. For our results, see FUJII & PARPOLA in press.

tradition only among a handful of Nampūtiri Sāmavedins. I became acutely aware that the ancient way of Vedic education had virtually stopped in the early part of the 20th century. The old traditions were mastered by just a few old men and would die out soon. With the śrauta practices of the Nampūtiris fairly well documented through the *agnicayana* project led by Frits STAAL (the sacrifice performed in 1975 and published in STAAL 1983), I had a small-scale project (financed by the Academy of Finland) focusing on the domestic rituals of the Jaiminīya Nampūtiris in Panjal in 1983 and 1985. In 1983 I was accompanied by my wife Marjatta PARPOLA, who assisted in the documentation of the gṛhya rituals and as a descriptive anthropologist studied how the traditional life was changing in the Nampūtiri families with whom we were staying (see M. PARPOLA 2000).

I transcribed from a couple of manuscripts the manual which the Jaiminīya Nampūtiri purohitas used in conducting domestic rituals. This unpublished *Sāma-Smārtta-Caṭaṅṅù* (SSC) is in Malayāḷam, the Dravidian language spoken in Kerala. It was explained to me in detail by MIR (the interviews were taperecorded), who also demonstrated how the gṛhya rites were performed. The simulated performances and some real ones (mainly of weddings, but also the *annaprāśana, upanayana* and *samāvartana*) were both videotaped (with Sony Betamax) and photographed. In 1985 we were accompanied by two post-graduate students, Klaus KARTTUNEN and Masato FUJII. Klaus eventually (in 2005) became my successor as Professor of South Asian Studies at the University of Helsinki; after our field trip, he has studied and partly published (see KARTTUNEN 1989-90, 2001, 2003, 2005) the anonymous *Jaimuni-Sāma-Prayoga,* a Sanskrit manual known from a single manuscript, which I photographed in the village of Tiṭṭaguḍi in 1971, and which constitutes a major source for the earlier Tamil Jaiminīya traditions. Our 1985 trip included long interviews of the chief priest of the Tamil Jaiminīyas in Pālghat, Śrī Veṅkaṭanātha Śarmā Vādhyār. It became clear that the various Jaiminīya groups have been relatively long separated from each other, and that their rituals have to some extent developed in different directions. It is by no means possible to see all the differences from prayoga texts; one also has to observe and document the actual performances of the rites. But a detailed comparison of the texts will already reveal interesting diachronic data, and throw light on the evolution of the tradition.

The *Sāma-Smārtta-Caṭaṅṅù* (SSC) and its comparison with the JGS

The *Sāma-Smārtta-Caṭaṅṅù* (SSC) is part of a major Nampūtiri effort to codify Malayāḷam manuals for both śrauta and gṛhya rituals. Besides the SSC, the Jaiminīya Nampūtiris have śrauta manuals called *Ādhānam, Yāgattinṟe Sāma-Caṭaṅṅù* and *Agniyuṭe Caṭaṅṅù,* which give the Sāmavedic procedure in the three principal śrauta rites performed in Kerala in recent times: the establishment of the sacred fires, the *agniṣṭoma,* and the over-night-rite (*atirātra*) combined with *agnicayana*. In addition, there is *Aptoryāmattinṟe Sāma-Caṭaṅṅù,* a manual on the *aptoryāma,* a rite not conducted in Kerala after the 19th century. The other Vedic schools prevalent among the Nampūtiri Brahmins of Kerala have their own manuals as well. Actually the SSC is the only Nampūtiri gṛhya manual not yet printed. There is the *Pakaḻiyaṁ Caṭaṅṅù* (6th ed. 1986) for the Āśvalāyana Ṛgvedins, the *Kauṣītakacaṭaṅṅù* (2nd ed, 1976) for the Kauṣītaki Ṛgvedins, and two Yajurveda manuals, the *Bādhūlakaccaṭaṅṅù* by VEḶḶĀRAPPIḶḶI Maṭhattil illattu Sōmayājippāṭù Mahan Vāsudēvan Nampūtiri (1978) and the *Kriyāratnamāla atha vā kṛṣṇayajurvvēdīya Baudhāyanaccaṭaṅṅù* by VĀKATTĀNATTU Eṭamana E. Em. Kṛṣṇaśarmmā (1st ed. 1928).

All the *Caṭaṅṅù*s or 'Rules', both śrauta and gṛhya, share a common vocabulary and a very large number of identical phrases. RAGHAVA VARIER (1983: 282) dates the Vedic guide books in Malayāḷam to the period of about 1500-1800 on linguistic grounds. According to UḶḶŪR (1955: III, 223-6), the author of the Malayāḷam work *Ṣoḍaśakriyākārika atha vā bōdhāyanasmārttaprayōgam,* Kirāṅṅāṭṭu Jayantan Nampūtirippāṭù, lived around the 17th century (9th century M. E.). The *Malayalam Lexicon* (vol. I, 1965, p. cxix) dates the anonymous *Kauṣītakacaṭaṅṅù* to the 17th century, with a query. No date is given to the anonymous *Pakaḻiyaṁ Caṭaṅṅù* (p. cxxxi). The 17th century is a likely date for the anonymous SSC as well. There are palmleaf manuscripts of it that on palaeographic grounds are about two hundred years old, and this agrees with the old coins used as stoppers of the cords with which these mss. are wrapped. Moreover, some manuscripts retain archaic forms of the Malayāḷam language (writing, e.g., *onṟu* instead of *onnu,* or *vaccù* instead of *veccù*). I have given preference to such old forms, instead of adopting the modern forms found in most mss.[4]

[4] The SSC text given here is not the final critical edition of these passages. Although I have had a brief look at several other mss., I have systematically collated only three mss. from the village of Pāññāḷ, one paper ms. of Tōṭṭam Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri and two palm leaf mss. of the Muṭṭattukkāṭṭil Māmaṇṇu Mana.

As few Indologists are acquainted with Malayāḷam, I have translated the text into English as literally as possible and explained every Malayāḷam expression in the footnotes at its first occurrence both grammatically and etymologically.

The rules in the SSC and the Caṭaṅṅù texts in general are given in long periodic sentences, in which short standardized phrases normally ending in a gerund succeed each other, until the final phrase ends in a finite verb, usually an imperative. This imperative often introduces a ritual action the execution of which is detailed in the following sentence of a similar structure (compare e.g. the last phrase of SSC 1,1 with SSC 1,2). This form of discourse, operating with several successive gerunds, has been inherited from the Vedic Sūtras, and is followed also in most Sanskrit language Prayogas. As this has, as far as I can see, not been specifically noted before, I would like to emphasize that this type of exposition divides the rite into transparent sequences of minimal acts and thus provides us with a particularly lucid emic segmentation of the ritual process into sequential units. In my presentation of the text, I have tried to preserve this structure by allotting a separate line to each phrase, and by dividing the text into paragraphs according to the full sentences.

In this paper I compare and analyze the sections dealing with the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* rite, contained in the first four chapters of the *Jaiminīya-Gṛhyasūtra* (JGS 1,1-4), and the first chapter of the SSC. The text of the SSC is given in its natural order from the beginning (SSC 1,1) to the end (SSC 1,32). The relevant sūtras of the JGS always precede the relevant phrases of the SSC, but their order is not necessarily that of the JGS, but is adjusted to the order of the SSC; the original order of the JGS sūtras can be seen from their numbering, which is always given.[5] Sometimes it is necessary (on account of their separate application), and often useful (to bring the counterparts of the JGS and the SSC close to each other), to divide the sūtras of the JGS into successive phrases, marked by adding a, b, etc. after the JGS reference; the quoted sūtra text is shown to be incomplete also by indicating the missing portion(s)

[5] The numbering of the JGS follows the segmentation of this text in the important but so far unpublished commentary of Bhavatrāta. (So far I have collated only two manuscripts of this text, a transcript of L 310 of the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library in Trivandrum, and a palm leaf ms. of the Perumāṅṅāṭù Mana in Pāññāḷ.) Bhavatrāta's sūtra division does not always agree with the natural syntax of the text nor with the commentary of Śrīnivāsa, who represents the Tamil Jaiminīya tradition (cf. CALAND 1922: v-vi).

by means of three dots ... preceding or following the quoted text. THE SANSKRIT AND MALAYĀḶAM TEXTS ARE PRINTED IN CAPITALS *(WITH THE MANTRAS IN ITALICS)* to distinguish them from the immediately following translations, which are as literal as possible and printed lower case. **The JGS and its translation[6] are in bold face throughout** in order to distinguish them from the SSC.

Verses from an anonymous Sanskrit Kārikā entitled *Gṛhyakarmakriyākrama* (which has been handed down as a separate text as well)[7] have been inserted (or perhaps interpolated) in the exposition of the SSC when they have been deemed to be useful summaries, as in the enumeration of the requisites in the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* rite (at the end of SSC 1,2).[8]

CALAND (1922: x) noted that "many a sentence of the Jaiminisūtra agrees verbally with the Gobhilasūtra", adding a list of such correspondences, but he concluded (ibid.):

> This fact does not necessarily compel us to suppose, that it is caused by direct influence of the one on the other Sūtra, as it is more probable that the Sāmavedins from older times possessed a common stock of ritual prescriptions, from which each of them drew.

The relationship between the JGS and the *Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra* (GGS) is not in the focus of this paper, but I have quoted or referred to relevant sūtras of the GGS in footnotes. Some general comments on this question are necessary here. Long ago (PARPOLA 1968: I.1, p. 69-71), I argued in rather strong terms that "Gobhila has copied Jaimini". This conclusion was accepted by Jan GONDA (1977: 609), in whose opinion "the probabilities seem to be in favour of the supposition that Gobhila has used and in many places copied Jaimini". I now hold the diametrically opposite view, agreeing with Friedrich KNAUER (1886:

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6 CALAND (1922) has already translated the JGS into English, but I have deemed it necessary to add a translation here as well, partly to make the use of this text easier, because the Sanskrit text is not always easy, and partly because CALAND has a different interpretation of some passages where he did not have access to all the sources at my disposal. Particularly in such contexts I have quoted explanations given by Bhavatrāta and some other texts in the footnotes.

7 The first chapter of the *Gṛhyakarmakriyākrama* dealing with the *sthālīpāka* and consisting of twelve śloka verses has been published by KARTTUNEN (2001: 332).

8 A similar Sanskrit Kārikā summarizing the actions of the *agniṣṭoma* rite was appended to his elaborate commentary on the first part of the *Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra* by Bhavatrāta.

51-52) that the GGS is very old within the Gṛhya literature. The data relating to the Sāmaveda curriculum discussed by me in 1968 must be accounted for in some other way. In my present view, Jaimini's dependence on Gobhila is particularly clear from the composition of the initial chapters, where Gobhila is very elaborate and systematic, and makes the śrauta rite of new and full moon offerings *(darśa-pūrṇa-māsa)* the model of the homa rites, while Jaimini is brief and makes just one (from the point of view of his own exposition unnecessary) reference to the new and full moon offerings (JGS 1,1,10-11). — CALAND (1953: xiv-xv) records "striking parallels between the Jaiminīyas [the JB and also the JGS] and the *Śāṅkh[āyana-Śrautasūtra]*". The *Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* (or its parallel recension, the *Kauṣītaka-Gṛhyasūtra*) indeed seems to be another important source of the JGS, so its relevant parallel sūtras are recorded in footnotes. The *Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra*, too, will be compared, on account of the early contact between the Jaiminīyas (or rather, the Śāṭyāyanins) and the Vājasaneyins.

The principal aim of the following detailed comparison is to examine how the ancient rules given in Sanskrit in the JGS have been transformed into the vernacular rules followed in today's ritual practice. Most rules of the JGS have been rather faithfully translated into Malayāḷam, but their order follows that of the ritual, which is not always the case in the JGS: like most of the later Sūtra texts, the JGS is taking advantage of the context to condense its exposition and thus states some of its rules out of their ritual order. The SSC has dropped rules and alternatives given in the JGS, which are unnecessary for the practical execution of the ritual, so as not to burden the memory of the purohita, who learns the manual by heart. On the other hand, rules implied but not explicitly stated each time in the JGS description of the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* rite have been supplied in their proper places in the SSC, in order to make sure they are applied in the ritual.

The modifications of the SSC mostly consist of additions, which are marked by shadow. The additions can be considered to be of two kinds. Many additions give more detailed instruction than the rule of the JGS, but in many cases their content may have been implied in the JGS rule, thus being sort of commentorial explanations of the JGS rule. On the other hand, some additions in my opinion are interpolations of new ritual acts not present in the JGS; these will be discussed separately later on (see p. 336). Admittedly it is not always easy to judge which of the two kinds of additions is in question, and subjectivity cannot altogether be avoided.

The oral explanations given by MIR add a more recent level of development, and they have been separated from the SSC by putting them into the footnotes. On this level too, one can distinguish between exegesis and interpolations.

The *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka*

The *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* rite is an offering of cooked food *(sthālīpāka)* put in the domestic fire by the householder at every *parvan,* i.e., on every 'node' = on every new and full moon day. As observed in the JGS (1,1,10), the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* rite of the gṛhya ritual is parallel to the *darśa-pūrṇa-māsa* rite of the śrauta ritual performed on these same days, though the former is simpler and performed in just one sacred fire (JGS 1,1,8), while the latter requires three sacred fires and is in many respects more complex. In the Śrautasūtras, which in general are older than the Gṛhyasūtras, the *darśa-pūrṇa-māsa* serves as the model or prototype *(prakṛti)* for all *iṣṭi* type śrauta rites, so that only the characteristic differences need to be mentioned when describing these ectypes *(vikṛti).* As noted above, the GGS is rather old-fashioned in having the *darśa-pūrṇa-māsa* as the model of the fire offerings of even the gṛhya rites. From the point of view of ritual dynamics, it would be an interesting topic to investigate the relationship of these gṛhya and śrauta rites more closely. But it must be passed by here, as we are concerned with the post-Vedic codification of Vedic ritual.

In JGS 1,1-4, the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* is described as the basic model of all those gṛhya rites which include a fire offering (i.e., the *huta* and *prahuta* types of the varieties of gṛhya rites enumerated in JGS 1,1,7) – subsequently only the differing details of the other rites need to be told briefly in the JGS. It is quite natural that the SSC, too, begins with this rite. But for instance in the *Pakaḻiyaṁ Caṭaṅṅù* (1986, p. 37-39), the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* rite is discussed relatively briefly (with phrases like *ājyasaṁskāraṁ tuṭaṅṅi prasiddham āyi ceyyuṁ pōḷ* 'when having started the ritual preparation of the clarified butter [you] perform it in the well-known way') because here it is not the basic model nor is it for this reason described at the beginning of the text. The *Pakaḻiyaṁ Caṭaṅṅù* starts with the marriage (*vēḷi,* pp. 1-28), which is followed by the 'second *homa*' (pp. 28-30), the *aupāsana* (pp. 31-32), the *vaiśvadeva* (pp. 32-36), the *seka* (pp. 36-37); only then comes the *sthālīpāka.* In the *Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra,* the particular gṛhya rites likewise start with the marriage (1,5-8), though the text begins (1,1-4) with general rules including those concerning the homa rites.

The JGS, on the other hand, starts in the usual fashion of the Sūtra texts with some general rules valid for all gṛhya rites. Insofar as they are not necessary for the description of the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka,* these rules have been omitted from SSC 1.

JGS 1,1,1 a.[9] ATHĀTO 'GNIṀ PRAṆAYIṢYAN
Now, when he is about to carry the fire forward (to the place where a domestic rite is to be performed),
1,1,1 b. ... PRĀGUDAKPRAVAṆAM ABHYUKṢYA STHAṆḌILAṀ
having sprinkled with water the fireplace (which is square, measures a cubit and has been prepared with sand or clay[10] on a piece of ground) that slopes towards the north-east,
1,1,1 c. ... LAKṢAṆAṀ KURYĀN MADHYE
he should make a mark in the middle (of this fireplace):
1,1,2 a. PRĀCĪṀ LEKHĀM ULLIKHYA –

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[9] For JGS 1,1,1-5 cf. especially GGS 1,1,9-10 ... *prāgudakpravaṇaṁ deśaṁ samaṁ vā parisamuhyopalipya madhyataḥ prācīṁ lekhām ullikhyodīcīñ ca saṁhatāṁ paścān madhye prācīs tisra ullikhyābhyukṣet / lakṣaṇāvṛd eṣā sarvatra.*

[10] According to Bhavatrāta's commentary (c. 700 CE), one should take it as granted on the basis of the tradition of the (Nampūtiri) experts that the fireplace is made with sand *(sthaṇḍilasya sikatābhiḥ kriyā śiṣṭācāratas siddhopādīyeta).* And when it (the hearth) is being made, one would like to know its specific shape and measure. That the shape is square and the measure a cubit should be concluded from the fact that these two things are seen to be so in the case of the hearth of the (śrauta fire) *āhavanīya,* which is (likewise) connected with the fire offerings; for it is better to have a limitation than no limitation *(kriyamāṇena cānenākāraparimāṇaviśeṣāv ākāṅkṣyete / tatra caturaśrākāratvam aratniparimāṇatvañ cāhavanīyasya homasaṁbandha āyatane dṛṣṭāv ity upādīyeyātām / jyāyan hi niyamo 'niyamāt).* According to the Tamil commentator Śrīnivāsa, *sthaṇḍila* is the technical term of ancient teachers for a square hearth measuring a cubit, made by means of sand or mud, constructed to form five elevations on ground which has been smeared with cowdung, and from which (earth) has been taken out three times and which has been sprinkled with water *(gomayenopalipya trir uddhṛtyāvokṣitāyāṁ bhuvi pañcaprasthamitābhiḥ sikatābhir mṛdbhir vā kṛtam aratnicaturaśraṁ dhiṣṇyaṁ sthaṇḍilam iti pūrvācāryasaṁjñā).* Cf. *Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra* 1,1,2 *parisamuhyopalipyollikhyoddhṛtyābhyukṣyāgnim upasamādhāya...* and Harihara's commentary: *parisamuhya tribhir darbhaiḥ pāṁsūn apasārya / upalipya gomayodakena triḥ / ullikhya triḥ khādireṇa hastamātreṇa khaḍgākṛtinā sphyena prāgagrā udaksaṁsthāḥ sthaṇḍilaparimāṇās tisro rekhāḥ kṛtvā / uddhṛtyānāmikāṅguṣṭhābhyāṁ yathollikhitābhyo rekhābhyaḥ pāṁsūn uddhṛtya / abhyukṣya maṇikādbhir abhyukṣyābhiṣicya / ...*

having drawn (with a stick of firewood)[11] a line which goes towards the east,
1,1,2 b. ... UDĪCĪṀ CA SAṀHITĀṀ PAŚCĀT
and (another line) which goes towards north on the west side (of the first line) so that it touches (the first line in the middle),
1,1,3. TISRO MADHYE PRĀCYAḤ
(finally) in the middle three (further lines) which go towards the east.[12]
1,1,4 a. ABHYUKṢYA –
Having sprinkled (the ready fireplace) with water
1,1,4 b. ... AGNIṀ PRATIṢṬHĀPAYED
he should establish the fire (on it)
***BHŪR BHUVAḤ SVAR* ITI**
(pronouncing this mantra): "earth, (intermediate) worlds, sky".
1,1,5. LAKṢAṆĀVṚD EṢĀ SARVATRA
This is the manner of (making) the mark everywhere (when the fire is established).

The gṛhya rituals which include a fire offering *(homa)* can be divided into two groups depending on whether they are performed in the domestic hearth, which is established in the wedding ritual and thereafter kept burning at the house all the time, or whether a new fire must be established, as at the wedding ritual. For the sake of the latter kind of rites, which begin with the ceremony of establishing the fire, the JGS begins with the sūtras 1,1,1-5 describing how the fire is established.[13] In the SSC, which in its first chapter aims at giving only the practical instructions necessary for the performer of the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka,* this passage of the JGS is ignored, because the rite is performed at the

[11] Cf. *śakalaṁ koṇṭu* in the SSC at the second homa quoted below; according to Śrīnivāsa, with a stalk of *darbha* grass etc. *(darbhādinā).*

[12] As Śrīnivāsan points out in his commentary, the mark comes to have the shape of a westwards pointing trident *(tathā ca pratyaṅmukhaśūlākṛtilakṣaṇaṁ bhavati).* According to Śrīnivāsan, the northwards going line is one cubit long, i. e., goes from one end of the fireplace to the other, while the other lines measure one span (half of the cubit).

[13] Cf. Bhavatrāta on JGS 1,1,1: *dvividhāni karmāṇi gṛhye kathyante: sāgnikāni kāni cit pārvaṇapuṁsavanavaiśvadevādīni, kāni cid anagnikāni sandhyopāsanādīni / asti sāgnikānām api dvaividhyam: pārvaṇādiṣu nāgnipraṇayaṇaṁ, cauḷakaraṇādiṣu tad astīti / tatredaṁ praṇīyamānasyāgner deśasaṁskāravidhānam ādau kriyate.* – Cf. further ŚGS 1,5,2 (= PGS 1,4,2) *pañcasu bahiḥśālāyāṁ: vivāhe cūḍākaraṇa upanayane keśānte sīmantonnayana iti,* 3 *upalipta uddhatāvokṣite 'gniṁ praṇīya* (PGS 1,4,3 *upalipta uddhatāvokṣite 'gnim upasamādhāya*).

domestic fire. This is indicated with the short reference in SSC 1,1 to the *aupāsana* rite that immediately precedes the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka.*

In rites requiring the establishment of fire (such as the *sūtikāhoma* following the birth rite, the haircut, the initiation, the different vratas, and the return from the study of the Veda), the SSC employs the following brief sequence of phrases (more elaborated at the marriage):

MEḺUKI[14]
having daubed (the ground) with cowdung,[15]
MAṆAL[16] IṬṬU[17]
having put sand (on that ground),
KĪṞI[18]
having scratched (the ground),
(MANTRATTĀL[19] / MANTRAṀ COLLI [20]) TTĪ[21] YIṬṬU[22]
having put the fire (there) (with the formula / saying the formula)...

While the JGS prescibes the ground for the fireplace to be just sprinkled with water at first, several other Gṛhyasūtras – in particular the GGS which is closely parallel with the JGS here and elsewhere – prescribe the place to be daubed with cowdung (GGS 1,1,9 ... *upalipya*...; 1,5,14;[23] PGS 1,1,2 and ŚGS 1,5,3 already quoted; ŚGS 1,7,2 *caturaśraṁ gomayena sthaṇḍilam upalipya;* ĀśvGS 1,3,1). While Bhavatrāta does not qualify *abhyukṣya* in any way, Śrīnivāsa understands this expression to imply daubing with cowdung, as does the SSC. Instead of the expression *kīṟi,* which could be understood to denote drawing lines (although the Nampūtiri Sāmavedins do not draw the lines prescribed in the JGS), the corresponding passage in the so-called second homa

[14] *meḻuki* is the gerund of the Malayāḷam (= Ma.) verb *meḻukuka* 'to daub with cowdung' (DEDR 5082).

[15] According to MIR, cowdung must be dung of a cow, not dung of a bull or a calf. Earlier each Nampūtiri house had at least one cow each. A maidservant took a bath and fetched the cowdung needed.

[16] *maṇal* is 'sand' in Ma. (DEDR 4666b).

[17] *iṭṭŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *iṭuka* 'to put, place' (DEDR 442).

[18] *kīṟi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kīṟuka* 'to scratch, draw lines' (DEDR 1623).

[19] *mantrattāl* is the instrumental sg. (with the suffix *-āl* added to the oblique *mantrattu*) of Ma. *mantram* (< Sanskrit *mantra-*).

[20] *colli* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *colluka* 'to say, speak, tell, utter' (DEDR 2855).

[21] *tī* is 'fire' in Ma. (DEDR 3266). *t-* is geminated because of sandhi.

[22] *y-iṭṭŭ:* the glide *y-* is added to *iṭṭŭ* (see above) because of sandhi.

[23] GGS 1,5,14 ... *etad agneḥ sthaṇḍilaṁ gomayena samantaṁ paryupalimpati.*

(raṇṭām homam) seems to point to a deviation from the JGS in the Nampūtiri tradition. The 'second homa' is the first fire offering that the newly wed couple performs after reaching the husband's house, i.e., the moment when the *aupāsana* fire is established. Here the SSC prescribes:

MEḺUKI
having daubed (the ground) with cowdung
ŚAKALAM KOṆṬU[24] MŪNṮU[25] VARI[26] YĀYI[27] MUMMŪNNU[28] KUTTŪ[29].
you should with a stick (of firewood) pierce (the ground of the hearth) 3 by 3 times as three lines (of holes):
PAṬIÑÑĀṞU[30] NINNU[31] KEḺAKKŌṬṬU[32] NAṬUVEYUM[33] TEKKUM[34] VAṬAKKUM[35] – IṄṄINE[36] ONPAT[37]

[24] *koṇṭu* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *koḷka, koḷḷuka* 'to take' (DEDR 2151): it is used here in the sense 'with, by means of', just like the gerund *ādāya* of the Sanskrit verb *ā* + *dā*- 'to take'.

[25] *mūnṯu* (Old Ma.) = *mūnnu* (Modern Ma.) is '3' (DEDR 5052). Both forms occur in the mss. of the SSC.

[26] *vari* is 'line, streak, furrow, row' in Ma. (DEDR 5263).

[27] *āyi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *ākuka* 'to be, become' (DEDR 333); it is used as an adverbial marker, here to express function. *y*- in the beginning is a glide required by the sandhi.

[28] *mu-m-mūnnu* is 'by threes, three times three, three each', with distributive reduplication of *mūnnu* '3' (DEDR 5052).

[29] *kuttū* is the polite imperative (< the non-past/future indicative, with the suffix -*ū*) of the Ma. verb *kuttuka* 'to pierce, prick, dig, make a hole' (DEDR 1719).

[30] *paṭiññāṟu* is 'west' in Ma. (DEDR 3852).

[31] *ninnu* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *nilkka* 'to stand, stop, stay' (DEDR 3675), used as an ablative marker when postfixed to a locative case (locative here with zero marker).

[32] *keḻakku* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *kiḻakku* (standard Ma.) is 'east' in Ma. (DEDR 1619). Both forms occur in the SSC mss. -*ōṭṭu* (< *paṭṭu, peṭṭu* 'getting into a direction, towards', the gerund of the Ma. verb *paṭuka, peṭuka* 'to happen, be in a state', DEDR 3853) forms adverbs expressing movement in a certain direction.

[33] *naṭuve, naṭuvē* is '(in) the (very) middle' in Ma. < *naṭu, naṭuvu* 'middle, centre' (DEDR 3584) + the emphatic particle -*e* <-*ē* (which has also an adverbializing function). -*um* is a copular enclitic 'and', joined with the euphonic glide -*y*-.

[34] *tekku* is 'south' in Ma. (DEDR 3449).

[35] *vaṭakku* is 'north' in Ma. (DEDR 5218).

[36] *iṅṅine, iṅṅinē* is 'in this way' in Ma. (DEDR 410a).

[37] *onpatu, ompatu* is 'nine' in Ma. (DEDR 1025).

EṬATTU[38] KUTTI[39]
from west to east, in the middle, in the south and in the north: having in this way made a hole in 9 places,
TTAḶICCU[40]
having sprinkled (the hearth thus prepared) with water...

Seven of these 9 holes in the ground forming three lines agree with the starting and ending points of the five lines in the JGS, preserved in the Tamil tradition.

1,1,6.[41] ATHĀTAḤ PĀKAYAJÑĀN VYĀKHYĀSYĀMAḤ
Now we shall explain the sacrifices of cooked food.
1,1,7.[42] HUTO 'HUTAḤ PRAHUTAḤ PRĀŚITA ITI
(They are of four kinds:) *huta* 'consisting of a fire offering', *ahuta* 'without any fire offering', *prahuta* 'preceded by a fire offering', and *prāśita* 'where food is eaten'.
1,1,8.[43] TEṢĀM EKĀGNAU HOMAḤ
The fire offering of these (sacrifices of cooked food is performed) in a single fire (and not in three fires like the śrauta sacrifices).
1,1,9.[44] NITYE YAJÑOPAVĪTODAKĀCAMANE (cf. 1,1,27-32)
Regular (constituents of all domestic sacrifices) are the wearing of

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[38] *eṭattù* is the sg. oblique (functioning as the locative) of *eṭam* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *iṭam* (standard Ma.) 'place' (DEDR 434). Both forms occur in the SSC mss.

[39] *kutti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kuttuka* 'to pierce, prick, dig, make a hole' (DEDR 1719).

[40] *taḷiccù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *taḷikka* 'to sprinkle' (DEDR 3435).

[41] JGS 1,1,6 is identical with ŚGS 1,1,1 *athātaḥ pākayajñān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*. For this sūtra (which here too should more properly have started the work), cf. further GGS 1,1,1 *athāto gṛhyā karmāṇy upadekṣyāmaḥ* and PGS 1,1,1 *athāto gṛhyasthālīpākānāṁ karma.*

[42] For JGS 1,1,7, cf. ŚGS 1,5,1 (= PGS 1,4,1) *catvāraḥ pākayajñā huto 'hutaḥ prahutaḥ prāśita iti;* ŚGS 1,10,7 *huto 'gnihotrahomenāhuto balikarmaṇā / prahutaḥ pitṛkarmaṇā prāśito brāhmaṇe hutaḥ //.*

[43] For JGS 1,1,8, cf. GGS 1,1,23 *sāyamāhutyupakrama evāta ūrdhvaṁ gṛhye 'gnau homo vidhīyate;* 1,3,14 *evam ata ūrdhvaṁ gṛhye 'gnau juhuyād vā hāvayed vā ā jīvitāvabhṛthāt.*

[44] For JGS 1,1,9, cf. GGS 1,1,2 *yajñopavītinācāntodakena kṛtyam.*

the sacrificial upper garment[45] and the sipping of water.[46]
1,1,10. DARŚAPŪRṆAMĀSATANTRĀḤ
These (sacrifices of cooked food) have the (śrauta) sacrifices of full and new moon as their basic scheme.[47]
1,1,11. SVATANTRĀ VĀ
Or they have a basic scheme of their own.

1,1,17.[48] KHĀDIRAḤ PĀLĀŚO VEDHMAḤ
The fuel should be wood of the *palāśa* or *khadira* trees.
1,1,18. TADALĀBHE VIBHĪTAKA-TILVAKA-BĀDHAKA-NIMBA-RĀJAVṚKṢA-ŚALMALY-ARALU-DADHITTHA-KOVIDĀRA-ŚLEṢMĀTAKA-VARJYAM
If that (kind of wood) is not available, with the exception of the *vibhītaka, tilvaka, bādhaka, nimba, rājavṛkṣa, śalmali, aralu, dadhittha, kovidāra* and *śleṣmātaka* trees,
1,1,19. SARVAVANASPATĪNĀM IDHMAḤ
the fuel may come from all trees.
1,1,20.[49] KUŚĀLĀBHE ŚŪKATṚṆA-ŚARA-ŚĪRYA-BALBAJA-MUTAVA-NALA-ŚUṆṬHA-VARJYAM
If *kuśa* is not available, with the exception of the *śūka* grass,

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[45] The *yajñopavīta* is not explained in the JGS, but in the GGS it is explained in 1,2,1-4. Cf. also ŚGS 1,1,3 *yajñopavītītyādi* (cf. ŚŚS 1,1,6) *ca saṁbhavat sarvaṁ kalpaikatvāt.* – The Nampūtiris also tie the dhoti in a particular way when they are going to perform a Vedic rite, called *taṯṯ' uṭukkuka* 'to wear clothing tighly fastened' (the gerund of DEDR 3142 *taṟuka* 'to fasten firmly' + DEDR 587 *uṭukkuka* 'to dress, put on the lower garment'): the loincloth is removed (it is not to be worn beneath the garment) and the lower end of the vastra is taken from the front between the legs and tucked beneath the cloth on the back side. At the end of the rite the cloth is removed and the loincloth and the lower garment are put on and worn in the ordinary way, whereafter the feet are washed twice, each with two ācamanas.

[46] The sipping of water *(ācamana)* is explained in JGS 1,1,27-31 and more elaborately in GGS 1,2,5-32.

[47] The new and full moon sacrifices are not prescribed in the JGS, but they are prescribed in GGS 1,5-9, forming the basic model of the homa rites in that text.

[48] For JGS 1,1,17-19, cf. GGS 1,5,15-16 *athedhmān upakalpayate khādirān vā pālāśān vā / khādirapālāśālābhe vibhīdaka-tilvaka-bādhaka-nīva-nimba-rājavṛkṣa-śālmaly-aralu-dadhittha-kovidāra-śleṣmātaka-varjaṁ sarvavanaspatīnām idhmo yathārthaṁ syāt.* The Nampūtiris use as firewood (*camuta* < Sanskrit *samit* nom. sg. < *samidh-* f.) *plāśu* (< Sanskrit *palāśa-* m.) wood.

[49] For JGS 1,1,20-21, cf. GGS 1,5,17-19 *viśākhāni prati lūnāḥ kuśā barhiḥ / upamūlalūnāḥ pitṛbhyaḥ / teṣām alābhe śūkatṛṇa-śara-śīrya-balvaja-mutava-nala-luṇṭha-varjaṁ sarvatṛṇāni.*

saccharum reed, *śīrya,*[50] *balbaja, mutava, nala* and *śuṇṭha,*
1,1,21. SARVATṚṆĀNI
all kinds of grass (may be used).
1,1,22.[51] ŚUKLĀḤ SUMANASAḤ
The flowers (used for ornamenting the fireplace) should be white.
1,1,23. TĀSĀM ALĀBHE JAPĀ-RŪPAKĀ-KUTTHĀ-BHAṆḌĪ-KURAṆḌAKA-VARJYAM
If they are not available, with the exception of the china rose, *Asclepias lactifera, kutthā, bhaṇḍī* and *kuraṇḍaka,*[52]
1,1,24. GANDHAVATYO VĀ SARVAVARṆĀḤ
fragrant flowers of all colours (may be used).
1,1,25.[53] CATASRA ĀJYAPRAKṚTAYO BHAVANTI
There are four bases of ghee (for libations in the fire):
1,1,26. ŪDHANYAṀ VĀ VĀHYAṀ VĀ DADHI VĀ PAYO VĀ
fresh butter, or the thickened part of milk kept in a pot or goatskin in a moving vehicle,[54] or curds, or fresh milk.

(SSC 1,1)

HARIḤ / ŚRĪGAṆAPATAYE NAMAḤ / AVIGHNAM ASTU[55]

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[50] CALAND suggests reading *uśīra,* with reference to GGS 1,5,18.

[51] Significantly, there is no specification of flowers in GGS 1,5. Instead of flowers, as requisites generally required and to be procured GGS 1,5,20 mentions ghee, rice or barley for the offering of cooked food, a flat vessel where that offering is prepared, a wooden stirring spoon, an offering ladle and water guarded (from any droppings etc.) *(ājyaṁ sthālīpākīyān vrīhīn vā yavān vā carusthālīṁ mekṣaṇaṁ sruvam anuguptā apa iti).* Besides the JGS, only the late *Vaikhānasa-Gṛhyasūtra* (3,22) appears to prescribe flowers as general requisites for domestic rituals (cf. GONDA 1980: 122; 169). Of post-Vedic sources cf., e.g., *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* 66,5-9 *nogragandhi / nāgandhi / na kaṇṭikajam / kaṇṭikajam api śuklaṁ sugandhikaṁ tu dadyāt / raktam api kuṅkumaṁ jalajaṁ ca dadyāt.*

[52] CALAND: with the exception of *japārūpā, kākuttha, caṇḍī* and *kuraṇḍaka.*

[53] For JGS 1,1,25-26, cf. GGS 1,7,18 ... *ājyaṁ saṁskurute, sarpis tailaṁ dadhi payo yavāṁgū vā.*

[54] Cf. Bhavatrāta: *vāhye rathaśakaṭādāv aśvādibhiḥ drutam ūhyamāne tadavasakte sati dadhighaṭe dadhidṛtau vā tasya dadhno ghanāghanau bhāgau pṛthak bhavataḥ; tatra yo ghanas sa vāhyam ity ucyate. vāhye bhavam iti. tad apy agnāv atipakvam ājyatvena saṁvartate.* – Butter obtained by this means is to be used as *ājya* in the second *sādyaskra* one-day *soma* sacrifice for the sake of immediateness, according to *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* 16,13,13.

[55] These set phrases usually begin most Sanskrit manuscripts in Kerala. Some

STHALĪPĀKAṀ[56] CEYVĀN[57]
In order to do the sthālīpāka (offering)
AUPĀSANAṀ[58] VĒṬṬĀL[59]
after having performed the aupāsana offering
KUṆḌAṀ[60] MEḺUKI
having daubed (the rim of) the hearth with cowdung[61]

mss. (also of the SSC) add: *śrīgurubhyo namaḥ.*

[56] *Sthālī* (= Prakrit and Hindi *thālī*) is a 'flat ceramic dish (for eating or cooking)' and *pāka* denotes 'cooked food'. "The *sthālīpāka* is a mess of rice or barley cooked in milk in an earthen dish or cooking vessel *(sthālī)* and used as sacrificial food... The first preparation and sacrificing takes place as soon as married life has begun ... Its performance is continued on the days of full moon and new moon (*parvan* days) throughout the lives of the couple (... hence *pārvaṇa(ḥ) sthālīpākaḥ* ĀśvG. 1,10,1)" (GONDA 1980: 179).

[57] This introductory phrase, which places the following description into a context by mentioning the name of the rite to be performed, ends in *ceyvān,* the purposive infinitive (with the suffix *-(v)ān*) of the Ma. verb *ceyyuka* 'to do, make, perform' (DEDR 1957).

[58] The *aupāsana* offering of two libations of ghee in the *aupāsana* hearth (the name is derived from the noun *upāsana*- n. 'attendance, worship', from the verb *upa* + *ās*- 'to sit beside something or somebody reverentially, to honour'), i.e., the fire of domestic worship, is performed by the householder twice daily, in the morning and evening, ever since the establishment of this fire at the marriage (cf. GONDA 1980, 163; 302; 345f.). The rite is briefly described after the description of the wedding (JGS 1,20-22 ed. CALAND) at the beginning of JGS 1,23 (ed. CALAND). The *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* is performed immediately after the *aupāsana* offering on every new and full moon day. According to MIR, the *aupāsana* fire was kept burning 24 hours a day in orthodox Nampūtiri houses widely still in the 1960s. In the Pāññāḷ village, the *aupāsana* rite was performed daily until his death in 1979 by Vaikkākara Rāman Nampūtiri.

[59] *vēṭṭāl* 'if [here: = after] [the subject] has offered', the conditional (with the suffix *-āl* added to the past tense *vēṭṭu*) of the Ma. verb *vēḷkkuka* 'to offer in sacrificial fire; to marry before the holy fire' (DEDR 5544).

[60] The Sanskrit word *kuṇḍa*- n. 'fire-pit' (also 'water-pit, pond, pool') is of Dravidian origin (cf. DEDR 1669).

[61] According to MIR, the smearing with cowdung is done for purification. A piece of cowdung approximately the size of the tip of the thumb is taken with the thumb and the fore- and middle fingers of the right hand, and water is poured with the left hand from the left *kiṇṭi* (spouted water vessel) into the right hand. The right hand is then put into the northeastern corner of the upper rim of the fireplace (the rim has two layers, the upper one less wide) and the cowdung is smeared on that rim, going quickly once around sunwise. Once when Tekkāṭu Vaidikan was just touching the very hot rim on a few spots, a witty onlooker asked: What is the rule? On how many spots do you have to touch?

SAṀBHĀRAṄṄAḶ[62] ELLĀṀ[63] VACCU[64] KOḶḶŪ[65].
you should place all the requisites (in readiness).[66]

(SSC 1,2)

1,1,12 a. DAKṢIṆATO 'GNEḤ PŪRṆAPĀTRAM UPANIDADHĀTI...
To the south of the fire and close to it, he places a vessel that has been filled (with grain),[67]
TĪKKU[68] TEKKE[69] PŪRṆṆAPĀTRAṀ VACCU
Having placed to the south of the fire the vessel that has been filled (with unhusked rice),

1,1,12 b.[70]**... SRUVAṀ CĀPĀṀ PŪRṆAM**
and the sacrificial ladle full of water,

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[62] *saṁbhāraṅṅaḷ* is the plural of Ma. *saṁbhāram* (< Sanskrit *saṁbhāra*- m.), here suffixless accusative.

[63] *ellām* (= *ellā* + the copular clitic or additive particle -*um* functioning like Sanskrit *api*) 'all' (DEDR 844). Some mss. omit this word.

[64] *vaccŭ* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *veccŭ* (standard Ma.) (both forms occur in SSC mss.) is the gerund of the Ma. verb *vaykkuka, vekkuka, vekka* 'to put, place' (DEDR 5549).

[65] *koḷḷū* is the polite imperative (with the suffix -*ū*) of the Ma. auxiliary verb *koḷka, koḷḷuka* 'to take, seize' (DEDR 2151), which adds a reflexive or (as here) a permissive meaning to the main verb (which is in the gerund).

[66] According to MIR, the bundles of grass and firewood needed for the rite are prepared during the day preceding the rite.

[67] This vessel and its contents is to be given as a sacrificial fee to the officiating priest at the end of the rite, cf. JGS 1,4,22-24. According to MIR, the vessel can be of any size and material (he himself used a footed bronze vessel about 5 cm high and 5 cm in diameter), but it must be filled full. The Nampūtiris fill it with unhusked paddy grain *(nellŭ = Sanskrit vrīhi)* in the *sthālīpāka* rite; but for the hair-cutting rite *(cauḷam),* there are four pūrṇapātras filled with different materials *(vrīhi, tila, māṣa, yava);* thus also in the *godāna* and *samāvartana* rites, where hair is also cut with mantras; but in the initiation *(upanayana),* where hair is cut without mantras, there is only one *pūrṇapātra.*

[68] *tīkku* is sg. dat. of Ma. *tī* 'fire' (DEDR 3266).

[69] *tekke* '(in or to the) south' < Ma. *tekku* 'south' (DEDR 3449) + the (adverbializing) emphatic clitic -*e* < -*ē*.

[70] For JGS 1,1,12, cf. GGS 1,7,16 *uttarato 'pāṁ pūrṇaḥ sruvaḥ praṇītāḥ,* 17 *bhāve na vā syād ity eke.* According to Gobhila, *sruva* full of water and the *praṇīta* water are to be north of the fire, not south of it.

ATINU̇[71] VAṬAKKE[72] SRUVAṀ VACCU̇
having placed the sacrificial ladle[73] to the north of that (vessel),

1,1,13.[74] UTTARATO ’GNER IDHMĀBARHIḤ
to the north of the fire (he places) the fuel and the grass.

TĪKKU VAṬAKKE PRAṆĪTA[75] VACCU̇
having placed the *praṇīta* (water)[76] to the north of the fire,
ATINU̇ VAṬAKKE (NUṞUṄṄU[77] MĒL[78]) CAMUTAYUṀ[79] PULLUṀ[80] VACCU̇

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[71] *atinu̇* is sg. dat of the neuter demonstrative pronoun *atu* (DEDR 1).

[72] *vaṭakke* ‘(in or to the) north’ < Ma. *vaṭakku* ‘north’ (DEDR 5218) + the (adverbializing) emphatic clitic -*e* < -*ē*.

[73] According to MIR, the sacrificial ladle *(sruva)* used in the domestic rites is smaller than the *sruva* of śrauta rites: it is one cubit *(aratni)* long and about 2 cm in diameter, made of *plāśu̇* (< Sanskrit *palāśa*) wood. Its head is shaped like the snout of Viṣṇu’s Varāha-mūrti. (Other body parts of the Boar manifestation, e.g. his ears, come up in the śrauta yāgas.)

[74] For JGS 1,1,13, cf. GGS 1,7,18 *barhiṣi sthālīpākam āsādyedhmam abhyādhāya...*

[75] *praṇīta* is Ma. for Sanskrit *praṇītāḥ* (scil. *āpaḥ*), ‘water that has been brought forward’.

[76] The Nampūtiris keep the *praṇīta* water in a footless metal cup *(kālillāta ōṭam)* about 8 cm in diameter with sides 3-4 cm high. In śrauta rites, the *praṇīta* vessel is made of wood. Its name comes from the śrauta ritual: in an *iṣṭi* rite, the Adhvaryu priest first informs the Brahman that he is about to carry water forwards *(oṁ praṇeṣyāmi)* and after receiving the prompt *om praṇaya!,* carries the *praṇīta* water from the north of the *gārhapatya* fire to the north of the *āhavanīya* fire. In the domestic ritual, it is only used for the cleansing in JGS 1,4,11-18, which ends in sending this water back to the ocean.

[77] *nuṟuṅṅu̇* is ‘chip, bit, small piece’ in Ma. (DEDR 3728). A piece of kindling material is meant. Most mss. omit this and the following word, which I have therefore put within parentheses.

[78] *mēl, mēle* (with or without the emphatic particle -*e* < -*ē*) ‘over, upon’ is a postposition of superior location in Ma. (DEDR 5086).

[79] Ma. *camuta* or Ma. *camata* (both readings in the SSC mss.) < Sanskrit *samit* nom. sg. < *samidh*- f. ‘firewood’.

[80] *pul, pullu̇* is ‘grass’ in Ma. (DEDR 4300).

having placed the fuel[81] and grass[82] (upon a piece of firewood) to the north of that (*praṇīta* water),
ATINU PAṬIÑÑĀṞE[83] ĀJYAVUṀ[84] ĀJYASTHĀLIYUṀ[85] VACCU
having placed the ghee and the ghee bowl to the west of that (fuel and grass),

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[81] According to MIR, the purohita collects the firewood and grasses and keeps them stored in his house. Before the rite, he will take up the required amounts, measure them (a stick of firewood should be one cubit long) and ties them into bundles. If a domestic rite has fire offerings *(homa-),* normally 21 sticks of firewood are needed: 15 *idhma*s (cf. JGS 1,3,4), 3 enclosing sticks (*paridhi-,* cf. JGS 1,3,2-6), and 3 sticks of firewood offered with the mantra *samiddhyai svāhā* (cf. JGS 1,4,8) and called *anuyājya-camuta* by Nampūtiris belonging to the Ṛgveda and the Yajurveda (the Sāmavedins, however, do not use this name). For some gṛhya rites, more fuel sticks are needed (10 for the *upanayana*, 8 for the *godāna*, 4 for the *samāvartana*); they are to be bundled separately from the 21. On the other hand, these 21 sticks of firewood are not required for rites with *homa* but without the *agnimukham* (i.e., the ritual starting with JGS 1,1,32 and ending with JGS 1,3,22); these include the *aupāsanaṁ vēḷi,* as well as the rites for the ancestors (*pitṛkarma,* in which the *homa* is performed facing south instead of east). At the beginning of the rite, the sticks of firewood are placed southernmost upon a piece *(nuṟuṅṅŭ)* of kindling material (either wood of the jackfruit tree or cocoanut shell): the firewood should not be placed directly on the ground.

[82] Excepting the *prastara* (on which see below, at JGS 1,1,35), which is placed northmost on the ground, with the tip to the east, all other grass bundles are placed upon the kindling stick on the north side of the firewood. Closest to the firewood comes a bundle of eight arm-long grass blades *(eṭṭu pullŭ)* and the two bundled fistfuls *(muṣṭi)* of short grass blades strewn around the fireplace (*paristaraṇa*, see below, at JGS 1,1,35-37); and then a bundle of 19 grass-blades *(pattonpatu pullŭ)* tied together near the tip (from this bunch, 4 blades are needed for the *ājya-saṁskāra,* see at JGS 1,2,6; 3 beneath and 3 over the vessel of the *praṇīta* water, see at JGS 1,2,11; 3 for the seat of the sacrificer and 3 to be held in his hands at the muttering of the *virūpākṣa* formula, see at JGS 1,2,11; and 3 for the wiping of the offering ladle, see at JGS 1,3,1).

[83] *paṭiññāṟe* '(in or to the) west' < Ma. *paṭiññāṟu* 'west' (DEDR 3852) + the (adverbializing) emphatic clitic *-e* < *-ē* .

[84] *ājyam* (< Sanskrit *ājya*-n.) 'ghee' can be taken to the place in any pot, and this pot where ghee is kept before it is poured on the *ājyasthālī* is included in the term *ājyam.* Before the copular clitic *-um,* the final *-m* is deleted and the glide *-v-* inserted (the glide is *-v-* on account of the preceding vowel *a*).

[85] *ājyasthāli* (< Sanskrit *ājyasthālī-* f.) is a round flat dish with c. 20 cm diameter; the shape eases drawing ghee with the offering ladle. In śrauta sacrifices the *ājyasthāli* is made of clay, but in domestic rites the Nampūtiris have long been using plates made of copper. Its place is to the west of the grass on the north side of the fire. – The glide before the copular clitic *-um* is *-y-* because the preceding vowel is *i.*

ATINŬ PAṬIÑÑĀṞE HAVISSUṀ[86] CANTANAVUṀ[87] PŪVUṀ[88] VACCŬ KOḶḶŪ /
you should place the offering substance and sandalwood paste[89] and flowers[90] to the west of that (ghee and ghee bowl).

[86] *havissum* = Ma. *havissŭ* < Sanskrit *havis-* n. + *-um* 'and'. The Nampūtiris use for sacrificial purposes only rice pounded of sun-dried paddy *(uṇaṅṅal ari)* not rice made of parboiled paddy *(puḻuṅṅal ari).* The rice dish *(cōṟu)* used as the offering substance *(havis-)* in the *sthālīpāka* rite is boiled in a circular flat bronze vessel *(uruḷi),* in most houses one that may contain a *nāḻi* measure of rice *(nāḻi uruḷi),* or a small one *(kuṭṭi uruḷi)* having a diameter of c. 12 cm and height of c. 5 cm. When the rice is cooked, water is not poured away as usual, but evaporated by boiling. In the *sīmanta* rite, some sesame seeds (*eḷḷŭ,* Sanskrit *tila-*) and small peas *(ceṟu-payaṟŭ)* are added to the rice dish while the *havis* is prepared; in the *puṁsavana* rite, some ghee is poured on the *havis.*

[87] Ma. *cantanam* = *candanam* (both forms in SSC mss.) < Sanskrit *candana-* m. n. 'sandalwood' or 'sandalwood paste' is ultimately of Dravidian origin (DEDR 2448).

[88] *pū, pūvŭ, pūvvŭ* is 'flower' in Ma. (DEDR 4345).

[89] Sandalwood paste – for which the Sanskrit term *gandha* 'smell' is also used – is ground from a piece of sandalwood on a special grinding stone *(cāṇa* < Sanskrit *śāṇa-* m.*)* shortly before the rite in every Nampūtiri house. Mixed with water, the paste is kept in a small footed metal vessel *(candanōṭaṁ).* In the domestic rituals, sandalwood paste is sprinkled in all directions around the fire as a separate item in offering worship *(arcana-* or *ārādhana-),* together with a mantra (e.g., *agnaye namaḥ* 'obeisance to Agni'), and is applied with the fingers to make a mark *(kuṟi)* on the forehead and other places on one's own body in self-worship *(ātmārādhana-).* Outside Kerala, the sacrificer will put a mark on those persons to whom gifts *(dāna-)* are given in a rite, but in Kerala, sandalwood paste is put on a leaf and given as a *dāna.*

[90] Normally the Nampūtiris use as "flowers" *(pūvŭ)* green leaves of the basil plant (called *tulasi-pūvŭ;* the actual flowers of the basil are called *katirŭ*). According to a myth current among the Nampūtiris, the lotus and the red chrysanthemum (*tecci, Chrysanthemum indicum,* DEDR 3410, used for making garlands, *māla*) were contending for the first position among the flowers. When the basil came, both knew they had lost, and the lotus withdrew to water, and the chrysanthemum to jungle. There are different varieties of basil, all sacred to Viṣṇu. *Kṛṣṇa-tulasī* has been very rare in Kerala, and is not used for rituals. The basil used for rituals is *vaikuṇṭha-tulasī,* which grows in the central courtyard of most Nampūtiri houses and around them. A "flower" *(pūvŭ* or Sanskrit *puṣpa)* is thrown as a separate item in offering worship *(arcana* or *ārādhana),* together with a mantra (e.g., *agnaye namaḥ* 'obeisance to Agni'). Besides the basil leaves used in all domestic rites, white flowers (usually *mandārappūvvŭ veḷattatŭ, Bauhinia candida;* the Pakarāvūr Mana in Mūkkuttala uses the *nandyāvaṭṭappū, Tabernaemontana coronaria*) are required in some rites, namely the *nāndīmukha* (which is part of the *sīmanta, cauḷa, upanayana, godāna, samāvartana* and *vivāha*), as well as in the *godāna* rite (the only time when a *brahmacārī* can wear sandalwood paste and flowers in his hair) and in the *samāvartana;* for the *śrāddha,*

PŪRṆAPĀTRASRUVĀJYASTHĀLYĀJYEDHMĀBARHIṢĀÑ CAROḤ /
GANDHAPUṢPAPRAṆĪTĀNĀṀ PĀRVAṆOR UPAKALPANAM //
For the two offerings (of sthālīpāka) on the joint days (of the month), preparation of (the following things takes place): the vessel full (of unhusked grain), the offering ladle, the ghee bowl, ghee, fuel, grass, the rice mess, perfume (i.e., sandalwood paste), flowers and the praṇīta water.[91]

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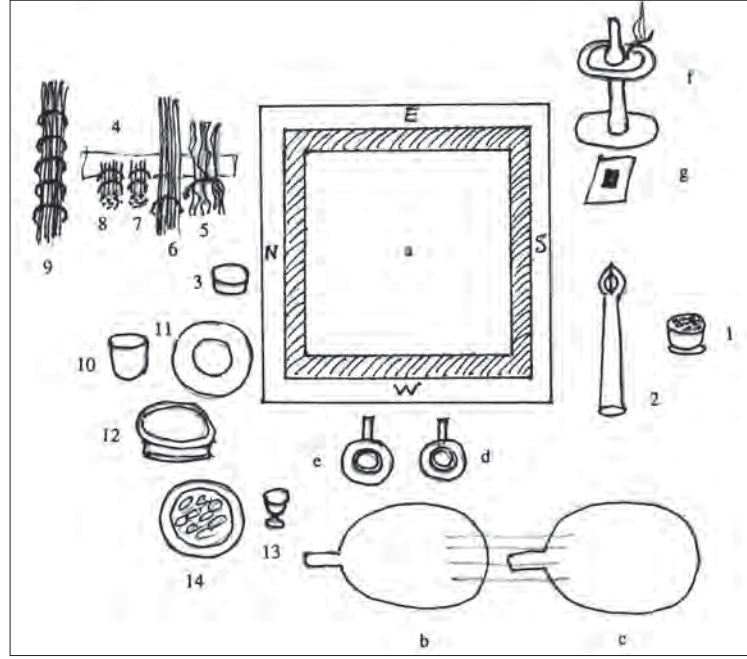
the *mandārappūvvŭ* is obligatory for all Sāmavedins (not so important for the Ṛg- or Yajurvedins, but used also by Ṛgvedins). (MIR.)

[91] MIR mentioned the following requisites as necessary for all gṛhya rituals among the Nampūtiris. Firstly, two spouted water vessels *(kiṇṭi)* are placed in front of the performer of the ritual, a bigger one on the right *(valattu kiṇṭi)* used for pouring water into the sruva, into the praṇīta vessel, into the sandalwood paste bowl, for sprinkling water on the requisites etc., for smearing the rim of the fireplace *(talōṭal),* for wetting the rim of the fireplace *(viḷākal),* for the *mantrapariṣeka,* and so on; and a smaller vessel on the left *(iṭattu kiṇṭi),* used for washing the hands and feet and for sipping water (*ācamana,* which implies rinsing the mouth and cleansing the face) (sometimes the kiṇṭis have to be refilled during the rite). Then there is a plate with flowers *(pūppālika)* and a small footed metal vessel with sandalwood paste and water *(candanōṭaṁ).* On the (performer's) right side, which is more auspicious *(śubha-),* is placed a standing oil lamp *(nilaviḷakku),* which is one-storied (in contrast to the many-storied lamps in temples); and a (sweet) food offering for Gaṇapati *(gaṇapatinivēdyaṁ),* normally a piece of jaggery *(śarkara)* on a piece of banana leaf. The lamp gives (figuratively speaking) light for the performance. It represents Agni (and Sūrya and Dṛṣṭi) as the divine witness *(sākṣi-)* of everything that is done. The lamp can also represent any other divinity imagined to be present (in particular, Gaṇapati).

In addition to this list of MIR come the wooden sitting planks (*palaka* < Sanskrit *phalaka-* n.) for the *gṛhastha* and his wife *(patni).* The householder's sitting planks are called *avaṇa-p-palaka* (thus MIR, the *Malayalam Lexicon* records as variants *aviṇa-, avuṇa-* and *āvaṇa-p-palaka,* claiming *āvaṇa* to come from *āma-maṇa* 'turtle seat', but according to MIR, sitting planks which have the shape of a turtle and are therefore called *āma-p-palaka* or in Sanskrit *kūrmāsana-,* are used only after retirement from active life, *sannyāsa*); the seat's handle (called *vāl* 'tail'; but *tala* 'head' in the case of the *āma-p-palaka*) should always point to the left. During the main offering *(pradhāna)* of the *aupāsanaṁ kāccal* ritual performed after the marriage, there must be one long blade of grass (if necessary, two or more blades of grass should be tied together to achieve the necessary length) upon the two sitting planks, connecting the seat of the householder with that of his spouse; the Ṛgvedins require this long connecting grass for all rites. In the case of the Tamil Brahmins, the clothes (or hairs) of the husband and wife are tied together. (The wooden seat is a post-Vedic tradition: in the Gṛhyasūtras, the seat consists of grass spread on the ground, called *viṣṭara,* e.g., in the ceremony of receiving a respected guest, the *arghya;* cf. also GONDA 1980: 162; 385.) For rites requiring fire offerings, there should further be a circular wooden basket *(vaṭṭi)* or any other vessel to hold such things as a fan *(pāḷa)* made of the film of

This memorial śloka has been quoted from the *Gṛhyakarmakriyākrama* (1,3b-4a), an unpublished Jaiminīya text apparently older than the SSC. It is quoted also in the Tamil text *Jaimuni-sāma-prayoga* (cf. GT in KARTTUNEN 2001: 332).

Sambhārams for a pārvaṇa rite of the Nampūtiri Jaiminīya Sāmavedins

a) *tī / kuṇṭam*
b) *gṛhastha-ppalaka*
c) *patnī-palaka*
d) *valattu kiṇṭi*
e) *iṭattu kiṇṭi*
f) *nilaviḷakkù*
g) *gaṇapatinivēdyam*

1) *pūrṇṇapātra*
2) *sruva*
3) *praṇīta*
4) *nuṟuṅṅù*
5) *idhma / camuta*
6) *eṭṭu pullù*
7) *muṣṭi*
8) *muṣṭi*
9) *prastara*
10) *ājyam*
11) *ājyasthāli*
12) *uruḷi with havissù*
13) *candanōṭam*
14) *pūppālika*

the arecanut tree, for fanning the fire (blowing in the fire would defile it with saliva); pieces *(nuṟuṅṅù)* of jackfruit tree wood or dry cocoanut shell and husk of paddy for kindling the fire; and iron tongs *(kuṭil)* for moving coals and other hot things.

(SSC 1,3)

1,1,27.[92] PAŚCĀD AGNER ĀCAMANAM
The sipping of water (takes place) west of the fire.

KĀLUM[93] KAḺUKI[94]
Having washed both feet,[95]
PPAVITRAM IṬṬU
having put the purifier(-ring) on (the ring-finger),[96]

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[92] For JGS 1,1,27-31, cf. GGS 1,2,5-32.

[93] *kāl, kālŭ* is 'leg, foot' in Ma. (DEDR 1479). Some mss. omit the additive clitic -*um* implying both feet.

[94] *kaḻuki* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kaḻukuka* to 'wash, cleanse' (DEDR 1369).

[95] After performing the *aupāsanam* rite and placing the requisites for the *sthālīpāka* in readiness, the performer should go out (outside the sacrificial place, usually to the veranda or the bathing pool of the house). With water taken either from a spouted water vessel *(kiṇṭi)* or from the pool (with hands), one washes first the right leg up to the knee, then the left leg up to the knee, then the arms (the right one first) up to the elbow. Then he should do twice the *ācamana*, and return to the sacrificial place and start the *sthālīpāka*. – According to GGS 1,2,5 one should first move to the north side of the fire, wash the hands and the feet there, and then sit down (to the west of the fire) and perform the *ācamana (udaṅṅ agner utsṛpya prakṣālya pāṇī pādau copaviśya trir ācāmed...)*.

[96] The purifier *(pavitram)* is a ring made of two stalks of grass, cut to the length of c. 30 cm. While the ends of the stalks are held between the thumb and the forefinger of the left hand, the stalks are lengthwise twisted from right to left with the right hand. The twisted stalks are bent in the middle so that the head end is a couple of millimeters higher than the tail end. After a renewed lengthwise twisting, a knot (bowline on a bight) is tied and tightened so that a ring is formed. This ring is put onto the ring finger of the right hand so that the projecting straight ends are upwards. The pavitra ring removes *aśuddhi* and is to be worn when the ritual begins. At the end of the rite it is removed and untied, but it is not to be thrown in the fire, but just left on the floor and removed with other waste (it is not to be kept for the next performance). The *pavitra* ring should not touch anything unclean, so it is to be removed and put back several times during the rite. For instance, when the rim of the fireplace is to be daubed with cowdung, it should first be removed and then put back after this act. Tamil Brahmins sometimes wear a *pavitra* ring made of gold but having the traditional knot of the grass ring depicted on it; they wear this ring on a permanent basis, even outside rituals. The *pavitra* ring is different from the purifier *(pavitra)* consisting of two grasses used to purify the ghee, the *praṇīta* water and the offering substance during the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka*.

PATNIYUṀ VALATTU[97] VANN[98] IRUNNĀL[99]
after the spouse[100] has come and sat down on the right side,[101]
SRUVATTILUṀ[102] PRAṆĪTAYILUṀ[103] NĪRU[104] VĪTTI[105]
having poured water[106] into the offering ladle and into (the vessel of) the praṇīta (water),
PAVITRAṀ KAḺICCU[107]
having removed the purifier(-ring),

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[97] *valattu* is sg. oblique (here functioning as locative) of Ma. *valam* 'right side' (DEDR 5276).

[98] *vannŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *varuka, varika* 'to come' (DEDR 5270).

[99] *irunnāl* 'if [here: = after] [the subject] has sat down', is the conditional (with the suffix *-āl* added to the past tense *irunnu*) of the Ma. verb *irikkuka* 'to sit, sit down' (DEDR 480).

[100] Just as the husband wears his dress in a special way for a Vedic rite (see above, on JGS 1,1,9), the wife has to have her hair collected into a bun on the right side of the head (this traditional Keralan hairstyle is no more in fashion) and to wear newly washed clothes.

[101] I asked MIR why the *patnī* sits on the right side, even though generally the left side is supposed to be the female side in Hinduism (e.g. in the images of Śiva Ardhanārīśvara, the right side is male and the left side female). In reply, MIR referred to a Nāyar marriage, in which the bride was sitting on the left side. This led to a discussion among the Brahmins present: the bride is sitting on the right side in both Tamil Brahmin and Nampūtiri marriages. Now the Brahmins are patriarchal and among them man is marrying woman, whereas the Nāyars are matriarchal and among them woman marries man. Hence the chief person is sitting on the left. Or rather on the north side?

[102] *sruvattilum* is sg. loc. (with the locative suffix *-il* added to the sg. obl. *sruvattu*) of Ma. *sruvam* (< Sanskrit *sruva-* m.) + the copular clitic *-um* 'and'.

[103] *praṇītayilum* is sg. loc. (with the suffix *-il* added to *praṇīta* with the euphonic glide *-y-*) + *-um* 'and'.

[104] *nīr, nīrŭ* is 'water' in Old and dialectal Ma. (DEDR 3690a). In standard Ma., 'water' is usually *veḷḷam* (DEDR 5503).

[105] *vītti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *vīttuka, vīḻttuka* 'to cause to fall, pour' (DEDR 5430).

[106] Water is poured from the right one of the two spouted vessels *(kiṇṭi)* held in the right hand and put down again after pouring.

[107] *kaḻiccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kaḻikkuka* 'to unloose, untie, remove' (DEDR 1349). A variant reading is *aḻiccŭ,* the gerund of the Ma. verb *aḻikkuka* 'to loosen, slacken, untie' (DEDR 277). The verb *kaḻikkuka* is old-fashioned and rarely used in this meaning (currently the verb *ūruka* is used instead), and as a small boy MIR understood it to mean here 'to eat', which is one of the most common meanings this verb has nowadays.

VAṬAPAṬIÑÑĀṞU[108] TIRIÑÑ[109] IRUNNU
having sat down after turning towards the northwest,[110]
MAṞṞ[111] ORU[112] KIṆṬI[113] NĪR ĀCAMIPPŪ[114]
you should rinse the mouth with water of another spouted vessel:[115]

(SSC 1,4)

1,1,28.[116] TRIR ĀCĀMET
He should sip water three times,

MUKKAL[117] KUṬICC[118]
Having drunk (water) three times,[119]

1,1,29.[120] DVIḪ[121] PARIMṚJET
he should wipe around (the mouth) twice,

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[108] *vaṭapaṭiññāṟu* is 'northwest' in Ma., from *vaṭa, vaṭakku, vaṭakke* 'north' (DEDR 5218) + *paṭiññāṟu* 'west' (DEDR 3852).

[109] *tiriññù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *tiriyuka* 'to turn round, turn, return' (DEDR 3246).

[110] One turns away from the holy fire in order to purify oneself.

[111] *maṟu, maṯṯu* is 'other, another' in Ma. (DEDR 4766).

[112] *oru* (before consonant), *ōr* (before vowel) is the adjectival (attributive) form of the numeral 'one' in Ma. (DEDR 990a).

[113] *kiṇṭi* is 'spouted water vessel (made of clay or metal)' in Ma. (DEDR 1541).

[114] *ācamippū* is the polite 2nd person imperative (< the non-past/future indicative, with the suffix *-pp-ū*) of the Ma. verb *ācamikkuka* 'to sip water, rinse the mouth' (from Sanskrit *ā* + *cam-*). This imperative introduces the following extended sentence, which details everything that is implied by the term *ācamana:* not simply sipping water!

[115] Another *kiṇṭi,* i.e., the spouted water vessel on the left side, is used for purifications.

[116] Cf. GGS 1,2, 5 ... *trir ācāmed* ...

[117] *mukkal* is 'three times' in Ma., from *mu-* (before doubled consonants, *mūv-* before vowels) adjectival form of the numeral 3 (DEDR 5052) + (cf. Tamil *mukkāl* 'three times') *kāl* 'time' (see below, on *orikkal*).

[118] *kuṭiccù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kuṭikkuka* 'to drink' (DEDR 1654).

[119] One should take (from the right *kiṇṭi*) as much water into the palm of the right hand as would cover a sesame seed *(eḷḷumaṇi),* i.e., very little, and sip it keeping the palm straight forwards. This is repeated three times.

[120] Cf. GGS 1,2,5 ... *dviḥ parimṛjīta.*

[121] Many Keralan mss. mark the assimilation of the *visarga* to the following consonant in Vedic texts: here we have the *upadhmānīya* (labial spirant) before a voiceless labial stop.

IRIKKAL[122] TOṬACC[123]
having wiped (water) off twice,[124]

1,1,30. SAKṚD UPASPṚŚET
he should touch (the mouth) once.

ORIKKAL[125] KĪḺ NŌKKIYUN[126] TOṬACCU
having wiped (water) off downwards once,[127]

1,1,31 a.[128] PĀDĀV ABHYUKṢYA ŚIRAŚ CA …
Having sprinkled water on both (of his) feet and on (his) head,[129]

KĀLKKUN[130] TALEKKUN[131] TAḶICCU[132]
having sprinkled water on both of the legs and on the head,[133]

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[122] *irikkal* is 'twice' in Ma., from *iru- (iri-)* (before doubled consonants, *īr-* before vowels) adjectival form of the numeral 2 (DEDR 474) + (cf. Tamil *irukāl, irukkāl* 'twice') *kāl* 'time' (see below, on *orikkal*).

[123] *toṭaccù, tuṭaccù* (both readings in the SSC mss.) is the gerund of the Ma. verb *tuṭaykkuka, tuṭekkuka, toṭaykkuka, toṭekkuka* 'to wipe, wipe off' (DEDR 3301).

[124] The same small amount of water is taken into the palm of the right hand, which is then in a vertical position (with the fingers pointing upwards), and rubbed over the face, from the right cheek over the nose to the left cheek. This is done twice.

[125] *orikkal* is 'one time, once' in Ma., from *oru- (ori-)* (before doubled consonants, *ōr-* before vowels) adjectival form of the numeral 1 (DEDR 990a) + (cf. Tamil *orukāl, orukkāl* 'once, sometimes, perhaps') *kāl, kālam* 'time, season'; possibly as 'season = quarter of the year' from *kāl* 'leg, quarter' (DEDR 1479), cf. PARPOLA 1975-76.

[126] *kīḻ nōkkin = kīḻu nōkkiyuṁ = kīḻppōṭṭum* (all these forms in SSC mss.) is 'downwards' in Ma., from *kīḻ, kīḻù* 'down' (DEDR 1619) + *nōkki,* the gerund of *nōkkuka* 'to look at' (DEDR 3794), forming an adverb indicating movement in a certain direction + glide *-y-* + the additive particle *-um* or its contraction (*-n*). *kīḻppōṭṭù* is from *kīḻppaṭṭù* or *kīḻppeṭṭù* (all mean 'downwards'), *paṭṭù (peṭṭù)* (often > *-ōṭṭù*) being the gerund of the Ma. verb *paṭuka* 'to happen, be in' (DEDR 3853).

[127] Then while the arm is held horizontally, the palm of the right hand is rubbed over the face from the forehead down to the chin.

[128] Cf. GGS 1,2,6 *pādāv abhyukṣya śiro 'bhyukṣet.*

[129] CALAND in his translation understands the words *śiraś ca* to belong to the next phrase.

[130] *kālkkum* is (collective sg.) dat. *kālkku* of *kāl* leg, foot (DEDR 1479) + *-um* (sandhi form *-un*) 'and'.

[131] *talekkum, talakkum* (both readings in mss.) is sg. dat. *talekku, talakku* of *tala (tale)* 'head' (DEDR 3103) + *-um* 'and'.

[132] *taḷiccù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *taḷikka* 'to sprinkle' (DEDR 3435).

[133] Water is sprinkled first on the right leg, then on the left leg and then on the head.

1,1,31 b.[134] ... ŚĪRṢAṆYĀN PRĀṆĀN UPASPṚŚED
he should touch the 'breaths' (i.e., sense organs) which are in the head.

PRĀṆAṄṄAḶE[135] TTOṬṬU[136]
having touched the 'breaths' (i.e., sense organs),[137]

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[134] Cf. GGS 1,2,7-8 *indriyāṇy adbhiḥ saṁspṛśet / akṣiṇī nāsike karṇāv iti.*

[135] *prāṇaṅṅaḷe* is pl. acc. of *prāṇam* (Ma. form of Sanskrit *prāṇa-* m.).

[136] *toṭṭŭ* is the gerund the the Ma. verb *toṭuka* 'to touch' (DEDR 3480).

[137] With the thumb and the ring finger of the right hand, a little water is picked up and put into the inner corner of the right eye, then a little water is again picked up with the same fingers and put into the inner corner of the left eye; a little water is picked up with the thumb and the forefinger of the right hand and put to the right nostril, then the same is done with the left nostril; then a little water is picked up with the thumb and the little finger of the right hand and put into the right ear, then the same is done with the left ear; then a little water is picked up with all the fingers excepting the little finger and put on the middle of the chest [note that the SSC does not restrict the organs of sense to the head like the JGS does with its attribute *śīrṣaṇyān*]; then a little water is picked up with all five fingers and put to the top of the head (*niṟuka* [= *neṟuka, neṯṯi,* DEDR 3759]).

According to MIR, the fingers represent the five elements *(pañca bhūtāni):* the thumb represents space *(ākāśa-);* the forefinger, wind *(vāyu);* the middle finger, fire *(tejas-);* the ring finger, water *(āpaḥ);* and the little finger, earth *(pṛthivī-).* In the Tantric mental worship *(mānasa-pūjā-),* water *(jala-),* sandalwood paste *(gandha-),* flowers *(puṣpam),* incense *(dhūpa-)* and light of the lamp *(dīpa-)* is offered with mudrās of both hands that accompany the following silently pronounced mantras: *vaṁ abātmanā jalaṁ kalpayāmi* (the thumb is placed on the upper joint of the ringfinger and moved upwards to its tip), *laṁ pṛthivyātmanā gandhaṁ kalpayāmi* (the thumb is put on the upper joint of the little finger and moved to its tip), *haṁ ākāśātmanā puṣpaṁ kalpayāmi* (the forefinger is put on the upper joint of the thumb and moved to its tip), *yaṁ vāyvātmanā dhūpaṁ kalpayāmi* (the thumb is put on the upper joint of the forefinger and moved to its tip), *tam agnyātmanā dīpaṁ kalpayāmi* (the thumb is put on the upper joint of the middle finger and moved to its tip). MIR's description agrees with that of Kakkāṭŭ Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri (1959, p. 26) in the mantras and mostly in the *mudrā*s as well, but instead of starting from the the upper joint and moving to the tip, Kakkāṭŭ speaks of starting from the bottom of the finger and moving upwards two joints; he also adds the [apparently secondary] offering of food, *nivedyam,* as well as of perfume, *sugandhi.* (The Marāṭhī practice recorded by BÜHNEMANN (1988, p. 4) in connection with the worship of Mahāgaṇapati is a little different: ... *laṁ pṛthivyātmakaṁ gandhaṁ kalpayāmi... haṁ ākāśātmakaṁ puṣpaṁ kalpayāmi ... yaṁ vāyvātmakaṁ dhūpaṁ kalpayāmi... raṁ vahnyātmakaṁ dīpaṁ kalpayāmi... vaṁ amṛtātmakaṁ naivedyaṁ kalpayāmi ... saṁ sarvātmakaṁ tāmbūlaṁ kalpayāmi....*) In the case of the ācamana, according to MIR, the performer is offering water to the eyes, wind to the nose, earth to the ears, four elements to the chest and all five elements to the crown of the head.

VĀYKKAL[138] NIṞUTTI[139]
having stopped at the mouth,[140]

1,1,32 a.[141] APA UPASPṚŚYA ...
Having touched water,

KKAI[142] KAḺUKI
having washed[143] the hand(s),

1,1,32 b.[144] ... PAŚCĀD AGNER UPASAMĀHITASYOPAVIŚYA ...
having become seated west of the fire to which fuel has been added,

VALATTU TIRIÑÑƯ
having turned to the right,[145]
PAVITRAM IṬṬƯ
having put the purifier(-ring) on (the ring finger),

1,1,14. *DEVASYA TVĀ SAVITUḤ PRASAVE*
***'ŚVINOR BĀHUBHYĀṀ PŪṢṆO HASTĀBHYĀṀ PROKṢĀMĪ*TI**
PROKṢITAM UPAKḶPTAṀ BHAVATI
With (the following mantra, which he is now capable of pronouncing),

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[138] *vāykkal* is sg. loc. (with the locative suffix *-(k)kal*) of *vāy* 'mouth' (DEDR 5352).

[139] *niṟutti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *niṟuttuka* 'to stop' (DEDR 3675).

[140] To conclude the *ācamana,* the thumb of the right hand is placed to the chin and the forefinger of the same hand on the forehead between the eyes.

The *ācamana* has been taken over from Vedic to Tantric practice with few modifications; cf., for example, Somaśambhupaddhati 1,47-50 and Aghoraśiva in BRUNNER-LACHAUX 1963: I, p. 42-45. The Tantric elaborations consist of the mantras to be recited, and of the fingers to be used while touching the 'breaths' (which in the Tantric *ācamana* are not restricted to those in the head). Further references in BRUNNER et al. 2000: I, p. 174-5.

[141] Cf. GGS 1,2,28 *antataḥ pratyupaspṛśya śucir bhavati;* ŚGS 1,10,9 ... *spṛśed apa ālabhyātmānam eva ca* //.

[142] *kai* is 'hand' in Ma. (DEDR 2423).

[143] In order to remove impurity (*aśuddhi*), one must wash with water that is poured out of the *kiṇṭi* and not just touch every now and then water kept in an open vessel (without changing the water) like the Tamil Brahmins do, for when an impure hand touches water, the impurity enters that water and makes it impure, so that it cannot be used again for purification.

[144] Cf. GGS 1,2,5 (*ācamana*) ... *upaviśya* ... 1,3,1 (*agnihotra*) *agnim upasamādhāya*...; 1,7,9 (*darśa-pūrṇa-māsa*) *agnim upasamādhāya*...

[145] Having turned away for purification, the performer now resumes the normal position.

the prepared (requisites) become sprinkled:
“I sprinkle you at the instigation of the divine Instigator, with the arms of the two (divine) horsemen, with the hands of (God) Pūṣan.”

PŪRṆṆAPĀTRAM ĀDI YĀYI PRAṆĪTĀNTAM ĀYI PROKṢIPPŪ
you should sprinkle water[146] (upon the requisites of the rite), starting with the vessel which is full (of rice) and ending with the (vessel of) the praṇīta (water), (muttering:)
DEVASYA TVĀ SAVITUḤ PRASAVE ŚVINOR BĀHUBHYĀṀ PŪṢṆO HASTĀBHYĀṀ PROKṢĀMI /

(SSC 1,5)

1,1,15. SAKṚD YAJUṢĀ
Once with the formula,
1,1,16. DVIS TŪṢṆĪM
twice silently.

RAṆṬŌṬṬAN[147] TŪṢṆĪṀ PROKṢIPPŪ[148].
You should sprinkle (the requisites) twice silently.

(SSC 1,6)

1,1,32 c.[149] ... DAKṢIṆENA PĀṆINĀ BHŪMIM ĀRABHYA ...
having taken hold of the earth with his right hand

NELAṀ[150] PIṬICCU[151]
holding[152] the ground,

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[146] Water is taken from the right kiṇṭi to the palm of the right hand, and holding the hand in a fist water is sprinkled on each requisite, opening the hand at the last item.

[147] *raṇṭōṭṭam* is ‘twice’ in Ma., from *raṇṭu* ‘2’ (DEDR 474) + *ōṭṭam* (sandhi form *ōṭṭan*) < *vaṭṭam* ‘circle; time, turn’ (< Sanskrit *vṛtta-* ‘round’, DBIA 316a).

[148] *prōkṣippū* is the polite 2nd person imperative (< the non-past/future indicative, with the suffix *-pp-ū*) of the verb *prōkṣikkuka* ‘to besprinkle’ (< Sanskrit *pra + ukṣ- ukṣati*).

[149] For JGS 1,1,32, cf. GGS 4,5,3 *paścād agner bhūmau nyañcau pāṇī pratiṣṭhāpyedaṁ bhūmer bhajāmaha iti.*

[150] *nelam* (old and substandard Ma.) = *nilam* (standard Ma.) (both readings in the SSC mss.) means ‘ground, earth, soil’ (DEDR 3676).

[151] *piṭiccù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *piṭikka* ‘to hold, seize, catch, grasp’ (DEDR 4148).

[152] The right hand is extended straight forward and only the tips of the fingers touch the ground, the four fingers together in the front, the thumb at the back. This

1,1,32 d. ... JAPATI
***IDAṀ BHŪMER BHAJĀMAHA IDAṀ BHADRAṀ SUMAṄGALAṀ/ PARĀ SAPATNĀN BĀDHASVĀNYEṢĀṀ VINDA TE DHANAM* ITI**
he mutters:
"We possess this part of the earth, this blessed, auspicous part; Drive away the adversaries, find for yourself other peoples' property!"

JAPIPPŪ[153]
you should mutter:
IDAṀ BHŪMER BHAJĀMAHA IDAṀ BHADRAṀ SUMAṀGALAṀ – PARĀ SAPATNĀN BĀDHASVĀNYEṢĀṀ VINDA TE DHANAṀ /

(SSC 1,7)

1,1,33.[154] *VASV*ANTAṀ RĀTRIŚ CET
If it is night, the end (should be) "goods!"

RĀV[155] ĀKIL[156]
If it is night,
VINDA TE VASU ENṮU[157] COLLŪ[158] /
you should say thus: "find for yourself other peoples' goods!"

(SSC 1,8)

1,1,34 a.[159] IMAṀSTOMYENA (JS 3,32,4-6) TṚCENĀGNIṀ

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is *nilam piṭikkuka* 'to hold the ground'; the phrase *nilam toṭuka* 'to touch the ground' implies that the whole palm is put on the ground, fingers kept together except for the thumb, which is kept separate from the others.

[153] *japippū* is the polite 2nd person imperative (< the non-past/future indicative, with the suffix *-pp-ū*) of the verb *japikkuka* 'to mutter' (< Sanskrit *jap- japati*). The mantra is pronounced in a normal (not low) voice.

[154] For JGS 1,1,33, cf. GGS 4,5,4 *vasvantaṁ rātrau dhanam iti divā.*

[155] *rā, rāvu* is 'night' in Ma. (DEDR 2552).

[156] *ākil* is the conditional (with the suffix *-il*) of the Ma. verb *ākuka* 'to be, become' (DEDR 333).

[157] *enṯŭ* (Old Ma.) = *ennŭ* (Modern Ma.) (both forms in the mss.) is the gerund of the Ma. verb *enṯuka, ennuka* 'to say so-and-so' (DEDR 868).

[158] *collū* is the polite 2nd person imperative (with the suffix *-ū*) of the Ma. verb *colluka* 'to say' (DEDR 2855).

[159] Cf. GGS 1,3,1 *agnim ... parisamuhya...* 4,5,5 *imaṁ stomam iti tṛcena parisamūhet;* ŚGS 1,7,11 *pradakṣiṇam agneḥ samantāt pāṇinā sodakena triḥ pramārṣṭi, tat samūhanam ity ācakṣate.*

PARISAMŪHET
With the verse triplet starting, "This praise song...", he should stroke around the fire (with his wetted hand),

1.1.34 b. ĀDYAYĀ (JS 1,7,4 = 3,32,4) VĀ TRIḤ
or three times with the initial verse (of that verse triplet).[160]
IMAṀ STOMAN TṚCAṀ KOṆṬU TALŌṬI[161]
having stroked (the rim of the fireplace)[162] with the verse triplet (which begins) "This praise song...",
ONṮU[163] VIḶĀKI[164]
having once poured water (from his fist) around (the fireplace over its rim),

1,1,35 a.[165] **PRASTARAM UPASAṀGṚHYA ...**
Having seized the (bunch of grass called) *prastara* ('that which is strewn forth'),[166]

[160] This alternative given in the JGS is ignored in the SSC.

[161] *talōṭi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *talōṭuka* 'to stroke, pat, rub gently, smear'.

[162] Starting from the northeastern corner, the rim is stroked once around clockwise with the palm of the right hand, each of the three rounds while uttering one verse, and rinsing the hand after each round.

[163] *onṯu* (Old Ma.) = *onnu* (Modern Ma.) (both forms in the mss.) is 'one, one thing, once' in Ma. (DEDR 990d), here 'once' (= *orikkal*).

[164] *viḷāki, vḷāki, vlāki* (all these forms in the mss.) is the gerund of the Ma. verb *viḷākuka, vḷākuka, vlākuka* 'to take water into the hand and wave it around over the rim of the fireplace (without touching the rim) so that the rim becomes wet with water falling from the hand' (it corresponds to Sanskrit *pari* + *sic-* in JGS 1,3,10). This verb is not found in any dictionary, but is undoubtedly related to Ma. *vaḷayuka* 'to surround', *vaḷekka* 'to enclose', cf. also Tamil *vaḷāvu* 'to surround', *vaḷākam* 'enclosing, surrounding' (DEDR 5313).

[165] For JGS 1,1,35, cf. GGS 1,7,9 *agnim... kuśaiḥ samantaṁ paristṛṇuyāt...;* ŚGS 1,8,1 *atha paristaraṇam;* PGS 1,1,2 ... *paristīrya ...*

[166] According to Bhavatrāta, he takes up the *prastara*, which is a fistful of grass blades tied at many places, which is at least a cubit long and has the diameter of at least the base of the thumb. This he takes up together with the grass blades which he then strews in every direction around the fire while holding the prastara in his hand *(prastara iti bahutra baddhā tṛṇamuṣṭir aratnyavamāyāmāṅguṣṭhamūlāvamapariṇā hā yājñikaiḥ kathyate / staraṇārthais tṛṇaiḥ prastaram upasaṁgṛhya sārdhaṁ gṛhītvā pratidiśaṁ paristṛṇāti sarvāsu diśāsv agniṁ saprastareṇa pāṇinety arthaḥ).* Śrīnivāsa is very short but agrees: *prastaram upasaṁgṛhya saprastareṇa pāṇinā...* According to MIR, the grass blades in the *prastara* have their tips pointing upwards and it is tied in five places at even distances. One takes a blade which has a tip; holding it at the tip, one first twists it lengthwise around, then winds it twice around the *prastara* bundle, then twists the two ends of the blade together lengthwise and winds this double part

PRASTARAM ĀDI YĀYI MUṢṬIYUM EṬṬU[167] PULLUṀ EṬUTTU[168] KOṆṬU[169]
having taken up, first, the *prastara*, and (then), the (bundled) fistfuls (of cut grass) and eight (blades of) grass,[170]

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of the blade once around the *prastara* bunch, making a little noose loop at its end which is inserted beneath the third round from right to left, and the rest is cut off. The middlemost tie must not be too tight, because the two purifier blades will be inserted beneath it (cf. SSC at JGS 1,2,11). In the *soma* sacrifices of the śrauta ritual, there is a *prastara* of the same type (the Adhvaryu gives it to the Udgātar priest at the out-of-doors laud). The Sāmavedins are especially good at tying the *prastara* in śrauta rites, because only they do it in this way in gṛhya rituals. In the gṛhya ritual, the *prastara* is not spread out as it is in the *soma* sacrifices. – From this moment onwards the *prastara* will be held in the hand (the *prastara* is usually held from its middle) all the time during the performance of the ritual up to the beginning of the *virūpākṣa* formula (cf. *prastaraṁ nidhāya* in JGS 1,2,11).

[167] *eṭṭŭ* is '8' in Ma. (DEDR 784).

[168] *eṭuttŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *eṭukka* 'to take up' (DEDR 851).

[169] *koṇṭŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *koḷka, koḷḷuka* 'to seize, receive, hold' (DEDR 2151), used as an auxiliary that gives a shade of 'reflexivity', 'self-benefit' or simultaneity to the preceding main verb which is put into the gerund.

[170] According to MIR, the Jaiminīya and Kauṣītaki Nampūtiris spread one fistfull of *darbha* grass to the east and to the west of the fireplace, and four blades of grass (having a tip and the length length of an arm, *oru kai* = Sanskrit *bāhu*) to the north and to the south of the fireplace. The *Kauṣītakaṁ Caṭaṅṅŭ* indeed starts its short chapter on the *sthālīpākaṁ* (p. 26) as follows: "Start the offering of cooked food. Having washed the feet, having put the purifier (on the ring finger), having taken the eight (blades of grass) and the (two) fistfuls, having started to strew (grass) around (the fire), after placing the water brought forward..." *(sthālīpākaṁ tuṭaṅṅu. kāl kaḻuki pavitram iṭṭŭ eṭṭuṁ muṣṭiyuṁ eṭuttu paristarikka tuṭaṅṅi praṇīta veccāl...).* Neither the JGS nor the *Kauṣītaka-Gṛhyasūtra* (1,3,5-13, ed. CHINTAMANI 1944: 11-13, corresponding to the ŚGS 1,8,1-5 and 9-13 ed. OLDENBERG 1878: 20), nor Bhavatrāta's commentaries on these two texts mention the fistfuls; but the Paddhati of Rāmacandra, which follows the ŚGS, does mention *kuśamuṣṭis* among the requisites and their use in this connection (cf. OLDENBERG 1878: 123-4): the Jaiminīyas, too, prepare the *muṣṭis* in advance. A bunch of grass is taken from the reserve and cut (with a knife) to the length of four fingerbredths. As much cut grass is taken into the hand as can be held in a closed fist. Two such fistfuls are tied (there is no special rule about the way of tying), so that two *muṣṭi* bundles result. According to MIR, all blades in a *muṣṭi* should in principle consist of the tip portion of the grass blade, but in the current practice only four such tip blades (they are a little longer than the rest) must be found in a *muṣṭi.* The Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana and Vādhūlaka Nampūtiris, however, put four long blades of grass to each of the four sides. Their practice is closer to the original (in which three or five layers of grass were spread on all sides of the fire, cf. GGS and ŚGS), while the Jaiminīya-Kauṣītaka tradition is more practical, as it shortens the performer's distance from the fire.

ORU MUṢṬI YAḺICCU[171]
having untied one (bundled) fistful (of cut grass),
MUNPIL[172] VACCU
having placed it in front (of yourself),
MAṮṮE[173] MUṢṬI YAḺICCU
having untied the other (bundled) fistfuls (of cut grass),

1,1,35 b. ... PRATIDIŚAṀ PARISTṚṆĀTI
he strews (grass) around (the fire) in each direction (of space),
1,1,36.[174] DAKṢIṆAPURASTĀD UPAKRAMYA
starting from the southeast,
1,1,37.[175] AGRAIR MŪLĀNI CHĀDAYAN
covering the (grass) roots with (grass) tips.

KEḺAKKUTEKKU NINṮU VAṬAKKU KŪṬUM[176] ĀṞU[177] PARISTARICCU[178]
having strewn (one fistful of grass to the east side of the fire) from the southeast (corner northwards) in such a way that in the north (the tail portions of the grass) come together
TEKKUṀ VAṬAKKUN NANNĀLU[179] PULLU VACCU
having placed to the south and to the north (of the fire) four and four (blades of) grass

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[171] *aḻiccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *aḻikka* 'to loosen, untie' (DEDR 277).

[172] *munpil* 'in front' is locative (with the suffix -il) of *munpu* 'the front' (DEDR 5020a).

[173] *maṯṯe* = *maṟu, maṯṯu* 'other, another' (DEDR 4766) + the emphatic particle *-e* < *-ē*.

[174] For JGS 1,1,36, cf. GGS 1,7,9 ... *purastād dakṣiṇata uttarataḥ paścād iti,* 10 *sarvatas trivṛtaṁ pañcavṛtaṁ vā,* 11 *bahulam ayugmasaṁhatam;* ŚGS 1,8,2 *prāgagraiḥ kuśaiḥ paristṛṇāti trivṛt pañcavṛd vā,* 3 *purastāt prathamam atha paścād atha paścāt.*

[175] For JGS 1,1,37, cf. GGS 1,7,12 *prāgagrair agrair mūlāni cchādayan;* ŚGS 1,8,4 *mūlāny agraiḥ prachādayati.*

[176] *kūṭum* is the non-past relative (or adjectival) participle (suffix *-um*) of the verb *kūṭuka* 'to come together, meet, join' (DEDR 1882).

[177] *āṟu* is 'way, manner' in Ma. (DEDR 405); postposed to a relative participle it forms an adverb of manner.

[178] *paristariccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *paristarikkuka* (< Sanskrit *pari* + *stṛ-*)

[179] *na-n-nālu* is 'four each, by fours', with distributive reduplication of *nālu* '4' (DEDR 3655).

ATINṮE[180] KAṬA[181] MŪṬUM[182] ĀṞU MUNPILATTĒTU[183] KOṆṬU PARISTARICCU
having strewn (to the west side of the fire) that (fistful of cut grass) which was in front (of yourself) in such a way that (the tips) cover the tails of those (four grasses placed to the north and to the south of the fire)

1,1,38 a.[184] PAŚCĀD VOPASTĪRYA –
Or after having strewn grass to the west (of the fire)

1,1,38 b. ULAPARĀJIBHYĀM UPAHARET
he should lay down two rows of grass.

1,1,39. DAKṢIṆOTTARAḤ SANDHIḤ
The joint (of these two rows to the east of the fire) has (the tips of the) southern (row) over (the tips of the northern row).[185]

ONṮU VIḶĀKI
having once wetted (the rim of the fireplace with water falling from his fist),

1,2,1 a.[186] PRASTARĀT PAVITRE GṚHṆĀTI ...
He takes two (grass blades called) purifiers from the *prastara* (bunch of grass),

PRASTARATTIL[187] RAṆṬU KEṬṬINU[188] TĀṞE[189] RAṆṬU PULL ŪRI[190]

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[180] *atinṯe* is sg. gen. of the non-human remoter demonstrative pronoun *atu* (DEDR 1).

[181] *kaṭa* is 'end, extremity' in Ma. (DEDR 1109).

[182] *mūṭum* is the non-past relative participle (suffix *-um*) of the Ma. verb *mūṭuka* to cover (DEDR 5034).

[183] *munpilattētu* 'that which is in front' < *munpil* 'in front' + *-atte* 'of that sort' (adjectivizes the adverb) + the neuter pronominal suffix *-tu* (converts the adjective into a noun).

[184] For JGS 1,1,38-39, cf. GGS 1,7,13 *paścād vāstīrya dakṣiṇataḥ prāñcaṁ prakarṣati tathottareṇa dakṣiṇottarāṇy agrāṇi kuryāt,* 14 *eṣa paristaraṇanyāyaḥ sarveṣv āhutimatsu.*

[185] The alternative given in JGS 1,1,38-39 is ignored in the SSC.

[186] For JGS 1,2,1, cf. GGS 1,7,19 *tata eva barhiṣaḥ prādeśamātre pavitre kurute;* ŚGS 1,8,14 *kuśataruṇe aviṣame avicchinnāgre anantargarbhe prādeśena māpayitvā...;* PGS 1,1,2 ... *pavitre kṛtvā ...*

[187] *prastarattil* is sg. loc. of *prastaram,* here (like *prastarattile* in standard Ma.) = sg. genitive *prastarattinṯe* (= a variant reading in the SSC mss.).

[188] *keṭṭinu* is sg. dat of *keṭṭu* 'tie, bundle, band' (DEDR 1147).

[189] *tāṟe* is 'under, below, beneath, down' (DEDR 3178).

[190] *ūri* is the gerund of the verb *ūruka* 'to draw off, pull out' (DEDR 652).

having pulled out two grass blades from beneath the two (uppermost ones of the five) knots of the *prastara*,

1,2,1 b. ... PRĀDEŚAMĀTRE SAME APRAŚĪRṆĀGRE ANANTARGARBHE
(two grass blades) which measure a span, which are equal, the tip of which is not broken and which have no sprout inside.

COṬṬA[191] YAḶANṮŬ[192]
having measured (them to be) a span (long),

1,2,2 a.[193] AṄGUṢṬHENOPAKANIṢṬHIKAYĀ CA DHĀRAYANN...
Holding (them) with his thumb and ring-finger,

VALATTU KAIYIL[194] PAVITRAṀ VARUM[195] ĀṞŬ MŌTAṞAVIRALUṀ[196] PERUVIRALUṀ[197] KŪṬṬI[198]
having joined the ring-finger and the thumb in such a way that the purifiers come (to be) in the right hand,

1,2,2 b. ... ANAKHENA CHINATTI
***PAVITRE STHO VAIṢṆAVYĀV* ITI**
he cuts (the two grass blades) with any instrument excepting his (finger-) nails, (muttering) thus: "You are the two purifiers belonging to Viṣṇu."

PPAVITRAṀ MUṞIPPŪ[199]
you should cut the *pavitra* (with this formula):

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[191] *coṭṭa* is 'span' in Ma. (DEDR 2834).

[192] *aḷanṯŭ* (Old Ma.) = *aḷannŭ* (Modern Ma.) is the gerund of the Ma. verb *aḷakka* 'to measure' (DEDR 295).

[193] For JGS 1,2,2, cf. GGS 1,7,20 *oṣadhim antardhāya cchinatti na nakhena* pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyāv *iti;* ŚGS 1,8,14 ... *kuśena chinatti* pavitre stha *iti,* 16 *prāgagre dhārayan* vaiṣṇavyāv *ity abhukṣya.*

[194] *kaiyil* is sg. loc (with the suffix *-il*) of Ma. *kai* 'hand' (DEDR 2423).

[195] *varum* is the non-past relative (adjectival) participle of the Ma. verb *varuka, varika* 'to come' (DEDR 5270).

[196] *mōtaṟaviral* = *mōtiraviral* (both forms in SSC mss.) 'ring-finger' < Ma. *mōtaṟam* = *mōtiram* 'ring' (< Sanskrit *mudrā-* f. 'seal, seal-ring') + Ma. *viral* 'finger, toe' (DEDR 5409).

[197] *peruviral* 'thumb' < Ma. *peru* (before consonants), *pēr* (before vowels) 'great, big' (DEDR 4411) + *viral.*

[198] *kūṭṭi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kūṭṭuka* 'to bring together, join' (DEDR 1882).

[199] *muṟippū* is the polite imperative (< the non-past/future indicative, with the suffix *-pp-ū*) of the Ma. verb *muṟikka* 'to break, cut' (DEDR 5008).

PAVITRE STHO VAIṢṆAVYAU /
“You are the two purifiers belonging to Viṣṇu.”

(SSC 1,9)

1,2,3.[200] **TRIR ŪRDHVAM ADBHIR ANUMĀRJAYED**
***VIṢṆOR MANASĀ PŪTE STHA* ITI**
He should stroke them upwards with water three times, (muttering) so:
“You are purified with Viṣṇu’s mind.”

PAKARNNU[201] **PIṬICCU**
Holding (the *prastara* in his right hand and the two grass blades in his left hand) after an exchange,[202]
(TAḺICCU)[203]
(having sprinkled [the two grass blades],)
NĪR UḺIVŪ[204]
you should wipe the water off (with this formula):[205]
VIṢṆOR MMANASĀ PŪTE STHAḤ /
“You are purified with Viṣṇu’s mind."

(SSC 1,10)

1,2,4. SAKṚD YAJUṢĀ
Once with the formula,
1,2,5. DVIS TŪṢṆĪM
twice silently.

RAṆṬŌṬṬAN TŪṢṆĪN NĪR UḺIÑÑ[206]
Having wiped water off twice silently,[207]

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[200] For JGS 1,2,3, cf. GGS 1,7,21 *athaine adbhir anumārṣṭi* viṣṇor manasā pūte stha *iti;* ŚGS 1,8,16 *prāgagre dhārayan* vaiṣṇavyāv *ity abhukṣya.*

[201] *pakarnnù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *pakaruka* ‘to shift, be exchanged’ (DEDR 3803).

[202] Before the exchange the *prastara* was held in the left hand, while the right hand pulled out the upper portions of two grass blades and cut them. The knife is laid down and the *prastara* and the grass blades exchanged.

[203] This word is in parentheses because it is not found in all mss. of the SSC.

[204] *uḻivū* is the polite imperative (< the non-past/future indicative, with suffix *-(v) ū*) of the Ma. verb *uḻiyuka* ‘rub, stroke, wipe’ (DEDR 686).

[205] The water sprinkled on the grass blades is wiped off upwards, whereafter the hand is washed.

[206] *uḻiññù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *uḻiyuka* ‘rub, stroke, wipe’ (DEDR 686).

[207] After each wiping, the hand is washed.

1,2,6 a.[208] PĀTRASYOPARIṢṬĀT PAVITRE DHĀRAYANN...
Holding the two purifiers over a vessel,

ĀJYASTHĀLI YEṬUTTU
having taken up the ghee plate,[209]
MUNPIL VACCU
having placed it in front (of yourself),
VALATTU KAI KOṆṬU PAVITRAṀ VACCU
having placed the purifier(s) (there)[210] with the right hand,
EṬATTU[211] KAI KOṆṬU PIṬICCU
holding (them) with the left hand,

1,2,6 b. ... ĀJYAM ĀSICYA ...
having poured ghee in(to the ghee vessel),

VALATTU KAI KOṆṬU NEYYU[212] VĪTTI
having poured ghee with the right hand,

1,2,6 c. ... UTTAREṆĀGNIM AṄGĀRĀN NIRŪHYA ...
having pushed live coals out (of the fireplace) on the north side of the fire

VAṬAKKU MŪNṮU NERIPPU[213] NĪKKI[214]
having removed three live coals (from the fire) to the north,[215]

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[208] For JGS 1,2,6-10, cf. GGS 1,7,22 *saṁpūyotpunāty udagagrābhyāṁ pavitrābhyām,* 23 *aṅguṣṭhābhyāṁ copakaniṣṭhikābhyāṁ cāṅgulībhyām abhisaṁgṛhya prākśas trir utpunāti* devas tvā savitotpunātv acchidreṇa pavitreṇa vasoḥ sūryasya raśmibhir *iti sakṛd yajuṣā dvis tūṣṇīm,* 24 *athaine adbhir abhyukṣyāgnāv apyarjayet,* 25 *athaitad ājyam adhiśrityodag udvāsayet,* 26 *evam ājyasya saṁskaraṇakalpo bhavatīti;* ŚGS 1,8,17 *kuśataruṇābhyāṁ pradakṣiṇam agniṁ triḥ paryukṣya,* 18 mahīnāṁ payo 'sī*ty ājyasthālīm ādāya,* 19 iṣe tve*ty adhiśritya,* 20 ūrje tve*ty udag udvāsya,* 21 *udagagre pavitre dhārayann aṅguṣṭhābhyāṁ copakaniṣṭhikābhyāṁ cobhayataḥ pratigṛhyordhvāgre prahve kṛtvājye pratyasyati* savituṣ ṭvā prasava utpunāmy achidreṇa pavitreṇa vasoḥ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ, 22 *ity ājyasaṁskāraḥ sarvatra,* 23 *nāsaṁskṛtena juhuyāt;* PGS 1,1,2 ... *nirupyājyam adhiśritya paryagni kuryāt.*

[209] This is done with the right hand holding the *prastara*.

[210] In the ghee plate.

[211] *eṭattu* is sg. obl. of Ma. *eṭam* = *iṭam* 'left side' (DEDR 449).

[212] *ney, neyyŭ* is 'oil, ghee, grease' in Ma. (DEDR 3746; but cf. Prakrit *nēam* < Sanskrit *sneha*).

[213] *nerippu, ñerippu* is 'live coal, ember, fire(brand)' in Ma. (DEDR 2929).

[214] *nīkki* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *nīkkuka* 'to put aside, remove, separate from' (DEDR 3685).

[215] Inside the *kuṇḍa* in the northeastern corner.

1,2,6 d. … TEṢV ADHIŚRITYA …
having placed (the ghee vessel) upon them (i.e., the live coals),

PPAVITRAṀ VĀṄṄI[216]
taking the purifier(s) away (from the ghee plate)[217]
NERIPP ĒṮṮI[218]
having lifted (the ghee plate) on the live coals,

1,2,6 e. … AVADYOTYA …
having illuminated (the ghee vessel)

(PATTONPATU[219] PULLINNU[220]) ORU PUL KOḶUTTI[221]
having kindled one blade of grass (taken out of the reserve of 19 blades of grass),[222]
KĀṬṬI[223]
having shown (this lighted grass to the ghee plate so that it becomes illuminated),[224]
PARISTARAṆATTIN'[225] AKATTU[226] KUTTI[227] KEṬUTTU[228]
having extinguished (the flaming grass blade) by thrusting (its tip into the ground) inside the grass strewn around (the fire),

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[216] *vāṅṅi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *vāṅṅuka* 'to receive, obtain, take, take away' (DEDR 5336).

[217] The two purifiers have so far been held in the ghee plate with the left hand. Now they are lifted up with the right hand and put in some other place.

[218] *ēṯṯi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *ēṯṯuka* 'to raise' (DEDR 916).

[219] *pattonpatu* is 'nineteen' < Ma. *pattu* 'ten' (DEDR 3918) + *onpatu* 'nine' (DEDR 1025).

[220] *pullinnŭ* is sg. dat. of Ma. *pul, pullŭ* 'grass' (DEDR 4300).

[221] *koḷutti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *koḷuttuka* 'kindle, set on fire' (DEDR 2158).

[222] The grass blade is held beneath the *prastara* in the right hand and kindled by sticking its head in the fireplace.

[223] *kāṭṭi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kāṭṭuka* 'to show' (DEDR 1443).

[224] The purpose is to see that the ghee is wholly melted; one must take care that the *prastara* held over the lighted grass blade does not catch fire.

[225] *paristaraṇattinŭ* is sg. dat. of Ma. *paristaraṇam* (< Sanskrit *paristaraṇa*- n.).

[226] *akattŭ* 'within' is sg. obl. (used here as locative) of Ma. *akam* 'inside' (DEDR 7).

[227] *kutti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kuttuka* 'to pierce, prick, thrust (something into something)' (DEDR 1719).

[228] *keṭuttŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *keṭukka* 'to extinguish, ruin' (DEDR 1942).

[KAṬA PUṞATTU[229] VACCU][230]
[having placed (the remaining tail part somewhere) outside (the grass strewn around the fire),]

1,2,6 f. ... DARBHATARUṆĀBHYĀṀ PRATYASYA ...
having thrown two fresh blades of *darbha* grass in (to the ghee vessel)[231]

RAṆṬU DARBHĀGRAṀ MUṞICCU[232]
having cut the tips of two blades of *darbha* grass[233]
[KATTI[234] VACCU]
[having put off the knife,]
[KAI] KAḺUKI
having washed [the hand],
[KAṬA TAḶICCU VACCU]
[having sprinkled the tail portions with water,]
TUVARTTI[235]
having wiped (them dry),
(NEYYIL[236]) IṬṬU
having put (the head portions in the ghee plate and the tail portions aside on the ground)

229 *puṟattŭ* 'outside' is sg. obl. (used here as locative) of Ma. *puṟam* 'outside, exterior' (DEDR 4333).

230 The words are in brackets because they are not found in any of the consulted SSC mss., but belong to the text according to MIR.

231 CALAND has wrongly connected the instrumental *darbhataruṇābhyām* with the preceding *avadyotya,* and wrongly taken *pratyasya* to refer to throwing these two blades in the fire. As Bhavatrāta points out, the object thrown can be expressed not only by the accusative but also by the instrumental in connection with the verb *as-*: *nanu pratyasanakriyāṁ prati darbhataruṇayoḥ karmatvād dvitīyayā nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ / nāyam ekāntaḥ, karaṇatayāpi hi darbhataruṇayor vipakṣā śakyā / dṛśyate hi dvedhāpi prayogaḥ: śaram asyati taskare, śareṇāsyati taskaram iti.* The *Kauṣītaki-Gṛhyasūtra* (1,4,5) actually has the accusative in the present context: *kuśataruṇe pratyasya.*

232 *muṟiccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *muṟikka* 'to break, cut' (DEDR 5008).

233 These two grass blades are pulled out of the bunch of originally 19 blades of grass. About 5 cm is cut off.

234 Ma. *katti* 'knife' is an old *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *kṛtti-* rather than a Dravidian word (thus DEDR 1204).

235 *tuvartti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *tuvarttuka* 'to wipe of moisture, dry' (DEDR 3351).

236 *neyyil* is sg. loc. (with the suffix -il) of Ma. *ney, neyyŭ* 'oil, ghee, grease' (DEDR 3746).

1,2,6 g. … TRIḤ PARYAGNI KṚTVĀ …
having taken the fire around (the ghee vessel) three times
VĒVU[237] KAṬAYUṀ MUṞI[238] KAṬAYUṀ PINNE[239] YORU PULLUṀ KŪṬṬI
having collected together the burnt tail portion (of the extinguished grass blade), and the tail portion of the (two) cut (blades of grass, the tips of which were put into the ghee plate) and one (new) blade of grass,[240]
PPARYYAGNI CEYTU[241]
having taken the fire around (the ghee plate),[242]

1,2,6 h. … UDAG UDVĀSYA …
having removed (the ghee vessel) towards the north

(NEYYU) IḺUTTU[243]
having dragged the ghee(-plate off the coals),[244]
VAṬAKK EṞAKKI[245]
having placed it down to the north,

1,2,6 i. … PRATYŪHYĀṄGĀRĀN …
having pushed the live coals back (to the fire)

NERIPPU KŪṬṬI
having collected the live coals

1,2,6 j. … UDAGAGRĀBHYĀṀ PAVITRĀBHYĀṀ TRIR UTPUNĀTY
ĀJYAṀ CA HAVIŚ CA PRAṆĪTĀŚ CA SRUVAṀ CA
DEVAS TVĀ SAVITOTPUNĀTV
***ACCHIDREṆA PAVITREṆA VASOḤ SŪRYASYA RAŚMIBHIR* ITI**

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[237] *vēvù* is 'burning, combustion, boiling' in Ma. (DEDR 5517).

[238] *muṟi* is 'piece, fragment, the state of being broken (off)' in Ma. (DEDR 5008).

[239] *pinne* is 'behind, after, yet, then' in Ma. (DEDR 4205).

[240] One more blade is pulled out of the bunch of originally 19 blades of grass.

[241] *ceytù* is the gerund of of the Ma. verb *ceyyuka* 'to do, make, perform' (DEDR 1957).

[242] All those four blades of grass are put together in the right hand, kindled in the fireplace, and taken around the ghee plate three times (*paryagni* is always done three times).

[243] *iḻuttù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *iḻukka* 'to drag, draw, pull' (DEDR 504a).

[244] The ghee plate has become hot and is not easily lifted, so it is just dragged off the coals.

[245] *eṟakki* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *iṟakki* (standard Ma.) (both forms in SSC mss.) is the gerund of the Ma. verb *iṟakkuka* 'to lower, let down, put down (load)' (DEDR 516).

by means of the two purifiers with their tips pointing to the north he three times purifies the ghee and the sacrificial substance and the *praṇīta* water and the offering ladle (muttering) "Let the divine Instigator purify you with an unimpaired purifier, with the rays of the good sun!"
1,2,8. PUNARĀHĀRAM ĀJYASYA
taking (the purifiers only) backwards (and not forwards) for (the purification of) the ghee
1,2,9. SAKṚD YAJUṢĀ
Once with the formula,
1,2,10. DVIS TŪṢṆĪM
twice silently.

KAI KAḺUKI
having washed the hand(s),
[ĀJYASTHĀLI] EṬUTTU
having taken up [the ghee plate],
MUNPIL VACCU
having placed it in front (of yourself),
PAVITRAM EṬUTTU
having taken up (the two blades of grass functioning as) the purifier,
VAṬAKK AGRAM ĀYI PPIṬICCU
holding it so that the (grass) tip(s) point to the north,
PAṬIÑÑĀṞU TUṬAṄṄI[246] PPAṬIÑÑĀṞU MUṬIYUM[247] ĀṞU IḺUTTU
dragging it so that (you) begin in the west and finish in the west,
ARIPPŪ[248]
you should cleanse (muttering this formula):
DEVAS TVĀ SAVITOLPUNĀTV
ACCHIDREṆA PAVITREṆA VASOS SŪRYYASYA RAŚMIBHIḤ /
"Let the divine Instigator purify you with an unimpaired purifier, with the rays of the good sun!"

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[246] *tuṭaṅṅi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *tuṭaṅṅuka* 'to begin, commence' (DEDR 3481).

[247] *muṭiyum* is the non-past relative (adjectival) participle of the Ma. verb *muṭiyuka* 'to end' (DEDR 4922).

[248] *arippū* is the polite imperative (with the suffix -*pp*-*ū*) of the Ma. verb *arikka* 'to sift, cleanse, filter, strain' (DEDR 213).

(SSC 1,11)

HAVISSIL TUṬAṄṄI KEḺAKKU VIṬṬ[249] ARIPPŪ /
In the offering substance, you should cleanse, quitting in the east after starting.[250]

(SSC 1,12)

RAṆṬŌṬṬAN TŪṢṆĪM ARICCĀL[251]
After having twice silently cleansed (the ghee),
HAVISSIL
in (cleansing) the offering substance (you should say):
DEVAS TVĀ SAVITOLPUNĀTV
(ACCHIDREṆA PAVITREṆA VASOS SŪRYYASYA RAŚMIBHIḤ) /
"Let the divine Instigator purify you
(with an unimpaired purifier, with the rays of the good sun)!"

1,2,7.[252] *DEVO VA* ITI PRAṆĪTĀḤ
(he should purify) the *praṇīta* water (uttering the mantra with a modification)
"(Let) the divine (Instigator purify) you (pl.)!"

PRAṆĪTAYIL
in (cleansing) the *praṇīta* water (you should say:)
DEVO VAS SAVITOLPUNĀTU /
"Let the divine Instigator purify you (pl.)!"
SRUVATTIL
in (cleansing) the offering ladle (you should say:)
DEVAS TVĀ SAVITOLPUNĀTU /
"Let the divine Instigator purify you!"

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[249] *viṭṭù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *viṭuka* 'to leave, quit, let go', also auxiliary denoting the close of an action (DEDR 5393).

[250] I.e., the purifier is taken just once forwards from west to east, thereafter not backwards to west. This is repeated twice silently.

[251] *ariccāl* is the conditional of the Ma. verb *arikka* 'to sift, cleanse, filter, strain' (DEDR 213).

[252] For JGS 1,2,7, cf. ŚGS 1,8,24 *sruve cāpaḥ* savitur va *iti,* 25 *tāḥ praṇītāḥ prokṣaṇīś ca.*

(SSC 1,13)

1,2,11 a. UTTARATO ’GNEḤ PRAṆĪTĀḤ PRAṆĪYA ...
Having brought the *praṇīta* water forwards to the north of the fire

PAVITRAṀ MOTAṞAVIRAL MĒL CUṮṮI[253] KKOṆṬU
having wrapped the purifier around the ring-finger,
PRAṆĪTAKKU TĀḺE MŪNṮU PULL IṬṬU
having placed three blades of grass[254] beneath (the vessel of) the *praṇīta* water,
MUḺAKKU[255] VAṬṬAKA[256] VEḶḶAṀ[257] VĪTTI
having poured a cubit of water from a round metal vessel[258] (into the *praṇīta* vessel)
MŪKKŌḶAM[259] UYARTTI[260]
having raised (the *praṇīta* vessel) upto (the level of) the nose,

1,2,11 b. ... DARBHAIḤ PRACCHĀDYA ...
having covered (the *praṇīta* vessel) with blades of *darbha* grass

MŪNṮU PULLU KOṆṬU MŪṬI[261] VACCU[262]
having covered (the *praṇīta* vessel) with three blades of grass,[263]

1,2,11 c. ... DAKṢIṆATO ’GNEḤ PRASTARAṀ NIDHĀYA ...
having put the *prastara* (bunch of grass) down to the south of the fire,

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[253] *cuṯṯi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *cuṯṯuka* ‘to go round, encircle, surround, wrap round’ (DEDR 2715).

[254] These three new blades are taken from the bunch of originally 19 blades of grass.

[255] *muḻakkŭ (= muḻam)* is ‘cubit (= length of forearm)’ in Ma. (DEDR 4990).

[256] *vaṭṭaka* is ‘round metal vessel’ in Ma. (< Sanskrit *vṛttaka-* ‘round’, DBIA 316b).

[257] *veḷḷam* is ‘water’ in Ma. (DEDR 5503).

[258] The right *kiṇṭi* is meant.

[259] *mūkkōḷam* ‘up to the nose’ = Ma. *mūkku* ‘nose, nozzle, beak’ (DEDR 5024) + the clitic *-ōḷam* ‘up to, as far as’ < Ma. *aḷavum* < *aḷavŭ* ‘measure, limit’ (DEDR 295) + *-um.*

[260] *uyartti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *uyarttuka* ‘to raise’ (DEDR 646).

[261] *mūṭi* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *mūṭuka* to cover (DEDR 5034).

[262] The Ma. verb *vaykkuka, vekkuka, vekka* ‘to put, place’ (DEDR 5549) as an auxiliary expresses fully completed action together with “the notion of future utility” (ASHER and KUMARI 1997, 295).

[263] Again three new blades of grass are taken from the bunch of originally 19 blades of grass. For their further use see SSC 1,27.

SRUVATTŌṬU[264] PARISTARAṆATTŌṬ IṬE[265] PRASTARAṀ VACCŬ
having placed the *prastara* (on the ground) between the offering ladle and the grass strewn around (the fire),

1,2,11 d. ... PRASTARASYOPARIṢṬĀT PAVITRE NIDHĀYA ...
having put the two purifiers down over the prastara

PAVITRAṀ MAṬAKKI[266]
having folded the purifier(s) (in the middle),
PRASTARATTIN NAṬUVATTU[267] KEṬṬŌṬ[268] IṬAYIL TIRUKI[269] YECCŬ[270]
having tucked them in the middle of the prastara in the place of (i.e., beneath) the tie,

1,2,11 e.[271]... VIRŪPĀKṢAṀ JAPATI: *TAPAŚ CA TEJAŚ CA ... KARMĀDHIPATAYE NAMA* ITI[272]
he mutters (the formula of) the (god) with deformed eyes (i. e., Rudra), thus:
"Heat and lustre ... to the Overlord of sacrificial action obeisance!"
PALAKA[273] MĒL VAṬAKK AGRAM ĀYI MŪNṮŬ PULL IṬṬ

[264] *sruvattōṭŭ* is the sg. sociative (with the suffix *-ōṭŭ* added to the oblique stem *sruvattŭ*) of Ma. *sruvam* < Sanskrit *sruva-* m.

[265] *iṭe, iṭa, iṭayil* (all these forms in SSC mss.) is '(in) between, in the middle (in space or time)' in Ma. (DEDR 448).

[266] *maṭakki* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *maṭakkuka* 'to fold, bend' (DEDR 4645).

[267] *naṭuvattŭ* sg. obl. (functioning as locative) of Ma. *naṭuvam (= naṭu, naṭuvu)* 'centre' (DEDR 3584). The variant *naṭuvam* is not recorded in dictionaries.

[268] *keṭṭōṭŭ* is sg. sociative of Ma. *keṭṭu* 'tie, band, bundle' (DEDR 1147).

[269] *tiruki* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *tirukuka* 'to twist, turn in, tuck in, wring, braid' (DEDR 3246).

[270] *(y-)eccŭ = veccŭ* (both forms in SSC mss., according to MIR the former represents an archaic usage that in olden times prevailed in Cochin as well but now survives only in Travancore). As noted above, the Ma. verb *vaykkuka, vekkuka, vekka* 'to put, place' (DEDR 5549) as an auxiliary expresses fully completed action together with "the notion of future utility" .

[271] For JGS 1,2,11, cf. GGS 4,5,6 *vairūpākṣaḥ purastādd homānām,* 7 *kāmyeṣu ca prapadaḥ,* 8 *tapaś ca tejaś ceti japitvā prāṇāyāmam āyamyārthamanā vairūpākṣam ārabhyocchvaset.*

[272] I am quoting here and in the text of the SSC only the first and last words of this long formula.

[273] Ma. *palaka* < Sanskrit *phalaka-* n. 'board, plank'.

IRUNTU[274]
having taken seat on a plank[275] after putting (on it) three blades of grass[276] with their tips in the north,
MŪNṮU PUL PIṬICCU
holding three blades of grass,[277]
VIRŪPĀKṢAÑ JAPIPPŪ
you should mutter (the formula of) the one having deformed eyes (i. e., Rudra) (saying):
TAPAŚ CA TĒJAŚ CA ... KARMMĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ

(SSC 1,14)

1,3,1 a.[278] SRUVAṀ PRAṆĪTĀSU PRAṆĪYA ...
Having brought (i.e., emptied) the offering ladle[279] into the *praṇīta* water,

PULLU NIRṚTI KŌṆATTU[280] KAḶEÑÑU[281]
having thrown the blades of grass away to the quarter of the Destruction (i.e., southwest),[282]
KAI KAḺUKI

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[274] *iruntŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *irikkuka* 'to sit, sit down' (DEDR 480).

[275] One does not actually get up from the seat and sit down again, but just raises oneself a little to make room for the inserted grass blades.

[276] These three grass blades are taken now from the bunch of originally 19 grass blades. They seem to be a partial survival of the original Vedic grass seat *(vistara).*

[277] These three grass blades are taken now from the bunch of originally 19 grass blades; they are held between the two hands joined in the *baddhāñjali* pose raised up above the head while muttering the *virūpākṣa* formula.

[278] For JGS 1,3,1 (a), cf. PGS 1,1,3 *sruvaṁ pratapya sammṛjyābhyukṣya punaḥ pratapya nidadhyāt.*

[279] The *prastara* was held in the hand all the time during the first part of the *sthālīpāka* rite until it was laid down just before the *virūpākṣa* formula. After the formula has been finished, the offering ladle *(sruva-)* is taken up and will be held in the hand up to the end of the rite. The only interruptions are the food offering to Gaṇapati and its removal (these are later additions to the gṛhya ritual): the *sruva* has to be laid down for the duration of these acts, because the hand is needed for the finger movements in connection with the *prāṇa* mantras.

[280] *kōṇattu* is sg. obl. (functioning as locative) of Ma. *kōṇam* 'angle, corner' (DEDR 2209).

[281] *kaḷeññŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kaḷeyuka, kaḷayuka* 'to weed, get rid of, throw away' (DEDR 1373).

[282] The three blades of grass held in the hands during the formula are cast off behind over the shoulder.

having washed the hand(s),[283]
SRUVATTILE[284] NĪR PRAṆĪTAYIL VĪTTI YECCU
having poured the water of the offering ladle into (the vessel of) the *praṇīta* water,

1,3,1 b. ... NIṢTAPYA ...
having heated (the offering ladle)

EṬATTU KAIYIL (PIṬICCU) MŪNṞU PULLUṀ KŪṬṬI
having put together three blades of grass,[285] holding (them) in the left hand,
KAMUTTI[286]
having turned (the offering ladle) upside down,
KKĀCCI[287]
having heated (the offering ladle by taking it once over the fire),

1,3,1 c. ... DARBHAIḤ SAṀMṚJYA SAṀMĀRGĀN ...
having wiped (several) cleansing wipings (over the offering ladle) by means of the blades of *darbha* grass

PPAKARNNU PIṬICCU
Holding (the offering ladle in his left hand and the three blades of grass in the right hand) after an exchange,
AGRAṀ KOṆṬ AGRAN TOṬACCU
having touched the tip (of the offering ladle) with the tip (of the blades of grass)
NAṬU KOṆṬU NAṬUVUṀ (TOṬACCU)
having touched also the middle (of the offering ladle) with the middle (of the blades of grass)
KAṬA KOṆṬU KAṬAYUN TOṬACCU
having touched also the tail (of the offering ladle) with the tail (of the blades of grass)

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283 The hands are to be washed always when something has been thrown away [as an act of sorcery].

284 *sruvattile* is sg. loc. of Ma. *sruvam* + emphatic particle *-e*, forming an attributive modifier.

285 These three blades of grass are the last ones of the bunch of originally 19 grass-blades.

286 *kamutti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kamuttuka* ‘to turn upside down’ (DEDR 1335).

287 *kācci* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kāccuka, kāykka* ‘to heat, warm, boil’ (DEDR 1458).

PO<u>R</u>AVUM[288] Ī VAṆṆAME[289] TOṬACCU
having touched also the outside (i.e., the bottom side, of the offering ladle) in this very same way (in three places with the grass blades),

1,3,1 d. ... ABHYUKṢYA ...
having sprinkled (the blades of grass) with water,

SRUVAṀ TAḶICCU
having sprinkled the offering ladle with water,[290]
KAMUTTI
having turned (the offering ladle) upside down,
KKĀCCI
having heated (the offering ladle),
PPUL TAḶICCU
having sprinkled the blades of grass with water,[291]

1,3,1 e. ... AGNĀV ĀDHĀYA ...
having put (the blades of grass) in the fire

TĪYIL IṬṬU
having put (the blades of grass) in the fire

1,3,1 f.[292] ... DAKṢIṆAṀ JĀNV ĀCYA ...
having bent the right knee

VALATTU MU<u>L</u>AṄṄĀL[293] NELATT[294] ŪNNI[295]
leaning on the ground with the right knee (and reaching forwards),

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[288] *po<u>r</u>avum* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *pu<u>r</u>avum* (standard Ma.) (both forms in SSC mss.) 'outside' < Ma. *pu<u>r</u>am* 'outside, exterior' (DEDR 4333) + the glide *-v-* + the clitic *-um*.

[289] *ī vaṇṇame* 'in this very manner' < Ma. *ī* 'this' (DEDR 410a) + Ma. *vaṇṇam* 'colour, manner' (< Prakrit *vaṇṇa-* < Sanskrit *varṇa-* m., DBIA 320) + emphatic clitic *-e.*

[290] Water is taken from the right kiṇṭi to the palm of the right hand which is holding the three grass blades and sprinkled on the offering ladle, which is thereafter taken into the right hand.

[291] The blades of grass are taken into the left hand and sprinkled with water taken into the right hand that holds the offering ladle.

[292] For JGS 1,3,1 (b)... *dakṣiṇaṁ jānv ācya...* cf. GGS 1,3,1 ... *dakṣiṇajānvakto...* (in the GGS, the knee is bent in connection with the act prescribed in JGS 1,3,7).

[293] *mu<u>l</u>aṅṅāl* is 'knee' in Ma. < Ma. *mu<u>l</u>aṁ* 'joint; cubit' (DEDR 4990) + Ma. *kāl* 'leg, foot' (DEDR 1479).

[294] *nelattŭ* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *nilattŭ* (standard Ma.) (both forms in SSC mss.) is sg. oblique (functioning as locative) of Ma. *nilam* 'ground, earth, soil' (DEDR 3676).

[295] *ūnni* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *ūnnuka* 'to lean, rest upon' (DEDR 763).

1,3,1 g.[296] ... AMEDHYAṀ CET KAṀ CID ĀJYE ’VAPADYETA GHUṆAS TRYAMBUKĀ MAKṢIKĀ PIPĪLIKETY Ā PAÑCABHYA UDDHṚTYA
ABHYUKṢYA –
UTPŪYA
JUHUYĀT
if anything unfit for sacrifice should have fallen into the ghee, such as a wood worm, a *tryambuka* fly, a bee or an ant; up to five such things he should remove, then sprinkle (the ghee), purify it and make an oblation in the fire.

NEY(Y)IL NŌKKI[297]
having looked into the ghee (in the ghee plate),[298]

1,3,2.[299] PARIDHĪN PARIDADHĀTI
He puts the enclosing sticks around (the fire).

PPARIDHI VEPPŪ[300].
you should place the enclosing sticks (around the fire).[301]

(SSC 1,15)

1,3,3. MADHYAMAṀ STHAVĪYASAṀ PAŚCĀT
the one with a medium length but thicker (then the others) to the west (of the fire),

TAṬICCATŮ[302] MUNPIL VACCŮ
having placed the thick one in front (of yourself),

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296 For JGS 1,3,1 (c), cf. PGS 1,1,4 *ājyam udvāsyotpūyāvokṣya...*

297 *nōkki* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *nōkkuka* ‘to look at’ (DEDR 3794).

298 While looking, hands are held around the eyes (as if binoculars).

299 For JGS 1,3,2-6, cf. GGS 1,7,15 *paridhīn apy eke kurvanti śāmīlān pārṇān vā.*

300 *veppū* is the polite imperative (with the suffix *-pp-ū*) of the Ma. verb *vaykkuka, vekkuka, vekka* ‘to put, place’ (DEDR 5549).

301 The three enclosing sticks have been prepared and bundled in advance as a separate unit among the 21 pieces of firewood. They differ in length, measuring from the elbow to the tip of the little finger, the nameless finger and the middle finger respectively. (For marriage, where there is no hearth measuring one cubit square, the *paridhi*s are measured from the shoulder to the middle of the forearm, to the wrist and to the root of the fingers respectively.) The stick having the medium length should be the thickest. The head portion must always point either to the east or to the north.

302 *taṭiccatů* is a neuter verbal noun (with the suffix *-atů*) from the past tense stem of the Ma. verb *taṭikkuka* ‘to swell, become round and full, to become fat or thick’ (DEDR 3020).

1,3,4. DĪRGHAṀ MADHYAMAṀ DAKṢIṆATAḤ
the long one with a medium thickness to the south (of the fire)

NEṬIYATŬ[303] TEKKU VACCŬ
having placed the long one to the south (of the fire),

1,3,5. KANĪYASAM UTTARATAḤ
the one smaller (than the other two) to the north (of the fire)

1,3,6. SAṀSPṚṢṬĀN
so that they are in contact with each other

CEṞUT ĀYI KKUṞUT ĀYI YUḶḶATŬ[304] VAṬAKKŬ TĀḺE VACCŬ
having placed the short and small to the north (of the fire) beneath (the western stick),
KEḺAKK ĀDITYANE[305] SMARICC[306] ORU PŪV ĀRĀDHICCŬ[307]
having thrown a flower in worship while thinking of the Sun to the east (of the fire),[308]
(NEYYŬ AṬACCU[309])
(having covered the ghee,)[310]
VIḶĀKI
having poured water (from his fist) around (the fireplace over its rim),
CCANṮANAVUṀ PŪVUM ĀRĀDHICCŬ
having thrown sandalwood paste and flowers in worship,[311]

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[303] *neṭiyatŭ* is a neuter verbal noun from the past tense stem of the Ma. verb *neṭuka* 'to grow long' (DEDR 3738).

[304] *ceṟut' āyi kkuṟut' āyi y-uḷḷatŭ* 'that which is small and short' is a neuter noun derived (with the suffix *-tŭ*) from the adjective formed with the relative participle *uḷḷa* from adverbs formed with the suffixation of the gerund *āyi* from the pronominalized adjectives *cerutŭ* 'what is small' (DEDR 1594) and *kuṟutŭ* 'what is short' (DEDR 1851).

[305] *ādityane* is sg. acc. of Ma. *ādityan* (masc.) < Sanskrit *āditya-* m.

[306] *smariccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *smarikkuka* 'to remember, call to memory, think of' < Sanskrit *smṛ- smarati.*

[307] *ārādhiccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *ārādhikkuka* 'to offer in worship, worship with offering (of flowers etc.)' < Sanskrit *ā* + *rādh-*.

[308] There is no enclosing stick on the eastern side of the fire, where the sun is thought to be the enclosing stick. With the right hand in the *puṣpāñjali* pose, one flower is thrown in worship to the sun so that it falls east of the fire.

[309] *aṭaccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *aṭaykkuka, aṭekka* 'to close, shut' (DEDR 83).

[310] The ghee plate is covered with the fan made of the film of an areca branch *(pāḷa),* to prevent the water that will be sprinkled from falling on the ghee.

[311] First sandalwood paste is thrown around the fire eleven times, each time

SRUVAṀ VACCŬ
having placed down the offering ladle,[312]
GAṆAPATI NIVĒDICCŬ[313]
having given a food offering to Gaṇapati,[314]

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muttering the mantra 'Obeisance to the Fire!' *(agnaye namaḥ),* – first (1) west of the fire (*mumpil* 'in front'), then (2) west, (3) southeast (Agni's corner), (4) south, (5) southwest, (6) west, (7) northwest, (8) north, (9) northeast, (10) east, (11) west –; then water is again poured from the fist around the fireplace over its rim, and a flower (green tulasi leaf) is thrown eleven times in the same way, and once more water is poured from the fist around the fireplace over its rim.

[312] The offering ladle is put down temporarily to free the right hand for worship of Gaṇapati. It could in principle be placed anywhere, except on a flower, but because the *sruva* will be needed next to draw ghee, it is put down on the fan that covers the ghee plate.

[313] *nivēdiccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *nivēdikkuka* 'to offer food to a deity' < Sanskrit *ni* + *vid-* causative.

[314] With the right hand held in the *puṣpāñjali* pose (with fingers held together), a flower (green leaf of *vaikuṇṭha-tuḷasi*) is thrown in front of the standing oil lamp *(nila-viḷakku),* which represents Gaṇapati, muttering the mantra "*Gaṁ* (= the seed mantra of Gaṇapati)! Obeisance to Gaṇapati!" *(gaṁ gaṇapataye namaḥ).* Now that the god has been invited as a guest he is served food, and the rituals of food eating are performed. (On the rituals of food eating, cf. RANGACHARI 1931, p. 93-96.) Water is poured from the fist around a piece of jaggery *(śarkara),* which already before the beginning of the rite has been placed upon a piece of banana leaf before (i.e., to the west of) the oil lamp. This reflects the custom of beginning a meal in normal daily life, where it should first be sprinkled with water, together with the mantra *satyaṁ tva rteṇa pariṣiñcāmi,* or at night *ṛtaṁ tvā satyena pariṣiñcāmi.* The Sāmavedins do this silently in *gaṇapati-nivēdyam*, but the Ṛgvedins and Yajurvedins pronounce these mantras. Next, the jaggery is touched with the right hand. Then the right *kiṇṭi* is taken with both hands, and water is poured between the jaggery and the lamp. This is drinking water, *kuṭikku-nīr,* poured into the right hand of Gaṇapati, who is supposed to sip it three times with the mantra *amṛtopastaraṇam asi.* Next follow the five *prāṇāhuti*s; in his mind only, the sacrificer pours ghee in the fire five times with these five mantras: *prāṇāya svāhā, apānāya svāhā, vyānāya svāhā, udānāya svāhā, samānāya svāhā.* (The meal is begun by taking five small morsels of food and putting them into one's mouth as if offerings in the fire with these mantras; the morsels are picked up respectively with the thumb, nameless and little finger; the thumb, the forefinger and the middlefinger; the thumb, the middle and the nameless finger; the thumb (its middle joint) and the fore-, middle and nameless finger; the thumb (its middle joint) and all other fingers.) Then the right hand is washed, using the left *kiṇṭi*. –- Gaṇapati is worshipped as the remover of obstacles for the smooth function of rituals. If this worship is placed at the beginning of the rite, it is more elaborate than if it is inserted in the middle, as here, when it may consist of just throwing one flower in worship. – A Nampūtiri once forgot to worship Gaṇapati and asked if that would cause problems.

PAVITRAṀ KAḺICC
having removed the purifier(-ring),[315]
ĀTMĀRĀDHANA[316] CEYTŬ
having performed the worship of his own self,[317]

He was asked in return if the rite could be concluded without impediments. If yes, there was no harm, as the purpose had been achieved; it would have been a different matter if a fire offering had been forgotten. – Gaṇapati likes sweets, therefore he is usually given jaggery to eat. In the *upanayana* and *samāvartana,* Gaṇapati is instead offered an *aṭa* (rice ground and made into a paste with water and put on a plantain leaf, to which jaggery and cocoanut is added; the leaf is then folded and cooked in steam). In marriage, the *gaṇapati-nivēdyam* consists of a great amount of *kārōl appaṁ* (sweet round cakes made of ground rice mixed with water, liquified jaggery and small pieces of cocoanut; these *appam*s are cooked in a *kārōl,* a circular metal pan with five moulds for *appam*s, about 4 cm deep; ghee and paste are alternately poured into the moulds, and the ready *appam*s are picked out with a one metre long stick, *appa-k-kōl*). The *appam*s end up in the mouths of little boys, whose privilege it is to rush for them when the marriage rituals are over.

[315] The *pavitra* ring is removed after the *prāṇāhuti*.

[316] *ātmārādhana* 'worship of one's self'. The *Malayāḷam Lexicon* cites this compound from a passage very similar to this passage of the SSC, found in *Kauṣītaka-Caṭaṅṅŭ* 8: *gaṇapati nivēdiccŭ ātmārādhana ceytāl,* and also from Kuḻikkāṭṭu Maheśvaran Bhaṭṭatiri's Malayāḷam commentary on the *Tantrasamuccaya* (I,7 *iṣṭadevanṟe mūlamantraṁ koṇṭu dēhaśuddhi śaṁkhapūraṇaṁ ātmārādhanaṁ ceytu*); the word *ātmārādhana* does not seem to occur in the *Tantrasamuccaya* itself, written in Sanskrit by Cennāsŭ Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri in the 15th century, but the Sanskrit commentary *Vimarśinī* by the author's son Śaṅkaran does mention it at chapter 7, verse 30. The word is not known to standard Sanskrit dictionaries (pw, MW, R. SCHMIDT, APTE, SCHWARZ and PFEIFFER), and not even to the recent lexicon of Tantric terminology called *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* edited by H. BRUNNER et al. (vol. I, Wien 2000), but it might correspond to the term *ātmapūjā-* recorded there (p. 185) from the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (3,41, see BRUNNER-LACHAUX 1963: I, 142-3: here mention is made, among other things, of making the *tilaka* mark on the forehead, *vidhāya tilakaṁ mūrdhni* [with sandalwood paste, according to Aghoraśiva, *candanena lalāṭe tilakaṁ kṛtvā*]). See further the next note.

[317] Some sandalwood paste is put on the palm of the left hand, a little water is poured on it and the two are mixed with the middle finger of the right hand. With the middle and ring fingers of the right hand, a mark *(kuṟi)* is then made on the following places on the body: (1) the forehead *(neṯṯi),* (2) on the Adam's apple on the throat *(kaḻuttŭ),* (3) in the middle of the chest *(māṟŭ),* (4) just below the shoulder *(bāhumūlam)* on the right arm, (5) just below the shoulder on the left arm, (6) far down on the back. (On some occasions, a mark is made also on the back of the legs, on the calves.) Then the hands are washed, because the body has been touched, and a flower is taken with the right hand and tucked under the hair-braid on the crown *(muṭi).* This ends the *ātmārādhana.* MIR's description above covers only a portion of the Kerala Tantric *ātmārādhana* described by Kakkāṭŭ Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri (1959, pp. 19-20:

KAI KAḺUKI
having washed the hand(s),[318]
PPAVITRAM IṬṬU
having put the purifier(-ring) on (the ring-finger),
SRUVAM EṬUTTU
having taken up the offering ladle,

1,3,7.[319] DAKṢIṆATO 'GNER APĀṀ KOŚAṀ NINAYATY *ADITE 'NUMANYASVE*TI
To the south of the fire[320] he pours down a lot of water (with this mantra):
"O Aditi, give your approval!"

MANTRAPARIṢĒKAÑ[321] CEYVŪ[322]
you should perform the bathing with mantras around (the fire, saying)
ADITE NUMANYASVA
"O Aditi, give your approval!"

1,3,8.[323] *ANUMATE 'NUMANYASVE*TI PAŚCĀT
To the west (of the fire he pours down a lot of water with this mantra):
"O Anumati, give your approval!"

... candanaṁ raṇṭu kayyiluṁ ākki mūrddhādi pādāntaṁ vyāpakaṁ mūnnu prāvaśyam ceyyuka. ... candanaṁ raṇṭu kayyil ākki mūlaṁ colli dēhaṁ muḻuvan tēkkuka. kai kaḻuki raṇṭāmatuṁ candanaṁ eṭuttŭ mūlaṁ colli neṟṟi, kaḻuttŭ, māṟŭ, raṇṭu kaikaḷ iviṭaṅṅaḷil kuṟi yiṭuka. śivanŭ ī sthānaṅṅaḷil pañca brahmattil ōrō mantraṅṅaḷ colli kuṟi yiṭuka. viṣṇuvinnu dvādaśa nāmaṅṅaḷe kkoṇṭŭ dēhaśuddhiyil paṟañña sthānaṅṅaḷil mēlppōṭṭŭ (gōpikkuṟi yāyi) kuṟi yiṭuka...) and Kuḻikkāṭṭŭ Maheśvaran Bhaṭṭatirippāṭŭ (1974, pp. 183-4: *... pūjiccāl kayyil candanaṁ puraṭṭi mūlaṁ koṇṭŭ oru vyāpakaṁ ceytŭ viṣṇuvinuṁ durggaykkuṁ kēśavādi sthānattŭ kēśavādi koṇṭŭ ūrddhvapuṇḍravuṁ; śivannŭ neṟṟi, kaḻuttŭ, valatu cumal, iṭatu cumal, māṟŭ ī sthānaṅṅaḷil pañca brahmaṁ koṇṭu tiryakpuṇḍravuṁ, maṟṟ uḷḷavarkkŭ śivanu paṟañña sthānaṅṅaḷil mūlaṁ koṇṭŭ tiryakpuṇḍravuṁ āyi candanaṁ kuṟi yiṭṭŭ ...*)

[318] The hands are to be washed (again), because the body (the braid on the top of the head) has been touched.

[319] For JGS 1,3,7, cf. GGS 1,3,1 (*agnihotra*) ... *dakṣiṇajānvakto* [cf. JGS 1,3,1!] *dakṣiṇenāgnim* adite 'numanyasve*ty udakāñjaliṁ prasiñcet;* for JGS 1,3,7-13, cf. also GGS 1,8,2 (*darśa-pūrṇa-māsa*) *paryukṣya...*

[320] According to MIR, between the grass strewn around the fire *(paristaraṇa)* and the enclosing stick *(paridhi)*.

[321] The compound *mantrapariṣeka-* is unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries.

[322] *ceyvū* is the polite imperative (with the suffix -*v*-*ū*) of the Ma. verb *ceyka, ceyyuka* 'to do, make, perform' (DEDR 1957).

[323] For JGS 1,3,8, cf. GGS 1,3,2 anumate 'numanyasve*ti paścāt.*

ANUMATE NUMANYASVA
“O Anumati, give your approval!”

1,3,9.[324] *SARASVATE ’NUMANYASVE*TY UTTARATAḤ
To the north (of the fire he pours down a lot of water with this mantra):
“O Sarasvatī, give your approval!”

SARASVATE NUMANYASVA
“O Sarasvatī, give your approval!”

(SSC 1,16)

1,3,10.[325] *DEVA SAVITAḤ PRASUVE*TI
TRIḤ PRADAKṢIṆAM AGNIṀ PARIṢIÑCET
“O divine Instigator, instigate ...”, (saying) so
he should three times sunwise sprinkle water around the fire.
1,13,11. *DEVA SAVITAḤ PRASUVA YAJÑAṀ*
PRASUVA YAJÑAPATIṀ BHAGĀYA
DIVYO GANDHARVAḤ KETAPŪḤ KETAṀ NAḤ PUNĀTU
***VĀCASPATIR VĀCAṀ NAḤ SVADATV* ITI**
(The full wording of the mantra quoted by initial words is as follows:)
“O divine Instigator, instigate the sacrifice, instigate the lord of the sacrifice to good fortune! Let the heavenly, desire-purifying Gandharva purify our desire! Let the Lord of Speech sweeten our speech!”
1,3,12. SAKṚD YAJUṢĀ
Once with the formula,
1,3,13. DVIS TŪṢṆĪM
twice silently.

DEVA SAVITAḤ PRASUVA YAJÑAṀ
PRASUVA YAJÑAPATIṀ BHAGĀYA
DIVYO GANDHARVVAḤ KETAPŪḤ KETAN NAF PUNĀTU
VĀCASPATIR VVĀCAN NA SVADATU /
MŪNṞU VIḶĀKI

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[324] For JGS 1,3,9, cf. GGS 1,3,3 sarasvaty anumanyasve*ty uttarataḥ.*

[325] For JGS 1,3,10-13, cf. GGS 1,3,4 deva savitaḥ prasuve*ti pradakṣiṇam agniṁ paryukṣet sakṛd vā trir vā;* ŚGS 1,3,17 *yathoktaṁ paryukṣaṇam;* PGS 1,1,4 ... *paryukṣya*

having three times poured water (from his fist) around (the fireplace over its rim),
[once] with (the formula) “O divine Instigator...our speech!”, [twice silently,]

1,3,14 a.[326] ATHEDHMAM ĀDĀYA ...
Then, having taken fuel,

MŪNṞŬ CAMUTA VACC ECCŬ
Having put three pieces of firewood aside,[327]
PATINAÑCU[328] CAMUTA YEṬUTTU KOṆṬŬ
having taken 15 pieces of firewood[329]

1,3,14 b. ... SRUVEṆĀJYAṀ GṚHĪTVĀ ...
having taken ghee with the offering ladle

ORU SRUVAṀ KŌRI[330]
having drawn one ladle(ful) of ghee,[331]

1,3,14 c. ... ABHIGHĀRYA ...
having besprinkled (the pieces of firewood) with ghee

YABHIGHĀRICCŬ[332]
having besprinkled (the 15 pieces of firewood) with ghee

1,3,14 d. ... AGNĀV ABHYĀDADHĀTY
AYAṀ TA IDHMA ĀTMĀ JĀTAVEDAS
TENA VARDHASVA CEDHYASVA CENDDHI
VARDHAYA CĀSMĀN PRAJAYĀ PAŚUBHIR
***BRAHMAVARCASENĀNNĀDYENA SAMEDHAYA SVĀHE*TI**

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[326] For JGS 1,3,14, cf. ŚGS 1,3,16 *prāk prāgāhuteḥ samidham eke;* PGS 1,1,4 ... *samidho 'bhyādhāya* ...

[327] The bundle of 18 sticks of firewood, kept to the north of the fire and the vessel of the *praṇīta* water, is taken up, the tie is removed, and three sticks are pulled out and placed back where the bundle had been for later use (see JGS 1,4,8).

[328] *patinañcŭ* is ‘15’ in Ma. < *patin-* sg. oblique of Ma. *pattu* ‘10’ (DEDR 3918) + Ma. *añcŭ* ‘5’ (DEDR 2826).

[329] These 15 pieces of firewood remaining from the bundle of originally 18 sticks are held in the left hand.

[330] *kōri* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kōruka* ‘to draw (liquid), gather up, ladle out’ (DEDR 2231).

[331] With the offering ladle held in the right hand.

[332] *abhighāriccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *abhighārikkuka* ‘to sprinkle with ghee’ < Sanskrit *abhi* + *ghṛ-* causative.

he lays them in the fire (with the following mantra):
"This firewood is your body, O Jātavedas. By means of it, grow and become kindled, and kindle us and make us grow with offspring and cows! Make us prosper with brahmanical glory and food! *Svāhā!*"

IDHMAṀ CEYVŪ
you should offer the firewood (with the following mantra):[333]
AYAN TA IDHMA ĀTMĀ JĀTAVEDAS
TENA VARDDHASVA CEDDHYASVA CENDDHI VARDDHAYA CĀSMĀN
PRAJAYĀ PAŚUBHIR BRAHMAVARCCASENĀNNĀDYENA SAMEDHAYA SVĀHĀ.

(SSC 1,17)

1,3,15.[334] MANASĀGHĀRAU JUHOTI SAṀTATAM AKṢṆAYĀ
(While pronouncing the accompanying mantras just) mentally, he pours two ghee sprinklings continuously across (the fire):

1,3,16. *PRAJĀPATAYE SVĀHE*TY
UTTARAṀ PARIDHISANDHIM ANVAVAHṚTYA SRUVAM
lowering the offering ladle to the northern joint of the enclosing sticks, (he pours the first one with the mantra)
"To Prajāpati, *svāhā!*"

CAMUTA MĒL KATTI[335] PIṬICCĀL[336]
after the fire has started flaming on the fuel,
ORU SRUVAṀ KŌRI
having drawn one ladle(ful) of ghee,

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[333] The sticks of firewood are now taken into the right hand (held with the thumb, the forefinger and the middle finger) beneath the offering ladle (held with the thumb and the nameless and little finger). When the mantra has been uttered, they are thrown in the fire at the final word *svāhā.*

[334] For JGS 1,3,15-17, cf. ŚGS 1,9,4 *sruveṇājyāhutīr juhoti,* 5 *uttarapaścārdhād agner ārabhyāvichinnaṁ dakṣiṇato juhoti* tvam agne pramatir *iti,* 6 *dakṣiṇapaścārdhād agner ārabhyāvichinnam uttarato juhoti* yasyeme himavanta *iti.*

[335] *katti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *kattuka* 'to burn with flame' (DEDR 1207). According to MIR, this is old language *(paḻaya bhāṣā);* in current Malayalam, the verb is *kattikkuka* (past *katticcu,* the gerund *katticcŭ*) 'to kindle, set on fire, burn with a blaze', and *katti* is used almost exclusively as a noun meaning 'knife'.

[336] *piṭiccāl* is the conditional of the Ma. verb *piṭikkuka* 'to catch, hold, take effect, begin' (DEDR 4148).

VAṬAKKĒ PPARIDHI SANDHI MĒL VACCU
having placed (the head of the offering ladle) over that joint of the enclosing sticks which is in the north,
PRAJĀPATAYE ENṮU SMARICCU
thinking (i.e., saying silently) thus: "To Prajāpati",[337]
SVĀHĀ ENṮU KŌṆ[338] MUṬIYUM ĀṞU CEYTU
having offered, while saying (aloud) "*svāhā!*" , so that (the libation) ends at the (southeastern) corner,[339]
AVIṬE[340] TTANNE[341] VACC
having put (the offering ladle) down[342] to that very same place (where it was before the libation),
EṬUTTU KOṆṬU
having taken (the offering ladle) up,

1,3,17. *INDRĀYA SVĀHE*TI
DAKṢIṆAṀ PARIDHISANDHIM ANVAVAHṚTYA
lowering (the offering ladle) to the southern joint of the enclosing sticks,
(he pours the second one with the mantra) "To Indra, *svāhā!*"

PINNE YORU SRUVAṀ
then (having again drawn) one ladle(ful of ghee),
TTEKKE PPARIDHI SANDHI MĒL VACCU
having placed (the offering ladle) over that joint of the enclosing sticks which is in the south,
INDRĀYA ENṮU SMARICCU
thinking thus: "To Indra",
SVĀHĀ ENṮU KŌṆ MUṬIYUM ĀṞU CEYTU
having offered, while saying (aloud) "*svāhā!*" , so that (the libation) ends at the (northeastern) corner,
AVIṬE TTANNE VACC
having put (the offering ladle) down to that very place (where it was before the libation),

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[337] According to MIR, this is said in a low voice, because there is only one officiant here, while in a śrauta sacrifice this would be said by another priest.

[338] *kōṇ* is 'angle, corner' in Ma. (DEDR 2209).

[339] This is the diagonally opposing corner from the starting point.

[340] *aviṭe* is 'there' in Ma. < *a-* 'that' (DEDR 1) + *iṭa, -iṭe* 'place' (DEDR 234).

[341] *tanne* 'only, just', an invariable emphatic clitic < the reflexive pronoun *tān* '(one)self' (DEDR 3196) + the emphatic clitic *-e*.

[342] According to MIR, he just touches the place with the offering ladle and immediately takes it up again.

EṬUTTU KOṆṬU
having taken (the offering ladle) up,

1,3,18.[343] ĀGHĀRAU HUTVĀJYABHĀGAU JUHOTI
Having poured (in the fire) the two ghee sprinklings, he pours (in the fire) the two ghee portions:
1,3,19. *AGNAYE SVĀHE*TY UTTARATAḤ
(the first one he pours) in the north(ern part of the fire, saying): "To Agni, *svāhā!*"

VAṬAKKU *AGNAYE SVĀHĀ* ENṮU CEYTU
having offered in the north(ern part of the fire, saying): "To Agni, *svāhā!*",

1,3,20. *SOMĀYA SVĀHE*TI DAKṢIṆATAḤ
(the second one he pours) in the south(ern part of the fire, saying): "To Soma, *svāhā!*"

TEKKU *SOMĀYA SVĀHĀ* ENṮU CEYTU
having offered in the south(ern part of the fire, saying): "To Soma, *svāhā!*",

1,3,21.[344] TĀV ANTAREṆĀHUTILOKAḤ
Between these two (libation spots in the northern and southern part of the fire is) the place of offering (the principal oblations).

1,3,22. *BHŪḤ SVĀHĀ BHUVAḤ SVĀHĀ SVAḤ SVĀHĀ BHŪR BHUVAḤ SVAḤ SVĀHE*TI
"Earth, *svāhā!* (Intermediate) worlds, *svāhā!* Sky, *svāhā!* Earth, (Intermediate) worlds, Sky, *svāhā!*", so (saying),

NAṬUVĒ VYĀHṚTIKAḶ[345] CEYVŪ
you should offer in the centre (of the fire) (the ghee libations of) the (cosmic) utterances:
BHŪ SVĀHĀ BHUVA SVĀHĀ SVA SVĀHĀ BHŪR BHUVA SVA SVĀHĀ.
(Here ends the first of the three parts of the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka*, this basic pattern of homa offerings, called *agnimukham.*[346])

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[343] For JGS 1,3,18-22, cf. GGS 1,8,4-5; ŚGS 1,9,7 *āgneyam uttaram ājyabhāgaṁ saumyaṁ dakṣiṇam;* PGS 1,2,7.

[344] For JGS 1,3,21-22, cf. GGS 1,9,23; ŚGS 1,9,8 *madhye 'nya āhutayaḥ.*

[345] *vyāhṛtikaḷ* is plural (zero accusative) of Ma. *vyāhṛti* < Sanskrit *vyāhṛti-*.

[346] The name *agnimukham* may be translated either 'the face of Agni' or 'the mouth of Agni': the two places in the northern and southern part of the sacrificial

(Now starts the second, middlemost part, called *pradhānam,* 'the principal offerings'.)

(SSC 1,18)

1,3,30.[347] SRUVE SAKR̥D ĀJYAM UPASTR̥ṆĀTI
He once spreads (a layer of) ghee over the offering ladle.

SRUVATTINNU[348] TĀḺE ELA[349] KŪṬṬI PPIṬICCU KOṆṬU
keeping a leaf immediately beneath the offering ladle,[350]
HAVISSILUṀ SRUVATTILUṀ UPASTARICCŬ[351]
having spread (a layer of ghee) both over the offering substance and the offering ladle,[352]

1,3,31. DVIR HAVIṢO 'VADYATI
He cuts twice of the offering substance (and puts them on the offering ladle).

KEḺAKKINṞUṀ[353] PAṬIÑÑĀṞINṞUṀ[354] AVADICCŬ[355]
having cut (of the offering substance) both from the east and from the west[356]

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fire where the two ghee portions are offered (JGS 1,3,18-20) are imagined to be the eyes of Agni, and the place in the middle where the libation of the cosmic utterances and the principal offerings are poured (JGS 1,3,21-22) is imagined to be the mouth of Agni.

[347] For JGS 1,3,30-41, cf. GGS 1,8,6-24.

[348] *sruvattinnŭ* is sg. dative of Ma. *sruvam* < Sanskrit *sruva-*.

[349] *ela* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *ila* (standard Ma.) (both forms in SSC mss.) 'leaf' (DEDR 497).

[350] A big leaf, either a banana leaf or a *palāśa* leaf, is placed beneath the offering ladle, with its top beneath the tip of the ladle. The leaf is not torn. Initially one keeps the left arm beneath the leaf, holding the tip of the offering ladle with the left hand. The function of the leaf is to prevent the offering substance from falling off the offering ladle, which is very narrow.

[351] *upastariccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *upastarikkuka* < Sanskrit *upa* + *stṛ-*.

[352] The ghee is spread with the forefinger (cf. JGS 1,3,40) both on the *havis* (which is in the *uruḷi* vessel) and on the tip of the offering ladle.

[353] *keḺakkinṞuṁ* = *keḺakkŭ* + *ninṞŭ* = *ninnŭ* + *-um.*

[354] *paṭiññāṞinṞuṁ* = *paṭiññāṞŭ* + *ninṞŭ* = *ninnŭ* + *-um.*

[355] *avadiccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *avadikkuka* < Sanskrit *ava* + *dā-*.

[356] At the first principal *(pradhāna)* homa, the offering substance *(havis)* is cut first from the eastern side and then from the western side. (The opposite order is followed at any subsequent principal offering, cf. SSC 1,19.) Cutting means taking it

1,3,32. SAKṚD ĀJYENA
(He sprinkles these two cuttings) once with the ghee.
1,3,33. PRATYABHIGHĀRAYATI
He sprinkles a countersprinkling (of ghee on the remaining sacrificial substance).
1,3,34. AṄGUṢṬHENĀṄGULIBHYĀṀ CA MĀṀSASAṀHITĀBHYĀM
(The offering substance is cut) with the thumb and two fingers[357] joined with each other up to the flesh.[358]
1,3,35. DVIR HAVIṢO 'VADYATI.
He cuts twice of the sacrificial substance.
1,3,36. DVIR ĀJYENA
(He sprinkles these two cuttings) twice with the ghee.
1,3,37. PRATYABHIGHĀRAYATI
He sprinkles a countersprinkling (of ghee on the remaining sacrificial substance).
1,3,38. JĀMADAGNYĀNĀM
(This is done) for the descendants of Jamadagni.

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from the vessel with the middle and nameless fingers and the thumb of the right hand (cf. JGS 1,3,34). The portion taken first from the eastern side is placed on the eastern side of the offering ladle, and the second portion taken from the west is placed on its western side.

[357] According to *Vaikhānasa-Śrautasūtra* 6,8, the nameless and the middle finger of the right hand *(adhvaryur māṁsasaṁhitābhyāṁ dakṣiṇānāmikāmadhyamābhyāṁ aṅguṣṭhena cāṅguṣṭhaparvamātraṁ ... avadyati).*

[358] That is, joined on their whole length to each other, flesh to flesh, so that no space remains between them. Cf. Bhavatrāta: *haviravadāne karaṇaviśeṣaḥ kriyate / aṅguṣṭhena tatsannikṛṣṭābhyāñ cāṅgulibhyām anyo'nyam āmāṁsasaṁhitābhyāṁ māṁsavat saṁhitābhyām atyantasaṁhitābhyām apiparasaṁhitābhyaṁ haviṣo 'vadyati / prāṇināṁ śarīrabhāgeṣu māṁsaṁ khaḍgādicchedaviśliṣṭaṁ paścāt sandadhad apiparaṁ sandadhāti / tenedam aṅgulyos sandhānam iti saṁśleṣārtham upamīyate /.* Rudradatta on *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* 2,18,10, however, glosses *anakhasaṁhitābhyām,* which seems to mean that the thumb is joined to the flesh side and not the nail side of these two fingers. In *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* 2,6,40, the thumb and two fingers have become the thumb and one finger (according to Mahādeva, the pointer): *aṅguṣṭhāṅgulibhyāṁ māṁsasaṁhitābhyām avadyanty eke,* and Yājñikadeva explains that the two are to be joined on the inside marked by the flesh so that the nails do not touch *(śākhino māṁsopalakṣitāntaḥpradeśasambandhāb hyām aṅguṣṭhāṅgulibhyāṁ nakhābhyām aspṛśanto havīṁsy avadyanti);* others cut the offering substance with a span-long stick made of *varaṇa* wood *(Crataeva Roxburghii)* and called 'cutter of the cooked', *śṛtāvadāna (anye tu śṛtāvadānasaṁjñakena vāraṇena prādeśamātreṇa kāṣṭhena).*

1,3,39. TADD HI PAÑCĀVATTAṀ BHAVATI
For then the oblation becomes fivefold cut.
1,3,40. AṄGULYĀ TṚṆAKŪRCENA VĀ
(The cutting or the sprinkling with ghee[359] may be done) either with a finger[360] or with a bunch of grass stalks.

AVADĀNATTIN[361] MĒLUṀ HAVISSILUṀ UPASTARICCU
having spread (a layer of ghee) both over the piece cut (and placed on the ladle) and on (the rest of) the sacrificial substance,
PAÑCĀVATTI[362] YĀKIL[363] AVADĀNATTIN MĒL RAṆṬ UPASTARICCU
If you are a person of five cuts,[364] having spread two (layers of ghee) over the cut portion,

1,3,23. *AGNAYE 'GNĪṢOMĀBHYĀM* ITI PAURṆAMĀSYĀM
On a full-moon day, (saying) "To Agni" (and) "To Agni and Soma",
1,3,25.[365] UTTARAPŪRVĀM UTTARAPŪRVĀM ĀHUTIṀ

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[359] CALAND understands this to be an alternative to the way of cutting the offering substance prescribed in JGS 1,3,34, but according to Śrīnivāsa the present rule relates to the sprinkling with ghee that has just been the subject of discussion *(vihitam upastaraṇam abhighāraṇaṁ cāṅgulyā tarjanyā darbhakūrcena vā kartavyam ity arthaḥ)* and Bhavatrāta interprets the sūtra in a similar way *(aṅgulyā vā tṛṇakūrcena vā upastṛṇāty abhighārayati pratyabhighārayati ca / tritayasyāpi hy asya karaṇasya viśeṣākāṅkṣā tulyā).*

[360] According to Śrīnivāsa, the forefinger is meant *(tarjanyā-).* Bhavatrāta bases this conclusion on the fact that the rule relating to the *agnihotra*, which runs *dvir aṅgulyā prāśnāti* (in *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* 1,41: 17,8), is repeated with the wording *dviḥ pradeśinyā* (in *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* 2,9,14). Among the Nampūtiri Brahmins of Kerala, only the Sāmavedins do the spreading of a layer of ghee *(upastaraṇa)* by taking it with finger from the *ājyasthālī.* The Ṛgvedins and Yajurvedins do it with the *sruva* (and, in śrauta rites, with the *juhū* ladle used for taking ghee); they laugh at the Sāmavedic practice (MIR).

[361] *avadānattin* is sg. oblique of Ma. *avadānam* < Sanskrit *avadāna-* n. This word denotes that portion of the offering substance that has been cut and has been placed on the offering ladle.

[362] Ma. *pañcāvatti* < Sanskrit *pañcāvattin-* 'diving into five parts' < *pañca* + *ava-tta-* (the past participle of *dā- dyati* 'to divide') + *-in-*. MIR understood Ma. *pañcāvatti* to mean 'five times' and to come from Sanskrit *pañca* + *āvṛtti-* f. 'return, repetition'.

[363] *ākil* is the conditional of the Ma. verb *ākuka* 'to be, become' (DEDR 333).

[364] There are some Nampūtiri houses where this tradition is followed, among the Sāmavedins nowadays only in the Kōṭṭayam district of Kerala.

[365] The GGS, speaking of the two offerings at the evening and morning *agnihotra*,

JUHOTI
he offers the oblation so that each later one is (poured) to the east (of the previous one)[366]
1,3,26. ANABHIJUHVAD ĀHUTYĀHUTIM
without pouring (the subsequent) oblation over (the preceding) oblation
1,3,27. PRATYAK SAUVIṢṬAKṚTASTHĀNĀT
to the west of the place for the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt[367]

CEYVŪ
you should offer (saying):
AGNAYE SVĀHĀ /
"To Agni, *svāhā*!"

(SSC 1,19)

PINNE SRUVATTIL UPASTARICCU
having again spread (a layer of ghee) on the offering ladle,
PAṬIÑÑĀṞINṬUM KEḺAKKINṬUM AVADICCU
having cut (of the offering substance) both from the west and from the east[368]

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defines the respective locations in both cases to be (1) in the middle of the fire and (2) in the northeastern corner, cf. GGS 1,3,10 agnaye svāhe*ti pūrvāṁ tūṣṇīm uttarāṁ madhye cāparājitāyāṁ ca diśīti sāyam,* 11 *atha prātaḥ* sūryāya svāhe*ti pūrvāṁ tūṣṇīn evottarāṁ madhye caivāparājitāyāñ caiva diśi.*

[366] Thus according to the commentary of Bhavatrāta: *uttarakālaṁ hotavyā ity uttarā / uttarapūrvasyān diśi hotavyā iti vā uttarapūrvā / uttarā asyā pūrve ity uttarapūrvā / anādiṣṭasthānām āhutim uttarapūrvāñ juhoti / uparitanīm āhutim adhastanyāḥ prāgbhāge juhuyād ity arthaḥ / nanv akṛtvā dvirvacanam* uttarapūrvā āhutīr *ity ukte 'py ayam arthas sidhyati / na sidhyati / tadā hy evam āśaṅkyeta: uttarapūrvām diśam abhīti, yathā prācī pratīcīti.* CALAND understands the sūtra in just the way it should not be understood according to Bhavatrāta: "in northeastern direction".

[367] The place where the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt is offered is in the eastern part of the fireplace, as stated in the next sūtra JGS 1,3,28. The Nampūtiri Jaiminīyas pour all principal offerings in the middle of the fireplace and the *sviṣṭakṛt homa* in the northeastern corner.

[368] When the offering substance is cut for the second principal offering, the two portions are taken from its western end and then from its eastern end (and not vice versa, as at the first principal offering, cf. on JGS 1,3,31). This west-east rule holds good for any further principal offerings too (in the *puṁsavana* rite, for example, there are seven *pradhāna homa*s).

AVADĀNATTIN MĒLUṀ HAVISSILUM UPASTARICCŬ
having spread (a layer of ghee) both over the piece cut and (the rest of) the sacrificial substance,
CEYVŪ
you should offer (saying):
AGNĪṢŌMĀBHYĀṀ SVĀHĀ /
"To Agni and Soma, *svāhā!*"

(SSC 1,20)

1,3,24. *AGNAYA INDRĀGNIBHYĀM* ITY AMĀVĀSYĀM
On a new moon day (he offers the two oblations saying) "To Agni" (and) "To Agni and Indra"

AMĀVĀSI[369] YĀKIL
If it is a new moon day,
AGNAYE SVĀHĀ ENṮUM *INDRĀGNIBHYĀṀ SVĀHĀ* ENṮUÑ CEYVŪ.
you should offer saying, "To Agni, *svāhā!*" and "To Agni and Indra, *svāhā!*"

(SSC 1,21)

1,3,28. NITYO 'GNIḤ PURASTĀT SVIṢṬAKṚD ANTE 'NYATRA VAPĀHOMĀJYAHOMĀBHYĀM
(The oblation to) Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (is) always in the east(ern part of the fireplace) at the end (of the principal offerings), except when the omentum is offered and when ghee is offered.

PINNE SVIṢṬAKṚTTŬ[370] CEYVŪ
Then you should offer (the oblation to) Sviṣṭakṛt.[371]

(SSC 1,22)

1,3,29. NA SVIṢṬAKṚTAṀ PRATYABHIGHĀRAYATI
He does not perform a countersprinkling on the Sviṣṭakṛt oblation.

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[369] Ma. *amāvāsi* < Sanskrit *amāvāsī-* f.
[370] Ma. *sviṣṭakṛttŭ* < Sanskrit *sviṣṭakṛt-*.
[371] Strictly speaking, the *sviṣṭakṛt* offering does not belong to the principal *(pradhāna) homa*s, but is included in the middlemost part of the pattern of *homa* rites, called *pradhānam.*

SRUVATTIL UPASTARICCU
Having spread (a layer of ghee) on the offering ladle,
VAṬAKKINṮU[372] ONṮ AVADICCU
having cut one piece from the north (end of the sacrificial substance),[373]
RAṆṬ UPASTARICCU
having spread two (layers of ghee) (over the cut portion),
SVIṢṬAKṚTTU CEYVŪ
you should offer the Sviṣṭakṛt (oblation saying):
AGNAYE SVIṢṬAKṚTE SVĀHĀ
"To Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, *svāhā!*"
ĪŚĀNTA[374] KŌṆATTU CEYTU.
offering in the (northeastern) corner sacred to the Lord (i.e., Śiva).

(SSC 1,23)

PAÑCĀVATTI YĀKIL
If you are a person of five cuts,
RAṆṬU AVADICCU KOḶḶŪ.
you should make two cuts (of the sacrificial substance).[375]

1,3,41.[376] EṢĀ HOMĀVṚT SARVATRA
This is the mode of a burnt offering everywhere.

(Here ends the second, middlemost part, called *pradhānam,* 'the principal offerings'.)

(Now starts the third, concluding part, called [from the initial word in JGS 1,4,1] *sapavitram.*)

(SSC 1,24)

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[372] *vaṭakkinṯŭ = vaṭakku ninṯŭ = vaṭakku ninnŭ.*

[373] The offering substance is always cut on the north side only for the Sviṣṭakṛt *homa*.

[374] Ma. *īśāntam* 'the north-east quarter' (thus the *Malayāḷam Lexicon*) < Sanskrit *īśānta-* (= *īśa-* m. 'lord' + *anta-* m. n. 'end, border, limit'), but this compound is not known to Sanskrit dictionaries; perhaps originally from a misreading of *īśāna-kōṇa-*.

[375] Both of these two cuts of the sacrificial substance for the Sviṣṭakṛt *homa* are to be made on the north side.

[376] For JGS 1,3,41, cf. GGS 1,9,20 *eṣo 'ta ūrdhvaṁ havirāhutiṣu nyāyaḥ;* ŚGS 1,9,19 *vyākhyātaḥ pratiśrute homakalpaḥ;* PGS 1,1,5 *eṣa eva vidhir yatra kva cidd homaḥ.*

1,4,1.[377] SAPAVITRAṀ PRASTARAM ĀDATTE
He takes hold of the prastara bunch together with the (two) purifiers.

SRUVAṀ VAṬAKK AGRAM ĀYI ĀJYASTHĀLIKKU[378] PAṬIÑÑĀṞE NELATTU MALARTTI[379] VACCU
Having placed the offering ladle mouth upwards on the ground west of the ghee plate with its tip to the north,
KAI KAḺUKI
having washed the hand(s),
PRASTARAM EṬUTTU
having taken up the *prastara* bunch,

1,4,2. TASYĀGRĀṆI SRUVE 'NAKTI
***DIVY AṄKṢVE*TI**
He anoints its tips in the offering ladle (with this mantra):
"Anoint yourself in the sky!"

AGRAṀ SRUVATTIL KUTTŪ
you should thrust the tip into (the tip of) the offering ladle (saying):
DIVY AṀKṢVA /
"Anoint yourself in the sky!"

1,4,3. MADHYAM ĀJYE
***'NTARIKṢE 'ṄKṢVE*TI**
(He anoints its) middle in the ghee (with this mantra):
"Anoint yourself in the atmosphere!"

NAṬUV **OṬICCU**[380] NEYIL[381]
(you should thrust) the middle into the ghee (plate), having (first) broken it into two, (saying):
ANTARIKṢE ṀKṢVA /
"Anoint yourself in the atmosphere!"

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377 For JGS 1,4,1-8, cf. GGS 1,8,25 *samidham ādhāyānuparyukṣya yajñavāstu karoti,* 26 *tata eva barhiṣaḥ kuśamuṣṭim ādāyājye vā haviṣi vā trir avadadhyād agrāṇi madhyāni mūlānīty* aktaṁ rihāṇā vyantu vaya *iti,* 27 *athainam adbhir abhyukṣyāgnāv apyarjayed* yaḥ paśūnām adhipatī rudras tanticaro vṛṣā / paśūn asmākaṁ mā hiṁsīr etad astu hutaṁ tava svāhe*ti,* 28 *etad yajñavāstv ity ācakṣate;* ŚGS 1,9,13-15.

378 *ājyasthālikkŭ* is sg. dative of Ma. *ājyasthāli* < Sanskrit *ājyasthālī-* f.

379 *malartti* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *malarttuka* 'to turn the face or mouth upward (as a pot), to place on the back' (DEDR 4740). (The antonym is *kamutti,* the gerund of the Ma. verb *kamuttuka* 'to turn upside down', cf. SSC 1,28.)

380 *oṭiccŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *oṭikkuka* 'to break, break into two' (DEDR 946).

381 *neyil* or *neyyil* (both readings in the SSC mss.) = *ājyasthāliyil* (MIR).

1,4,4. MŪLĀNI HAVIṢI
***PṚTHIVYĀM AṄKṢVE*TI**
(He anoints its) roots in the offering substance (with this mantra): "Anoint yourself on the earth!"

KAṬA HAVISSIL
(you should thrust) the tail into the offering substance (saying):
PṚTHIVYĀM AṀKṢVA /
"Anoint yourself on the earth!"

(SSC 1,25)

1,4,5. PRASTARĀT TṚṆAṀ NIRASYATY
***ĀYUṢE TVE*TI**
He throws away a blade of grass from the prastara bunch (with this mantra):
"Thee for the life!"

ĀYUṢE TVĀ ENṮ
"Thee for the life!", so saying
ORU PULLU KAṬA PIṬICC ŪRI VACC ECCU
having pulled one blade of grass (from the *prastara* bunch) by holding its tail and put it down,

1,4,6. PRASTARAM AGNĀV ANUPRAHARATY
***AGNAYE 'NUMATAYE SVĀHE*TI**
He thereafter throws the prastara branch in the fire (with this mantra):
"For Agni, for Anumati, *svāhā*!"

KEṬṬ[382] ELLĀṀ MĒL NŌKKI YŪRI
having pulled all the ties upwards,[383]
AGRATTINU[384] TĀḺE KOḶUTTI KKOṆṬU
having kindled (the *prastara* bunch) beneath (its) tip (and having thrown it in the fire, saying):
AGNAYE NUMATAYE SVĀHĀ
"For Agni, for Anumati, *svāhā*!"

1,4,7. PAŚCĀT TṚṆAM ANUPRAHARATI

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[382] *keṭṭu* is 'tie, bundle, band' in Ma. (DEDR 1147).

[383] If the ties would be drawn off downwards, the grass blade would cut the hand.

[384] *agrattinŭ* = *agrattinnŭ* (both forms in SSC mss.) is sg. dative of Ma. *agram* < Sanskrit *agra-* n.

***DVIṢANTAṀ ME 'BHIDHEHI TAṀ CAIVA PRADAHA SVĀHE*TI**
After (that) he throws the blade of grass forth (in the fire) (with the mantra):
"Bind him who hates me and burn him, *svāhā*!"

ŪRI VACCA PULLUM AGRATTINU TĀḺE KOḶUTTI
having kindled beneath the tip also that blade of grass that had been pulled out and put down (and having thrown it in the fire, saying):
DVIṢANTAṀ ME BHIDHEHI TAÑ CAIVA PRADAHA SVĀHĀ
"Bind him who hates me and burn him, *svāhā*!"
KAI KAḺUKI
having washed the hand(s),[385]

1,4,8.[386] GHṚTENĀKTĀS SAMIDHA ĀDADHĀTI
SAMIDDHYAI **(CALAND's ed.** ***SAMṚDDHYAI*****)** ***SVĀHE*TI**
He puts pieces of firewood anointed with ghee (in the fire) (with the mantra):
"To burning (or: To success), *svāhā*!"

CCAMUTA MŪNṮUN NEY TĒCCU[387]
having smeared ghee on three pieces of firewood[388] (and having thrown them in the fire, saying)
SAMIDDHYAI SVĀHĀ
"To burning, *svāhā*!"

1,4,9 a. BHŪMIM ĀRABHYA ...
Having taken hold of the earth

NELAN TOṬṬU
having touched the ground,[389]

1,4,9 b. ... ŚĪRṢAṆYĀN PRĀṆĀN UPASPṚŚET
he should touch the 'breaths' (i.e., organs of sense) in the head

[385] Cf. ŚGS 1,10,9 *raudraṁ tu rākṣasaṁ pitryam āsuraṁ cābhicārikam / uktvā mantraṁ spṛśed apa ālabhyātmānam eva ca //.*

[386] For JGS 1,4,8, cf. GGS 1,3,12 and 1,8,25 *samidham ādhāya...*; ŚGS 1,9,16 *tisraḥ samidho 'bhyādhāya.*

[387] *tēccù* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *tēkkuka, tēykkuka* 'to rub (in), smear' (DEDR 3458).

[388] These three pieces of firewood had been set aside earlier, cf. at JGS 1,3,14.

[389] With the whole palm on the ground, cf. the note at JGS 1,1,32. MIR remembered that here only the fingertips should touch the ground, but the reading implying this meaning, *piṭiccù,* is not found in the mss. (they read just *toṭṭù*). He also thought the mss. would prescribe putting the offering ladle on the ground before this, but the phrase *sruvaṁ vaccù* is not found in the mss. here nor at JGS 1,1,32.

(EṬATTU TIRIÑÑU)
(having turned to the left,)
PAVITRAṀ KAḺICCU
having removed the purifier(-ring),
PRĀṆAṄṄAḶE TTOṬṬU
having touched the 'breaths' (i.e., organs of sense),
VĀYKKAL NIṞUTTI
having stopped at the mouth,

1,4,10 a. APA UPASPṚŚYA ...
having touched water,

KAI KAḺUKI
having washed the hand(s),
VALATTU TIRIÑÑU
having turned (back) to the right,
PAVITRAM IṬṬU
having put the purifier(-ring) on (the ring-finger),[390]

1,4,10 b. ... DVĀDAŚA PRĀYAŚCITTĀHUTĪR JUHOTY
he pours the twelve libations of expiation (with these mantras):
***(1) ĀKŪTYAI SVĀHĀ ... (12) BHŪR BHUVAḤ SVAḤ SVĀHE*TI**[391]

DVĀDAŚA PRĀYAŚCITTĀHUTIKAḶ CEYVŪ
you should offer the twelve libations of expiation (saying):[392]
(1) ĀKŪTYAI SVĀHĀ ... (12) BHŪR BHUVA SVA SVĀHĀ.

(SSC 1,26)

1,4,11 a. YATHĀSTĪRṆAN[393] DARBHĀN ĀNĪYA ...
Having taken[394] the blades of *darbha* grass as they had been strewn

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390 Hereafter MIR thought there should be *sruvam eṭuttŭ* 'having taken up the offering ladle', but this is not found in the mss.

391 Here and in the SSC I am omitting the ten mantras in the middle.

392 All of these libations are poured in the middle of the fire.

393 The JGS manuscript of the plain text from Tirucchirappaḷḷi (M1) recorded by CALAND in his critical apparatus reads *yathāstīrṇaṁ.* In the quotation of this sūtra in Bhavatrāta's commentary on JGS 1,10,34, the reading is *yathāstīrṇṇan;* the *pratīka* of sūtra 1,4,11 in Bhavatrāta's commentary also is *yathā / iti /*, and his commentary starts with the gloss *staraṇakrameṇa.* CALAND's JGS edition reads with the BURNELL ms. of the India Office Library (B) *athāstīrṇān,* while the second Madras manuscript containing Śrīnivāsa's commentary (M2) reads *vistīrṇān.*

394 Bhavatrāta glosses *ānīya* 'having brought' with *ādāya.*

DARBHĀGRATTŌṬU[395] KŪṬA[396] KKŌRI VĀRTTU[397]
Having drawn (ghee) by pouring (it from the ghee plate held in the left hand into the offering ladle held in the right hand) together with (two) tips of *darbha* grass (placed shortly before on the tip of the offering ladle)[398]
PARISTARAṆAṀ VACCA[399] KRAMATTĀLE[400]
KEḺAKKETUN[401] TEKKETUṀ VAṬAKKETUṀ
PAṬIÑÑĀṞETUM EṬUTTU
having taken up the grass strewn around (the fire) in the very same order that it was placed, from the east and south and north and west,

1,4,11 b. ... PRAṆĪTĀNĀṀ CA SRUVASYOPARIṢṬĀT KṚTVĀ ...
and having placed them above the *praṇīta* water and the offering ladle

EṬATTU KAIYIL PIṬICCU
keeping (the grass strewn around the fire and now taken up) in the left hand,
SRUVAṀ KĪḺE[402] KŪṬṬI PPIṬICCU
keeping the offering ladle immediately beneath (the grass in the left hand),
PRAṆĪTEṬE[403] MĪTE[404] KĀṬṬI
showing (= placing) them over the *praṇīta* water,

1,4,11 c. ... APAḤ SRĀVAYAÑ JAPATI
SAD ASI SAN ME BHŪYĀḤ
SARVAM ASI SARVAṀ ME BHŪYĀḤ

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[395] *darbhāgrattōṭu* is sg. sociative of Ma. *darbhāgram* < Sanskrit *darbhāgra-* n.

[396] *kūṭa* = *kūṭe* (both forms in SSC mss.) 'together with, along with', an adverb < Ma. verb *kūṭuka* 'to come together, meet, join' (DEDR 1882).

[397] *vārttŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *vārkkuka* 'to pour, cast' (DEDR 5356).

[398] This is the explanation given by MIR. I can understand this only as referring to the mode in which the 12 expiation libations are made.

[399] *vacca* is past relative participle of the Ma. verb *vaykkuka, vekkuka, vekka* 'to put, place' (DEDR 5549).

[400] *kramattāle* 'in the order (of)' is an adverb formed with the sg. instrumental of Ma. *kramam* (< Sanskrit *krama-*) + the emphatic clitic *-e* < *-ē*.

[401] *keḻakketun* = *kiḻakku ninnum* (both readings in SSC mss.) = 'from the south' + *-un* (sandhi form) = *-um*.

[402] *kīḻe* is 'under, down, beneath, below' in Ma. (DEDR 1619).

[403] *praṇīteṭe* = *praṇītayuṭe* (both forms in SSC mss.) is sg. gen. of Ma. *praṇīta* < Sanskrit *praṇītāḥ (āpaḥ).*

[404] *mīte* is 'above, over' in Ma. (DEDR 4841).

PŪRṆAM ASI PŪRṆAṀ ME BHŪYĀ
***AKṢITAM ASI MĀ ME KṢEṢṬHĀ* ITI**
pouring water he mutters (the following formula):
“You are real, be real for me;
you are everything; be everything for me;
you are full; be full for me;
you are imperishable; do not perish for me!”

PPULLIN[405] MĒL VĪṆA[406] SRUVATTIL VĪṆA PRAṆĪTAYIL VĪḺUM[407] ĀṞU VALATTU KAI KOṆṬU VEḶḶAṀ VĪTTŪ[408]
you should pour water with the right hand so that the water which has fallen over the grass (and) which has (therefrom) fallen in the offering ladle falls (finally) in (the vessel of) the *praṇīta* water (saying the following mantra):
SAD ASI SAN ME BHŪYĀS
SARVVAM ASI SARVVAṀ ME BHŪYĀF
PŪRṆṆAM ASI PŪRṆṆAṀ ME BHŪYĀ
AKṢITAM ASI MĀ ME KṢEṢṬHĀḤ.

(SSC 1,27)

1,4,12. PRATIDIŚAM APA UTSIÑCATI
he pours out water in each direction (with the following mantras):

KIṆṬI VACC ECCŬ
having put the spouted water vessel (from his right hand back to its place),
PRAṆĪTA MĀRJIPPŪ[409] DIKKUKAḶIL[410]
you should cleanse (with) the *praṇīta* water in the directions of space;[411]

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[405] *pullin* is sg. oblique of Ma. *pul, pullŭ* ‘grass’ (DEDR 4300). A variant reading is *pullum.*

[406] *vīṇa* is the past relative participle of the Ma. verb *vīḻuka* ‘to fall’ (DEDR 5430).

[407] *vīḻum* is the non-past relative participle of the Ma. verb *vīḻuka* ‘to fall’ (DEDR 5430).

[408] *vīttū* is the polite imperative of the Ma. verb *vīttuka, vīḻttuka* ‘to cause to fall, pour’ (DEDR 5430).

[409] *mārjippū* is the polite imperative of the Ma. verb *mārjikkuka* ‘to cleanse, purify, purify by washing’ < Sanskrit *mṛj-* causative.

[410] *dikkukaḷil* is pl. locative of Ma. *dikkŭ* < Sanskrit *dik,* sg. nom. of *diś-* f.

[411] This is to be done by means of the three blades of grass put on top of the *praṇīta* water vessel in the *agnimukham* part (cf. JGS 1,2,11).

1,4,13. *PRĀCYĀṀ DIŚI DEVĀ ṚTVIJO MĀRJAYANTĀM* ITI
"Let the gods, the sacrificial priests cleanse themselves in the eastern direction!"[412]

KEḺAKKU
in the east (saying):[413]
PRĀCYĀN DIŚI DEVĀ ṚTVIJO MĀRJJAYANTĀM

1,4,14 a. PRĀCĪNĀVĪTĪ ...
wearing the upper garment (as required) for the ancients (i.e., hung from the right shoulder down to the left side)

EṬATT[414] IṬṬ
having put (the sacred thread) to the left side,[415]

1,4,14 b. ... *DAKṢIṆASYĀṀ DIŚI MĀSĀḤ PITARO MĀRJAYANTĀM* ITI
"Let the months, the (fore)fathers cleanse themselves in the southern direction!"

EṬATTŪṬA[416] TEKKU
through the left side (of the hand) in the south (saying):[417]
DAKṢIṆĀYĀN DIŚI MĀSĀF PITARO MĀRJJAYANTĀṀ

1,4,15 a. YAJÑOPAVĪTĪ BHŪTVĀ ...
having (again) become one who wears the upper garment (as required) for the sacrifice (i.e., hung from the left shoulder down to the right side)

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[412] CALAND in his translation does not include the words indicating the direction (*prācyāṁ diśi,* etc.) in the mantras to which they belong: cf. *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* 1,6,5,1 *prācyāṁ diśi devā ṛtvijo mārjayantāṁ, Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* (1,4,2 and 7) and *Kaṭha-Saṁhitā* (5,5; 32,5) *prācyā diśā devā ṛtvijo mārjayantām; Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* 4,11,4 *prācyā diśā saha devā ṛtvijo mārjayantāṁ.*

[413] He takes at their middle the three blades of grass from the vessel of the *praṇīta* water, takes water into his hand, and puts the hand east of the *praṇīta*, pronouncing the mantra.

[414] *eṭattu* is sg. oblique (functioning as locative) of Ma. *eṭam, iṭam* 'left side' (DEDR 449).

[415] Without taking the sacred thread off his neck, he takes the right arm away from the loop and puts the left arm into it.

[416] *eṭattūṭa* = *eṭattūṭe* (both forms in SSC mss.) 'through the left side' (with the suffix *-ūṭe* < *kūṭe,* cf. ASHER and KUMARI 1996, 234).

[417] He takes the three grass blades from the vessel of the *praṇīta* water with his right hand and keeps them so that the grass blades come out of the fist (which is turned palm upwards) between the extended forefinger and the thumb.

VALATT[418] IṬṬU
having put (the sacred thread) to the right side,

1,4,15 b. ... APA UPASPṚŚYA ...
having touched water

KAI KAḺUKI
having washed the hand(s),[419]

1,4,15 c. ... *PRATĪCYĀṀ DIŚI GṚHĀḤ PAŚAVO MĀRJAYANTĀM* ITI
"Let the houses, the cows cleanse themselves in the western direction!"
PRATĪCYĀN DIŚI GṚHĀF PAŚAVO MĀRJJAYANTĀṀ

1,4,16. *UDĪCYĀṀ DIŚY ĀPA OṢADHAYO VANASPATYO MĀRJAYANTĀM* ITI
"Let the water, the plants, the trees cleanse themselves in the northern direction!"

VAṬAKKU
in the north (saying):
UDĪCYĀN DIŚY ĀPA OṢADHAYO VANASPATAYO MĀRJJAYANTĀṀ

1,4,17. *ŪRDHVĀYĀṀ DIŚI YAJÑAḤ SAṀVATSARO YAJÑAPATIR MĀRJAYANTĀM* ITI
"Let the sacrifice, the year, the lord of the sacrifice cleanse themselves in the upward direction!"

MĒLPAṬṬU[420] KEḺAKKE PPOṞATTU[421]
upwards in the east outside (saying):[422]
ŪRDDHVĀYĀN DIŚI YAJÑAS SAṀVATSARO YAJÑAPATIR MMĀRJJAYANTĀṀ.

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[418] *valattŭ* is sg. oblique (functioning as locative) of Ma. *valam* 'right side' (DEDR 5276).

[419] The hands are to be washed after a ritual pertaining to the deceased *(pitṛkriyā).*

[420] *mēlpaṭṭŭ* = *mēlpōṭṭŭ* (both forms in SSC mss.) 'upwards' < Ma. *mēl* 'what is above, over' (DEDR 5086) + the suffix *-ōṭṭŭ* < *paṭṭŭ* 'getting into a direction, towards', the gerund of the Ma. verb *paṭuka* 'to occur, be in' (DEDR 3853).

[421] *poṟattŭ* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *puṟattŭ* (standard Ma.) (both forms in SSC mss.) is sg. oblique (functioning as locative) of Ma. *puṟam* 'outside, exterior' (DEDR 4333).

[422] He sprinkles water from the *praṇīta* vessel upwards, keeping the three blades of grass in his hand to the east of the *praṇīta* vessel outside it.

(SSC 1,28)

1,4,18 a.[423] ***SAMUDRAṀ VAḤ PRAHIṆOMĪ*TY**
APO NINĪYA ...
Having poured the water down (with the mantra)
"I send you to the ocean...",

VAṬAKKŌṬṬU[424] KAMUḺUTTŪ[425]:
you should turn (the vessel of the praṇīta water with its three grass blades) upside down northwards (saying):
SAMUDRAṀ VAF PRAHIṆOMY AKṢITĀ SVĀṀ YONIM API GACCHATA
ARIṢṬĀ ASMĀKAṀ VĪRĀS SANTU MĀ PARĀSECI NA SVAṀ.

(SSC 1,29)

1,4,18 b. ... *YAD APSU TE SARASVATĪ*TY
AṄGUṢṬHENOPAKANIṢṬHIKAYĀ CĀKṢIṆĪ VIMṚJET
he should wipe both of his eyes with the thumb and the ring-finger (uttering this mantra): "O Sarasvatī, what (honey) of yours (is) in the water..."

NELAN TOṬṬU
having touched the (wet) ground (with his whole palm),
MŌTAṞAVIRALUṀ PERUVIRALUṀ KŪṬṬI
having joined the ring-finger and the thumb,
KKAṆMAṆI[426] RAṆṬUM EḶAKKŪ[427]
you should moisten the two eyeballs (saying):[428]

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[423] For JGS 1,4,18, cf. GGS 1,3,13 *pradakṣiṇam agniṁ parikramyāpāṁ śeṣaṁ ninīya pūrayitvācamanaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya yathārtham* (in the GGS this is done after the acts prescribed in JGS 1,4,19b-21).

[424] *vaṭakkōṭṭù* 'northwards' < Ma. *vaṭakku* 'north' (DEDR 5218) + the suffix -*ōṭṭù* < *paṭṭù* 'towards', the gerund of the Ma. verb *paṭuka* 'to occur, be in' (DEDR 3853).

[425] *kamuḻuttū* (= *kamattū, kavuttū,* variant readings in SSC mss.) is the polite imperative of the Ma. verb *kamuḻuttuka* (*kamattuka, kavuttuka,* DEDR: *kaviḻttuka, kamiḻttuka, kamuttuka, kamikka*) 'to turn upside down' (DEDR 1335).

[426] *kaṇmaṇi* 'eyeball' < Ma. *kaṇ* 'eye' (DEDR 1159a) + Ma. *maṇi* 'bead, gem, pearl' < Sanskrit *maṇi*- m.

[427] *eḷakkū* is the polite imperative of the Ma. verb *eḷakkuka* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *iḷakkuka* 'to slacken, moisten' (DEDR 510).

[428] With his joined thumb and nameless finger, he takes from the ground water, which has been poured there from the *praṇīta* vessel, and touches therewith the inner corners of both eyes.

YAD APSU TE SARASVATI GOṢV AŚVEṢU YAN MADHU
TENA ME VĀJINĪVATI MUKHAM AIDHI SARASVATI.
"O Sarasvatī, what honey of yours (is) in the water, in the cows, in the horses,
with that anoint my face, O Sarasvatī possessing swift steeds!"

(SSC 1,30)

1,4,19 a. DARBHĀN PARIDHĪṀŚ CĀGNĀV ĀDHĀYA ...
Having put the blades of *darbha* grass and the enclosing sticks in the fire,

KIṆṆAN[429] TAḶICCU
Having sprinkled (water on) the metal vessel (of the *praṇīta* water),
MALARTTI
having turned it face upwards,
DIKKILUN[430] TANIKKUṀ[431] PATNIKKUN[432] TAḶICCU
having sprinkled (water) to every direction and on (your)self and (your) spouse,[433]
PULLU (TAḶICCU) KOṬAÑÑU[434]
having (sprinkled with water and) shaken the grass,[435]
TĪYIL IṬṬU
having put it in the fire,
PARIDHI MUNPILET[436] EṬUTT IṬṬU
having taken up the enclosing stick that is in the front (west of the fire),
RAṆṬUṀ RAṆṬU KAI KOṆṬUM EṬUTTU

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[429] *kiṇṇam* is 'metal plate or vessel' in Ma. (DEDR 1543).

[430] *dikkilun* is sg. locative of Ma. *dikkŭ* < Sanskrit *dik,* sg. nom. of *diś*- f. + sandhi form of the copular clitic -*um.*

[431] *tanikkum* is dative of the Ma. sg. reflexive pronoun *tān* '(one)self' (DEDR 3196) + -*um.*

[432] *patnikkun* is sg. dat. of Ma. *patni* < Sanskrit *patnī*- f. + -*um.*

[433] The performer touches water on four sides of the *praṇīta* vessel each time throwing it upwards into air, and sprinkling it (once, in a general way) on himself and his spouse.

[434] *koṭaññŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *koṭayuka* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *kuṭayuka* (standard Ma.) 'to shake, throw out, fling away' (DEDR 1662).

[435] The blades of *darbha* grass that had been held in the left hand over the offering ladle (cf. JGS 1,4,11 and SSC 1,26) are sprinkled with the same water poured out of the *praṇīta* vessel, moved into the r[ight hand, shaken and thrown in the fire.

[436] *munpiletŭ* 'that which is in front', a pronominalized neuter noun from the locative adverb *munpile* 'in front'.

having with both hands taken up the (remaining) two (enclosing sticks north and south of the fire),
VALATTU KAI KOṆṬ IṬṬU[437]
having put (them all) into the right hand,
HŌMIPPŪ[438].
you should offer them in the fire.

(SSC 1,31)

1,4,19 b.[439] ... VĀMADEVYENA ŚĀNTIṀ KṚTVĀ ...
having made a propitiation by means of the *vāmadevya* (*sāman*)[440]

VĀMADEVYAÑ COLLI
having chanted the *vāmadevya* (*sāman*),

1,4,19 c.[441] ... TRIḤ PARYUKṢET
he should sprinkle three times water around (the fire)

TTAḶICCU
having sprinkled water,

1,4,20. SAHAVIṢKAṀ PRADAKṢIṆAM
sunwise, including the offering substance.
1,4,21. *ANVAMAṀSTHĀḤ PRĀSĀVĪR* ITI
MANTRĀN SAṀNAMAYET
(While doing so) he should transform the formulae (in JGS 1,3,8-11) thus: *anvamaṁsthāḥ* (instead of *anumanyasva*), *prāsāvīḥ* (instead of *prasuva*).

HAVISSINU[442] POṞAME[443] MANTRAPARIṢEKAÑ CEYVŪ

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[437] *valattu kai koṇṭ' iṭṭu* = *valattu kaiyil ākki* (both readings in SSC mss.).

[438] *hōmippū* is the polite imperative of the Ma. verb *hōmikkuka* 'to burn as offerings' < Sanskrit *homa-* m.

[439] For JGS 1,4,19, cf. GGS 1,9,25 *apavṛtte karmaṇi vāmadevyagānaṁ śāntyarthaṁ śāntyartham.*

[440] *Jaiminīya-Grāmageya-Gāna* 2,6,16 on *Jaiminīya-Saṁhitā* 1,18,5 *(kayā naś citra ā bhuvat...).*

[441] For JGS 1,4,19-21, cf. GGS 1,3,12 ... *anuparyukṣya tathaivodakāñjalīn prasiñced* anvamaṁsthā *iti mantraviśeṣaḥ;* ŚGS 1,9,17 *yathoktaṁ* (ŚGS 1,8,17) *paryukṣaṇam.*

[442] *havissinu* is sg. dative of Ma. *havissu* < Sanskrit *havis-* n.

[443] *poṟame* (Old and substandard Ma.) = *puṟame* (standard Ma.) is 'outside' (DEDR 4333), with adverbializing emphatic clitic *-e.*

you should perform the bathing with mantras around (the fire, extending its range) outside the sacrificial substance (saying):
ADITE NVAMAṀSTHĀḤ
ANUMATE NVAMAṀSTHĀḤ
SARASVATE NVAMAṀSTHĀḤ
DEVA SAVITAF PRĀSĀVĪR YYAJÑAṀ PRĀSĀVĪR YYAJÑAPATIṀ BHAGĀYA
DIVYO GANDHARVVAḤ KETAPŪḤ KETAN NO PĀVĪL
VĀCASPATIR VVĀCAN NO SVĀDĪL.
"O Aditi, you gave your approval;
O Anumati, you gave your approval;
O Sarasvatī, you gave your approval."
"O divine Instigator, you instigated the sacrifice, you instigated the lord of the sacrifice to good fortune.
The heavenly, desire-purifying Gandharva purified our desire. The Lord of Speech sweetened our speech."

(SSC 1,32)

(RAṆṬU TŪṢṆĪṀ CEYTU)
(Having performed this twice silently,)
VIḶĀKI
having poured water (from his fist) around (the fireplace over its rim),
CCANṮANAVUṀ PŪVUM ĀRĀDHICCU
having thrown sandalwood paste and flowers in worship,[444]
SRUVAṀ VACCU
having placed down the offering ladle,
GAṆAPATINIVĒDYAṀ[445] VIṬUTTU[446]
having removed the food offering to Gaṇapati,[447]
TOṬUKUṞI[448] YIṬṬU KOḶḶŪ //

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[444] This is done in the same way as in SSC 1,15.

[445] Ma. *nivēdyaṁ* '(food) offering' < Sanskrit *nivedya-* n.

[446] *viṭuttŭ* is the gerund of the Ma. verb *viṭukkuka* 'to remove, separate' (DEDR 5393); a variant reading in younger mss. is *viṭartti,* the gerund of the Ma. verb *viṭarkkuka* 'to open, spread, separate' (DEDR 5473).

[447] Gaṇapati, who now sits there satisfied with his food, is worshipped by throwing a flower (a green leaf of basil) in front of the oil lamp with the mantra *gaṅ gaṇapataye namaḥ. Kuṭikku-nīr* is given (and supposed to be sipped with the mantra, *amṛtāpidhānam asi;* cf. RANGACHARI 1931, p. 95).

[448] *toṭukuṟi* = *toṭṭa kuṟi* (both readings in SSC mss. and in the *Malayalam Lexicon*) 'mark (Ma. *kuṟi,* DEDR 1847) put (on the forehead)' < the root *(toṭu)* or the past

you should put the ornamental mark (on the forehead of yourself and your spouse).

1,4,22.[449] PŪRṆAPĀTRAM UPANIHITAṀ SĀ DAKṢIṆĀ
A vessel that has been filled (with grain) was put down near (the fire);[450] that is the sacrificial gift.
1,4,23. YATHĀŚRĀDDHADAKṢIṆĀḤ PĀKAYAJÑĀḤ
In the sacrifices of cooked food the sacrificial gifts are as large as the (sacrificer's) faith.
1,4,24. PŪRṆAPĀTRAṀ VĀ
Or (the sacrificial gift is) the vessel that has been filled (with grain).

Since the performer of the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* is the householder himself, the sacrificial gift consisting of the vessel filled with grain (laid down south of the fire in the beginning of the rite, see SSC 1,2) is not given away to anybody else, and is not mentioned here in the SSC.

Some comments on the additions and omissions of the SSC

The present-day gṛhya ritual of the Nampūtiris, as codified in the SSC and performed in fairly strict conformity with it, is astonishingly faithful to the Vedic practice codified in the JGS. What cannot be seen from the above sample is that, practically speaking, all rites codified in the JGS have been performed by the Nampūtiris until recently as separate and full-length ceremonies, while in most parts of India, including Tamil Nadu, many rites are completely ignored or performed in an abbreviated form (for example, *upanayana* and *samāvartana* are performed for the groom immediately before the marriage). All this is in agreement with the fame that the Nampūtiris have for conservatism.

However, as could be seen above, the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* rite of the Nampūtiri Jaiminīyas is not totally devoid of modifications and additions. According to SSC 1,8, the strewing of grass around the fire *(paristaraṇa)* is done with two fistfuls of short-cut grass put to the west

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relative participle *(toṭṭa)* of the Ma. verb *toṭuka* 'to put on (as clothes or ornament)' (DEDR 3482).

[449] For JGS 1,4,22-24, cf. GGS 1,9,6-11; MGS 2,2,28 *pūrṇapātraṁ dakṣiṇā;* ŚGS 1,14,11 *brāhmaṇebhyaḥ kiṁ cid dadyāt sarvatra sthālīpākādiṣu karmasu.*

[450] Cf. JGS 1,1,12.

and to the east of the fire, and four plus four long blades of grass put to the south and to the north of the fire. As already pointed out above *(ad locum),* this is a relatively recent innovation shared in Kerala by the Kauṣītakins but unknown to Bhavatrāta (c. 700 CE).[451] The other Nampūtiris place four long blades of grass on each of the four sides, which is also a simplification of the original practice of putting several layers of uncut grass on each side.

Among the requisites of the rite, SSC 1,2 records sandalwood paste and flowers. It is true that JGS 1,1,22-23 has a general rule about the flowers to be used in gṛhya rituals (they should preferably be white), and flowers are indeed required in some gṛhya rites (according to JGS 2,1,10 flowers, *sumanasaḥ,* are to be given to Brahmin guests at *śrāddha* feasts), but they are mostly prescribed in relatively late sources (cf. GONDA 1980: 122f.). In the GGS, there is no such general rule about the flowers, although Gobhila does discuss the kinds of wood, grass and oil to be used in gṛhya rites. The combined use of sandalwood paste (mixed with water) and flowers (basil leaves), thrown in worship together with a mantra, constitutes the simplest Hinduistic *ārādhana*[452] *(pūjā)* in Kerala:[453] such a worship of the sun

[451] The concept itself is found in ancient texts. In the *anvaṣṭakya* rite, the GGS (4,2,20) prescribes strewing the fire with a fistful of short-cut *darbha (sakṛdācchinnaṁ darbhamuṣṭiṁ stṛṇoti).* Fistfuls of *kuśa* are mentioned in *Kauṣītaka-Gṛhyasūtra* 4,1,9 *(kuśamuṣṭibhiḥ),* but not in the context of *paristaraṇa.*

[452] *ārādhana* (the SSC uses the corresponding verb *ārādhikkuka*) belongs to Hindu Tantric terminology (cf. BRUNNER et al. 2000: 203), but not to the Vedic terminology (it is not found in the Sanskrit index of GONDA 1980).

[453] KAKKĀṬŬ (1959: 27) describes a little more complex "*pūjā* which begins and ends with water", in which one throws, pronouncing the basic mantra of the deity (e.g. *gaṁ namaḥ* in the case of Gaṇapati), first three times water, then three times sandalwood paste, then once water, three times flowers (tender basil leaves) and three times water. *(jalāntaṁ ennu mātraṁ paṟaññāluṁ jalādijalāntaṁ pūja enn' artthaṁ grahiykkaṇaṁ. tuḷasikkaḻutt' eṭuttŭ atātu mūlamantraṁ – gaṇapatiykk' āṇ' eṅkil gaṁ namaḥ ennu – colli mūnnu prāvaśyaṁ jalavuṁ, mūnnu gandhavuṁ, oru jalavuṁ mūnnu puṣpavuṁ, pinne mūnnu jalavuṁ arccikkuka-y-ākunnu. ōrō arccanakkuṁ mūlamantraṁ collanaṁ.)* – In the "worship with sixteen services", the offering of sandalwood paste and flowers naturally constitutes only a small part of the *pūjā* (cf. BÜHNEMANN 1988: 102f., 159-162), but besides such a *pūjā* 'with a prescribed ritual procedure' *(vidhipūrvikā),* one has "*pūjā* understood as a mere offering of flowers, *haridrā* and *kuṅkuma* powder and / or prostration" (BÜHNEMANN 1988: 9-10). "A *pūjā* of a simple kind may consist of an offering of traditional items such as turmeric powder, *kuṅkuma,* flowers, sandalwood paste, etc., requiring neither much knowledge of ritualism nor much time" (BÜHNEMANN 1988: 29).

(imagined to function as the enclosing stick of the fire otherwise missing on the eastern side), and then of the fire (worshipped at eleven places around the fireplace)[454] are interpolated rites in SSC 1,15. The worship of the fire with sandalwood paste and flowers is interpolated again in SSC 1,32. In both cases (SSC 1,15 and 1,32), this worship of the fire is followed by two other interpolated rites, the food offering to Gaṇapati *(gaṇapati-nivēdyam)* and, in SSC 1,15, the 'worship of the self' (*ātmārādhana),* in which marks are made on the body with sandalwood paste; in SSC 1,32, after the conclusion of Gaṇapati's food offering, the sacrificer takes ash from the fireplace[455] and with it makes a mark on his own forehead as well as on the forehead of his wife.[456]

The classical Hindu worship of Gaṇapati has developed from the cult of demonical spirits – forms of Rudra or Skanda – who seize people and cause them to have bad dreams and other evil consequences. The *Vināyakakalpa* inserted in the *Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra* as chapter 2,14 explains how these spirits are to be propitiated with *bali* offerings at cross-roads, followed by an obeisance to the Goddess (at midnight) and to the sun (at sunrise). A later version of this text is included in the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* (1,270-292), where the various demons have now become different names of just one single Vināyaka, who is the son of the goddess Ambikā and who both causes and removes obstacles. An explicit reference to an elephant form is still missing in these two texts, but the *devatarpaṇa* of *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* (2,5,83-90) already includes this feature in its propitiation of such gods as Vighna, Vināyaka, Hastimukha, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta and Lambodara. The *Gobhila-Smṛti* (1,13) prescribes the worship of the Mātṛkās and Gaṇapati at the beginning of all rites *(karmādiṣu tu sarveṣu mātaraḥ sagaṇādhipāḥ / pūjanīyāḥ prayatnena pūjitāḥ pūjayanti tāḥ);*

[454] Decoration of the fireplace with flowers is prescribed also elsewhere: in a *śrāddha* rite in the *Paiṭhīnasi-Dharmasūtra* (cf. CALAND 1893: 109) and in *Baudhāyana-Pitṛmedhasūtra* 2,10,2 *(tilagandhapuṣpamālyair agnim abhyarcya).*

[455] It is believed that "special ashes, for instance those remaining in the fireplace after a sacrifice, are extraordinarily powerful" (GONDA 1970: 179 n. 116, with copious quotations explaining this belief).

[456] CHATTOPADHYAY (1987: 20) records this practice in a somewhat different form, probably on the basis of evidence from Bengal: "At the end of the homa ceremony, the Vedic Brahmans put marks on their forehead, the lower end of the neck, on the arms and on the chest. The mark was made with ashes and ghee mixed together on the sacrificial ladle and applied on the body with the index finger".

this practice is not yet found in the Gṛhyasūtras,[457] but is obligatory according to the medieval texts.[458]

But we should pay attention also to what is missing in the SSC and even in today's Nampūtiri ritual practice, when compared to the manuals of the Tamil Jaiminīyas. It would have been most instructive to give here for comparison the passages relating to the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* in the *Jaiminīya-Prayoga-Vivaraṇa.* This is a manual – in Tamil interspersed with mantras and quotations in Sanskrit in grantha script – of the Jaiminīya gṛhya rituals written by the greatest ritual authority of the Tamil Jaiminīya Brahmins in the first half of the 20th century, Shri A. Raṅgasvāmi Ayyaṅgār, who was the teacher of Nyāya and Vedānta at the Pāṭhaśālā attached to the Śrī Raṅgasvāmi temple at Śrīraṅgam. Unfortunately the work was not completed; it covers only the first part of the rites, from the birth to the various *vrata*s of studentship (cf. JGS 1,1-17). Yet the seven fascicles printed in 1923 total 312 pages.[459] The *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* is not described separately here, but as part of the *śrāvaṇa* alias *upākaraṇa* rite, which starts the annual course of study of the Veda and is dealt with in JGS 1,14. In the JPV, the combined treatment of the *upākaraṇa* and the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* fills 37 pages (pp. 16-53). This gives some idea of the amount of interpolation, which consists of (sometimes very long) *saṁkalpa*s (declarations of intent), verses paying obeisance to teachers (not only Jaimini but also of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition), sectarial mantras (giving *vaiṣṇava* and *smārta* alternatives) and a great number of Vedic mantras and *sāman*s not found in the JGS. Indeed, the harvest of interpolations is overwhelming here.

In the older Sanskrit Prayogas used by the Tamil Jaiminīyas, however, the amount of interpolation is much more restricted. The first chapter of the *Anukramaṇikā* and the fifth chapter of the *Jaimuni-Sāma-Prayoga,* both dealing with the *sthālīpaka,* have been edited and the latter also translated by Klaus KARTTUNEN (2001), so I restrict myself to quoting the very beginning of these two texts here:

> *Anukramaṇikā* 1: viṣvaksenaṁ (mahāgaṇapatiṁ vā) saṁpūjya / saṁkalpya / bhūmiṁ trir uddhṛtya / prokṣya / sikatābhiś

[457] This is the general view, but is it really so? I am inclined to see Gaṇapati and the *mātaraḥ* in the god Virūpākṣa and the goddesses Aditi, Anumati, and Sarasvatī who are invoked and asked for their permission before the *homa* sacrifice in JGS 1,2,11 and 1,3,7-9.

[458] See DRESDEN 1941: 157-164; KANE 1941: II (1), 212-6; cf. also GONDA 1980: 366.

[459] The India Office Library possesses just three fascicles of this book, cf. BARNETT 1931.

caturasraṁ kṛtvā / prācīm udīcīṁ prācīś ca kramāt pañca rekhāḥ pratyaṅmukhaśūlākāreṇa likhitvā / *bhūr bhuva svar* ity agniṁ pratiṣṭhāpya / dakṣiṇato gneḥ pūrṇapātram udakapūrṇasruvaṁ ca nyasya / uttarato gner iddhmabarhīṁṣi nyasya / jalagandhapuṣ pendhanapraṇītājyājyapātra-havīṁṣi paścimata uttarataś cāgner yathāyathaṁ nyasya / sarvaṁ yugapat *devasva tve*ti triḥ prokṣet / sakṛn mantraḥ dviḥ satantraṁ sarvatra /

Jaimuni-Sāma-Prayoga 5: *oṁ kariṣyamāṇasya karmaṇa avighnena parisamāpty-arthaṁ viṣvaksenārādhanaṁ kariṣye* / saṁkalpya / *yasya dviradavaktrādyāḥ pāriṣadyāḥ paraḥ śatam / vighnaṁ vighnanti satataṁ viṣvaksenaṁ tam āśraye* // iti viṣvaksenam āvāhya ṣoḍaśopacārān kṛtvā vartamānasthālīpākādisaṁkalpaṁ kṛtvā / *yasya dviradavaktrādyā* ity udvāsya / bhūmiṁ trir uddhṛtyāvokṣya sikatābhiś caturasraṁ kṛtvā / prācīm udīcīṁ prācīś ca kramāt pañca rekhāḥ pratyaṅmukha-śūlākāreṇa likhitvā / *bhūr bhuvaḥ suva* ity agniṁ pratiṣṭhāpya / dakṣiṇato gneḥ pūrṇapātram udakapūrṇasruvaṁ ca nyasya / uttarato gner idhmābarhiṣī nyasya / jalagandhapuṣ pendhanapraṇītājyājyapātrahavīṁṣi paścimata uttarataś cāgner yathāyathaṁ nyasya / sarvāṇi yugapat / *devasya tvā savituḥ prasave śvinor bāhubhyāṁ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṁ prokṣyāmī*ti triḥ prokṣet / tris tantre sarvatra sakṛn mantreṇa dvis tūṣṇīm /

Both texts begin with the *pūjā* of Viṣvaksena, the *vaiṣṇava* form of Gaṇapati (though the *Anukramaṇikā* gives also the *smārta* alternative of Mahāgaṇapati), and in JSP this *pūjā* is further specified to start with a declaration of intent (*saṁkalpa*) and to consist of the 16 services. According to the JSP, one should thereafter make another *saṁkalpa* for the performance of the *sthālīpāka*, to worship Viṣvaksena again for the removal of the fire (from the domestic hearth), to prepare the fireplace and to place the requisites in readiness. The Tamil texts do not take into account the alternative of performing the *sthālīpāka* in the domestic fire itself, which in the case of the *pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka* is the correct original practice retained by the Nampūtiris.

Particularly striking is the complete absence of the *saṁkalpa* in the Nampūtiri tradition. This formal announcement of one's intention to perform a given rite at its beginning is generally spread all over India and has even reached Nepal (see MICHAELS 2005). The *saṁkalpa* is not prescribed in the JGS, but it makes its appearance rather early in the latest Gṛhyasūtras, being attested, e.g., in the *Āgniveśya-Gṛhyasūtra* (2,1,5; 2,3,5) and the *Vaikhānasa-Gṛhyasūtra* (1,6), which may both

have come into being in Tamil Nadu, and such works as the *Baudhāyana-Gṛhyaśeṣasūtra* (5,6,2) and the *Baudhāyana-Gṛhyaparibhāṣāsūtra* (1,9,10).[460] How can we explain the absence of the *saṁkalpa* among the Nampūtiris in view of its presence among the Tamil Jaiminīyas and its apparently early existence in Tamil Nadu? To answer this question we must consider the history of the Jaiminīya śākhā.

Early history of the Jaiminīya branch of Sāmaveda

The most fundamental difference within the Jaiminīya school is that between the Nampūtiri Jaiminīyas of Kerala and the Tamil Jaiminīyas. The Tamil Jaiminīyas have spread to all the earlier mentioned three states (Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka) from the Cōḻa country. The origin of the Nampūtiris is a much-debated issue, but it seems to me that the Nampūtiris have emerged from two main waves of Brahmin immigration into Kerala.

In any case, the Nampūtiris were in Kerala in the 7th century CE, when the grandfather of the great Jaiminīya commentator Bhavatrāta migrated to Kerala from the village of Vasiṣṭhakuṭi (modern Tiṭṭaguḍi near Vṛddhācalam) in the Cōḻa kingdom (cf. PARPOLA 1984). The Cōḻa country was the original core area of the Tamil Jaiminīyas. From this region, where Jaiminīya Brahmins are still to be found, they have spread in different directions, first to Pālghat in Kerala and to Mēlkōṭe in Karnataka due to the religious persecutions of Vaiṣṇavas by fanatic Śaiva rulers of the Cōḻa country, maybe some 800 years ago. According to the tradition, a Pāṇḍya king of Maturai called Sundara-Pāṇḍya, brought 108 Jaiminīya Brahmins from 8 villages north of the Kāvēri river and 10 villages south of the Kāvēri to Teṉtiruppērai near Āḻvār Tirunakari in the Tirunelvēli District of southern Tamil Nadu. This village is the largest Jaiminīya settlement today, with about 180 Jaiminīya families still living there. From Teṉtiruppērai, Tamil Jaiminīyas have spread westwards upto Trivandrum, where their *ācārya*s were employed by the Travancore kings.

The Jaiminīya branch of Sāmaveda, the Kauṣītaki branch of the Ṛgveda, and the Baudhāyana and Vādhūla schools of the Taittirīya branch of the Yajurveda seem to be the oldest surviving representatives

[460] Cf. GONDA 1980: 312. I assume that the *saṁkalpa* has developed from the śrauta practice of the *soma* sacrifices, in which the officiating priests formally announce what they are going to do and receive the permission for it from the Brahman and Maitrāvaruṇa priests (cf. HILLEBRANDT 1897: 101f.; PARPOLA 1981).

of the Vedic tradition in southernmost India. (The Old Tamil texts speak of the four Vedas, but no trace of the Atharvaveda survives from south India.) It appears that all these schools coexisted and collaborated in the performance of śrauta rituals in one and the same area of northern India in Middle Vedic times, and came to southern India together from that area. The Brāhmaṇa texts of these schools (including the lost Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa) and the earliest Śrautasūtras (those of Baudhāyana and Vādhūla) were composed in that shared area in north India which extended from the ancient Pañcāla (modern Uttar Pradesh) in the west to Kosala and Videha in the east. Important textual correspondences attest to close Jaiminīya contacts with the Vājasaneyi school of Yajurveda in the early part of this period. The contact with the Vājasaneyins seems to have been severed when the four schools moved southwest to the Matsya and Mālava countries, where the present *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* (a younger recension of the lost *Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇa*) and *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa* seem to have come into being. In the śrauta ritual, the Jaiminīyas and the Kauṣītakins[461] in this later period apparently collaborated with the Baudhāyanas and the Vādhūlakas. (On the location of the Vedic texts in northern India, see WITZEL 1989 and 1997.)

Old Tamil texts (including inscriptions and literature), dating from c. 250 BCE to c. 700 CE, speak of three main kingdoms of Tamils, ruled by the Pāṇḍya, Cōḻa and Cēra dynasties. The southernmost of these, the Pāṇḍyas ruling at Maturai, are referred to about 300 BCE by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the Maurya capital Pāṭaliputra, while Aśoka in his second rock edict mentions the Coḍā, Paṁḍiyā, Satiyaputra[462] and Keralaputra. The early Tamil royal families appear to descend from North Indian "Pāṇḍava" adventurers who came to South India and Śrī Laṅka soon after the "Mahābhārata war", around 600-450 BCE (see PARPOLA 2002). The Pāṇḍyas who founded the southern Mathurā as their capital in Tamil Nadu came from the region of the northern Mathurā, which is situated in those very regions where

[461] Some "striking parallels between the Jaiminīyas and the Śāṅkh." are listed in CALAND 1953: xiv-xv.

[462] The identity of Aśoka's Satiyaputra was solved by the discovery of a Tamil Brahmi inscription of the 1st century CE at Jambai, where *Satiyaputō Atiyan Neṭumān Añci* is mentioned as the donor of the local cave shelter. He could be equated with a chieftain known as a great warrior and liberal patron from Old Tamil literature, Atiyamāṉ Neṭumāṉ Añci of Takaṭūr (modern Dharmapuri); in the literary form of his name, Atiyamāṉ is composed of *atiya* < Tamil **catiya* < Prakrit *satiya* < Sanskrit *satya* and *māṉ* < Tamil *makaṉ* 'son' = Sanskrit *putra.* Cf. MAHADEVAN 2003: 119-120 and 398-399

the Jaiminīya, Kauṣītaki, Baudhāyana and Vādhūla schools are likely to have then prevailed in North India. These North Indian nobles probably came by sea, and occupied first the southern and eastern coasts of Tamilnadu that were attractive with their pearl fishery.

The Cēras in the Koṅku country between the present Coimbatore and Salem districts in northwestern Tamilnadu had Karuvūr = present Karūr = Vañci of the Old Tamil texts as their capital (the oldest coins found there date from the 2nd century BCE). The Cēra kingdom is farthest removed from the south and east coast of Tamil Nadu and therefore probably represents the earliest wave of these North Indian royal immigrants, who undoubtedly were quickly assimilated linguistically to the earlier local population speaking Old Tamil. From Koṅku the Cēra kings extended their rule westwards to Kerala, where a second capital was established to control the flourishing sea trade with the Hellenistic-Roman world. The two well-known seaports Toṇṭi and Muciri on the west coast were in existence by 100 BC (cf. MAHADEVAN 2003: 153-156).

> Contrary to earlier notions among historians, it is now clear that brahmins, along with their Vedic-Purāṇic lore and ritual tradition, formed an influential section of Tamil Sangam society and played a crucial role in policy-making in the courts of chieftains of Tamiḻakam during the Sangam age. (NARAYANAN and VELUTHAT 1983: 256).
>
> At least four of the eight early Tamil poets who sang the praise of the Cēra kings were brahmins... Brahmins are described in the Sangam literature as well versed in the four Vedas and as receiving the patronage of kings in the form of lands and gifts. Vedic rituals were also being conducted by brahmin priests. Pālai Gautamanār performed ten sacrifices under the patronage of [the Cēra king] Palyānai Cēkeḻu Kuṭṭuvan. The condition in the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms was similar, and there is nothing in the early Tamil Sangam literature to indicate that the brahmins of Kerala were at that time significantly different in customs and manners from those in the eastern region. (RAJA 1983: 300).

The earliest Vedic schools, which can be assumed to have arrived in southern India with or relatively soon after the early north Indian nobles who became the early Tamil kings, seem to have survived best in Kerala. The Nampūtiri brahmins belong to the Jaiminīya branch of Sāmaveda, the Kauṣītaki branch of the Ṛgveda, and the Baudhāyana

and Vādhūla schools of the Taittirīya branch of the Yajurveda. Only one more recent Vedic school, the Āśvalāyana Ṛgveda, is represented among the Nampūtiris. Out of these Vedic schools prevailing among the Nampūtiris, all except the Kauṣītaki and Vādhūla schools exist also among the Tamil Brahmins. Traces of the Vādhūla school, too, are found in Tamil Nadu in the form of the Āgniveśya school, whose Gṛhyasūtra appears to be a recension of the Vādhūla-Gṛhyasūtra. Tamil Nadu differs from Kerala, however, in that the majority of its Sāmavedic Brahmins represent the Rāṇāyanīya school, a subschool of the Kauthuma-śākhā, which came into being when the Kauthumas after their arrival in Tamil Nadu were influenced by the Jaiminīya tradition already existing there. We must assume that the differences existing between the Nampūtiri and Tamil Jaiminīyas, especially in their style of chanting, is due to Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya influence in Tamil Nadu. The early Yajurvedic schools of Baudhāyana and Vādhūla, too, have become a very small minority in Tamil Nadu, where most Yajurvedins belong to the Āpastamba school of the Taittirīya branch (cf. KASHIKAR and PARPOLA 1983: II, 233).

ZVELEBIL (1975: 270f.) dates the poet Maturai Marutaṉ Iḷanākaṉār between 250 and 400 CE. In Iḷanākaṉār's poem contained as no. 220 in the Akanāṉūṟu, he speaks of "the well-guarded tall post, its middle tied with a rope, of the sacrifice completed in Cellūr, a place of undying [sacrificial] fires, by the one with an axe, who, striving, cut down the race of warriors" (transl. HART 1975: 59).

> This Cellūr is identified with Periñcellūr, in modern Taḷipaṟamba in Cannanore District. Periñcellūr is the northernmost of the thirty-two brahmin settlements of Kerala according to the Kerala tradition. In the *Mūṣakavaṁśa*, a historical *mahākāvya* by Atula of the twelfth century, King Śatasoma or Sutasoma of Mūṣaka country is said to have performed several sacrifices at Cellūr and founded a Śiva temple there... (RAJA 1983: 301).

Iḷanākaṉār's poem is the only reference to Paraśurāma in the Sangam literature. It is remarkably early considering that the epic references to the Paraśurāma myth belong to the latest layer reflecting the Bhārgava redaction of the *Mahābhārata* (cf. GAIL 1977; BROCKINGTON 1998; FITZGERALD 2002). Yet

> the story of the ocean receding westward from Sahya mountain at the behest of Paraśurāma is at least as old as Kālidāsa, who refers

> to it in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV.53): *rāmāstrotsāritāpy āsīt sahyalagna ivārṇavaḥ*
> The army of Raghu seemed to be the ocean which came towards the Sahya, though previously driven away by the arrows of Rāma. The name of Mayūravarman, the Kadamba king (A.D. 345-370) figures in the *Kēraḷolpatti* tradition, and this suggests that the immigration of brahmins in large numbers to Kerala began in the fourth century. Perhaps several waves of brahmins migrated to Kerala at different times from different parts of India, from the north as well as the east. (RAJA 1983: 300).

The *Kēraḷolpatti* is in Malayāḷam and dates from the 16th or 17th century (cf. RAJA 1983: 304). The legend preserved by it is told in the Sanskrit work *Kerala-Māhātmyam* as well (perhaps 14th or 15th century, cf. VIELLE 2002: 350) and reflects the Nampūtiris' own tradition of their origin. According to it, Paraśurāma created Tuḷunāṭu and Kerala by throwing his axe towards the Ocean and thereby made the sea to retreat and leave dry the land from Gokarṇa to Kanyākumari. This land reclaimed from the sea Paraśurāma donated to the Brahmins, who settled in 32 villages in Tuḷunāṭu and in 32 villages in Kerala. Christophe VIELLE (2002) has recently discovered the full text of the *Jaiminīya-Saṁhitā* in about 97 *adhyāya*s and 6500 verses, "structurally and poetically a purāṇic masterpiece", which deals among other things with the Paraśurāma myth. It was probably composed between the 6th and 10th century in the territory occupied by the early Kadambas (4th to 6th centuries), between Konkan and South Kanara. Interestingly, most manuscripts of this text are in the Malayāḷam script and come from Kerala, where it is preserved as a popular part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*.

The *Kēraḷolpatti* legend reflects the coming of a new group of Brahmins to Kerala from the north. These newcomers would have merged with the pre-existing Old Tamil Brahmins of the Cēra kingdom. At present the Nampūtiris are divided into two major groups, the 'rich' Āḍhyans, who use the honorific title Nampūtirippāṭŭ, and the Āsyan Nampūtiris, in whose hands is the śrauta tradition of Kerala. The Āḍhyans take pride in engaging in only three out of the six duties or privileges prescribed by Manu (1,88) to the Brahmins: the Āḍhyans do not receive gifts, they do not teach the Veda nor do they perform śrauta sacrifices as priests. If the Āsyan Nampūtiris carry on the earlier Sangam age tradition of the Cēra kingdom, and the Āḍhyans are the

newcomers who came from the north around the fourth century CE, the latter's ritual passivity would explain how the old Vedic heritage of Kerala could survive without much change. At the same time, the Kadamba and Cālukya rule and importation of Brahmins from the north (cf. NARAYANAN and VELUTHAT 1983: 257-8; VIELLE 2002: 350) would explain the dominant position of the Āḍhyans. More Brahmins have since then no doubt immigrated to Kerala, yet these two layers appear to be the main components of the Nampūtiris.

To recapitulate, my suggestion is that the Vedic ritual tradition of the Nampūtiris mostly goes back to the Brahmins of the early Cēra kingdom of the Sangam age. These Brahmins had come from North India first to northern Tamil Nadu and then proceeded to Kerala with the westward expansion of the Cēra kingdom, in Kerala losing touch with Tamil Nadu. Thus the early Brahmins of Kerala did not adopt the practice of *saṁkalpa,* though it started fairly early in Tamil Nadu, nor was the archaic way of Nampūtiri Sāmavedic chanting affected by the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya school of Sāmaveda which became predominant in Tamil Nadu.

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Techniques pour la brièveté dans le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*

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Satyavrata SĀMAŚRAMIN se voue dès l'âge de vingt deux ans, en 1867, à l'enseignement et à la publication du *Veda.* Il édite à Calcutta le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* avec le commentaire de Sāyaṇa et son propre commentaire en langue Bengali, dans les revues « Hindu Commentator » et « Uṣā ». Deux autres éditions voient le jour également: celle de Arthur Coke BURNELL en 1873 à Londres avec le commentaire de Sāyaṇa et celle de Bellikath Ramachandra SHARMA en 1964 à Tirupati avec le commentaire de Bharatasvāmin et celui de Sāyaṇa. Une seule traduction intégrale est disponible en langue allemande: celle de Sten KONOW faite à Halle en 1893. L'arrangement des trois éditions s'ordonne en trois *prapāṭhaka* (SĀMAŚRAMIN, SHARMA) ou trois *adhyāya* (BURNELL) puis respectivement en huit, huit et neuf *khaṇḍa*. L'édition de SĀMAŚRAMIN diffère dans l'arrangement interne des *khaṇḍa*.

Le commentaire de Bharatasvāmin sur le *Sāmaveda* est le plus ancien parvenu à nos jours. Il se présente en continu pour les *ārcika* et les *brāhmaṇa*. Ce commentaire fut repris environ un siècle plus tard, quasi intégralement, par Sāyaṇa. Les deux réalisations sont d'une orientation védantique pour *yajurvedin*. À la différence de son prédécesseur, Sāyaṇa classe les *brāhmaṇa* du *Sāmaveda* en huit oeuvres distinctes. Dans les vers d'introduction qui ouvrent son commentaire, le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* serait la troisième oeuvre après le *Prauḍha* (ou *Tāṇḍya* ou *Pañcaviṁśa*) et le *Ṣaḍviṁśa*.

Parmi les traits remarquables du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* figure son style. La forme offerte présente la pensée en phrases coupées, parfois parallèles. On peut discerner une intention didactique (présent, optatif:

ce qui est, ce qui doit être), une inclinaison à l'implication gouvernante (intitulés généraux).

Cet article propose d'examiner parmi les procédés abondamment illustrés dans un genre de la littérature védique de *smṛti*, les techniques particulières de brièveté du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*, soit:

I- Le renvoi au corps de *mantra* par le *pratīka* énonce le début de la *ṛc*. Comme énoncé il présuppose la connaissance de la strophe (mais aussi d'un groupe de trois strophes). Le *pratīka* lui-même doit être décelé derrière le nom technique du chant. Des termes comme *varga*, *daśat* ou *saṃhitā,* pas toujours aisément identifiables, amplifieront le domaine.

II- Des phrases elliptiques portent le régime des *anuvṛtti*: un ou plusieurs éléments de reconduction sont à reconsidérer tacitement dans plusieurs phrases consécutives.

III- Des expressions également bien repérées dans la *smṛti* sont des renvois implicites à une autre partie du texte; par exemple la formule: *etena kalpena* est un renvoi à un enseignement antérieur. Il y a aussi des annonces futures.

IV- Enfin, nous examinerons le style du *sūtra* dans le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa.*

Cet examen des processus concerne le Livre I du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa.*

I- Le procédé *pratīka*:

Le mot *prátīka* est bien attesté dans la *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*: 8 fois comme indépendant dans les Livres VI, VII et X et 24 fois en composition dans les Livres I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, X.

Le terme, dérivé de *prati-áñc* [1] a pour sens « à l'encontre » comme adjectif et comme substantif « visage, façade, front, apparence, etc... »

I.1- Le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* énonce 178 *pratīka* dont 18 ne se trouvent pas dans la *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* telle qu'elle nous est parvenue. Le Livre I transmet neuf de ces énoncés et équitablement les Livres II et III quatre chacun. Deux énoncés se distinguent puisque l'un ne figure pas dans la *Sāmavedasaṃhitā* (SVB.II.4.9; II.5.3) et que l'autre est absent de nos éditions *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* et *Sāmavedasaṃhitā* (SVB.I.7.11).

[1] *pratīka*: RENOU 1952: 180 « lequel est une dérivation thématisée du degré faible des noms-racines en –añc ».

La longueur des Livres est quasi la même, mais nous avons 81 énoncés *pratīka* dans le Livre I, 60 *pratīka* dans le Livre II et 37 dans le Livre III.

I.1.1- Le *pratīka* simple agit comme un 'marqueur' du *mantra* de la *saṃhitā*. La durée des faits prosodiques est variable dans le *sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* comme il s'ensuit dans quelques exemples du Livre I:

pratīka:

SVB.1.7.1	*mahát tát sómo mahiṣáś cakāra*
SVB.1.3.10	*trātā́ram índraṁ*
SVB.1.4.17; 1.8.14	*ā́ vo rā́jānam*
SVB.1.4.10	*prá tú drava*
SVB.1.3.9	*asyá preṣā́*
SVB.1.7.12	*cakráṁ*
SVB.1.4.19	*ádardar*
SVB.1.3.10	*yájāmaha*
SVB.1.4.2	*īṅkháyantīr*
SVB.1.4.15	*surūpakṛtnúm*
SVB.1.3.5	*índrāya pavate mádaḥ*
SVB.1.4.15; 1.7.13	*pávasva soma mádhumāṁ ṛtā́vā*

I.1.2- Le Livre I dénombre quatre cas où un énoncé *pratīka* peut dérouter. Deux *pratīka* identiques préludent différentes *ṛc* de la *saṃhitā*. Ainsi:

ábodhy agnír; *suṣvāṇā́so*; *ā́ tū́ na*; *tríkadrukeṣu*

→ SVB.1.4.7; 2.1.4; 2.2.1 avec le *pratīka*: *ábodhy agnír*

RV.V.1.1: *ábodhy agníḥ samídhā jánānāṃ práti dhenúm ivāyatī́m uṣā́sam* /
yahvā́ iva prá vayā́m ujjíhānāḥ prá bhānávaḥ sisrate nā́kam áccha // (SV.73; 1746)

1 2 3 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2
abodhyagniḥ samidhaa janaanaaṃ prati dhenumivaayatiimuṣaasam /

3 1 2 3 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2
yahvaaiva pra vayaamujjihaanaaḥ pra bhaanavaḥ sisrate naakamaccha //

RV.I.157.1: *ábodhy agnír jmá úd eti sū́ryo vy ùṣā́ś candrā́ mahy ā́vo arcíṣā /*
ā́yukṣātām aśvínā yā́tave rátham prā́sāvīd deváḥ savitā́ jágat pŕ̥thak // (SV.1758)

1 2 3 1 2r 3 2 3 2k 2 3 2 3 * 2r 3 1 2
abodhyagnirjma udeti suuryo vyu ऽ२ ṣaaścandraa mahyaavo arciṣaa /

1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 2u
aayukṣaataamaśvinaa yaatave ratham praasaaviiddevaḥ savitaa

3 1 2
jagatpr̥thak //

→ SVB.1.4.19 avec le *pratīka*: *suṣvāṇā́so*

RV.IX.101.11: *suṣvāṇā́so vy ádribhiś cítānā gór ádhi tvací /*
íṣam asmábhyam abhítaḥ sám asvaran vasuvídaḥ // (SV.1103)

3 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2r 3 2
suṣvaaṇaaso vyadribhiścitaanaa goradhi tvaci /

1 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 1 2
iṣamasmabhyamabhitaḥ samasvaran vasuvidaḥ //

RV.X.148.1: *suṣvāṇā́sa indra stumási tvā sasavā́ṁsaś ca tuvinr̥mṇa vájam /*
ā́ no bhara suvitám yásya cākán tmánā tánā sanuyāma tvótāḥ // (SV.316)

3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2
suṣvaaṇaasa indra stumasi tvaa saniṣyantaścittuvinr̥mṇa vaajam /

1 2 3 1 2r 3 2u 3 1 2 3 1 2
aa no bhara suvitam yasya konaa tanaa tmanaa sahyaama tvotaaḥ //

→ SVB.1.4.19 avec le *pratīka*: *ā́ tū́ na*

RV.IV.32.1: *ā́ tū́ na indra vr̥trahann asmā́kam ardhám ā́ gahi /*
mahā́n mahī́bhir ūtíbhiḥ //

1 2r 3 2 3 2 3 1 2
aa tuu na indra vr̥trahannasmaakamardhamaa gahi /

3 2 3 1 2 3 1 2
mahaanmahiibhiruutibhiḥ // (SV.181)

RV.VIII.81.1: *ā́ tū́ na indra kṣumántaṃ citráṃ grābháṁ*
sáṁ gṛbhāya /
mahā́hastī́ dákṣinena //

1 2r 3 1 2 3 3 1 2r 3 1
aa tuu na indra kṣumantaṃ citraṃ graabhaṁ saṃ gṛbhaaya / mahaahastii

2r
dakṣiṇena // (SV.167; 728)

→ SVB.1.7.2 avec le *pratīka*: *tríkadrukeṣu*

RV.II.22.1: *tríkadrukeṣu mahiṣó yávāśiraṃ tuviśúṣmas tṛpát*
sómam apibad víṣṇunā sutáṃ yáthā́vaśat /
sá īṃ mamāda máhi kárma kártave mahā́m urúṁ
saínaṁ saścad devó deváṁ satyám índraṁ satyá
índuḥ // (SV.457; 1486)

1 2 3 1 2r 3 2 3 1 2r 3
trikadrukeṣu mahiṣo yavaaśiraṃ tuviśuṣmastṛpatsomamapibad

1 2 3 1 2 3 2
viṣṇunaa sutaṃ yathaavaśat /

1 2 3 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 1 2r 3 2
sa iiṃ mamaada mahi karma kartave mahaamuruṁ sainaṁ saścaddevo

3 2 3 1 2r 3 1 2r
devaṁ satya induḥ satyamindram //

RV.VIII.92.21: *tríkadrukeṣu cétanaṃ devā́so yajñám atnata* /
tám íd vardhantu no gíraḥ // (SV.724)

1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 1 2r 3
trikadrukeṣu cetanaṃ devaaso yajñamatnata / tamidvardhantu no

1 2
giraḥ //

Il est intéressant de noter que sur les quatre cas présentés, trois peuvent être résolus, simplement si l'on considère le *pratīka* comme 'marqueur' du ton également.

I.1.3- Un marqueur plus complexe du *mantra*:

I.1.3.1- Le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* annonce également la *ṛc* par un *pratīka* dont le dernier phonème est adjectivé en terminaison *īya*, comme les *āpohiṣṭhīya* pour « *ā́po hí ṣṭhā́* » référencé RV. X.9.1.

nom de *gāna* en *īya* et *pratīka*:
āpohiṣṭhīya: 1.2.7

RV.X.9.1; SV.1837-39, *pratīka*: *ā́po hí ṣṭhā́ mayobhúvaḥ*
kayānīyā: 1.6.7; 1.8.8

RV.IV.31.1; SV.169; SV.682, *pratīka*: *káyā naś citrá ā́*

I.1.3.2- une *ṛc* peut s'annoncer par le prélude du chant:
nakyenākī: 1.4.22

RV.IV.30.1; SV.203, *pratīka*: *nákir indra tvád úttaro*

na[4] / kyenaaki[5]i // [1]aaindratvaduttaraam / Gg.

I.2– Le procédé *varga*:

Le terme technique « *varga* » désigne un corps plus ample, soit un ensemble.

várga (m.) est un groupe numérique fixe, une collection, catégorie, division, classe; la subdivision d'un *adhyāya* dans le *Ṛgvedá*; *varga* peut être aussi un terme applicable en mathématiques.

Le mot vient de la racine √*vṛj, vṛṇákti*, soit: [2]

« ce qui est amené hors de, détaché de la source et fait un détour, mais aussi une mise en commun, fermeture, ce qui est voilé par un écran, opposé au droit, à la vérité, tordu, faux... »

I.2.1- Le terme *varga* du *sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* employé dans SVB.1.3.3; 1.3.9; 1.3.11; 1.4.3; 1.4.4; 1.4.9; 1.4.13; 1.4.17; 1.4.19; 1.4.20; 1.7.16; 1.8.13 est un ensemble numérique implicite qui peut dévoiler un vaste champ ou rester encore voilé comme par exemple:

SVB.1.3.3-prathamaṁ trivargaṁ: RV.VI.16.10, *pratīka*: *ágna ā́ yāhi vītáye*

SV.1 [(*ṛc*) *Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya*; *Agní*; *gāyatrī́*; (3)*gāna*: *parka*; *ṛṣi*: *Gotama*; *barhiṣya*; *ṛṣi*: *Kaśyapa*] -Gg.

SV.1 [(*ṛc*) *Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya*; *Agní*; *gāyatrī́*; *gāna*: *priya*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni*] -Āg.

SV.660-62 [(*tṛc*) *Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya*; *Agní*; *gāyatrī́*]
[nombre de *gāna*: Gg. (3); Āg. (1); Ūhg.] 3[3]

[2] Pour le sens de la racine et la relation avec le *pravargya*, voir HOUBEN, *EJVS*. 2007: 169-181.

[3] Les *gāna Ūhya* (Ūhg.) de l'*Uttarārcika* n'ont pu être comptablilisés ici faute d'accès aux éditions correspondantes. Les *gāna Ūha* (Ūg.) ont été reconstitués à partir des éditions du *Puṣpasūtra*.

Ici il est question d'un *trivarga* là où les livres *geya* donnent au minimum un *caturvarga*.

SVB.1.4.3-*punānáḥ soma dhā́raya* +iti vargeṇa: RV.IX.107.4, *pratīka*: *punānáḥ soma dhā́rayāpó*

SV. 511 [(*ṛc*) *Saptarṣayaḥ=Bharadvāja*, *Kaśyapa*, *Gotama*, *Atri*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭha*; *SómaPavamānā́*; *bṛhatī́*; (16)*gāna*: *āyāsya*, *aiḍa āyāsya*, *triṇidhana āyāsya*, *tiraścīnidhana*; *ṛṣi*: *Āyāsya Āṅgirasa*; *māṇḍava*; *ṛṣi*: *Maṇḍu*; *āpadāsa*; *ṛṣi*: *Vasiṣṭha*; *soma*; *ṛṣi*: *Soma*; *udvat prājāpatya*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*; *kaṇvarathantara*; *ṛṣi*: *Kaṇva*; *sadoviśīya*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*; *svavāsi*; *ṛṣi*: *Jamadagni*; *plava*; *ṛṣi*: *Vasiṣṭha*; *raurava*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni*, *Ruru*; *yaudhājaya*; *ṛṣi*: *Indra*, *Yudhājit*, *Vísvāmitra*] -Gg.

SV. 511 [(*ṛc*) *Saptarṣayaḥ=Bharadvāja*, *Kaśyapa*, *Gotama*, *Atri*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭha*; *SómaPavamānā́*; *bṛhatī́*; *gāna*: *airayairiṇa*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgiras*, *Varu.na*] -Āg.

SV. 675-676 [(*ṛc*) *Saptarṣayaḥ=Bharadvāja*, *Kaśyapa*, *Gotama*, *Atri*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭha*; *SómaPavamānā́*; *pragāthábṛhatī́*; (45)*gāna*: *raurava*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni* (*Saptarṣayah*); *yaudhājaya*; *ṛṣi*: *Yudhājit*; *aiḍāyāsya*; *ṛṣi*: *Ayāsya*; *triṇidhanāyāsya*; *ṛṣi*: *Ayāsya*; *kaṇvarathantara*; *ṛṣi*: *Kaṇva*; *gauṅgava*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni*; *sāptamikāyāsya*; [Nānā: *dvinidhanāyāsya*]*;* *ṛṣi*: *Ayāsya*; *utsedha*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgirasas; yajñāyajñīya*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni Vaiśvānara*; *niṣedha*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgirasas*; *samanta*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni*; *abhīrvata*; *ṛṣi*: *Abhīvarta* [Nānā: *Prajāpati*]; *mahāvaiṣṭambha*; *ṛṣi*: *Viṣṭambha*; *kāleya*; *ṛṣi*: *Kali*; *vaṣaṭkāraṇidhana*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*; *dairghaśravasa*; *ṛṣi*: *Dīrghaśravas*; *maidhātitha*; *ṛṣi*: *Medhātithi*; *varuṇa*; *ṛṣi*: *Varuṇa*; *vaiyaśva*; *ṛṣi*: *Vyaśva*; *pṛśni*; *ṛṣi*: *Bharadvāja*; *ābhīśavottara*; *ṛṣi*: *Abhīśu*; *paurumadga*; *ṛṣi*: *Gotama*; *āṣkaraṇidhanakāṇva*; *ṛṣi*: *Kaṇva*; *soma*; *ṛṣi*: *Soma*; *bārhaduktha*; *ṛṣi*: *Bṛhaduktha*; *pṛṣṭha*; *ṛṣi*: ?; *kaulmalabarhiṣa*; *ṛṣi*: *Kulmalabarhi*; *vāśa*; *ṛṣi*: *Naipatithi* [T.: *Vāśa*]; *mādhucchandasa*; *ṛṣi*: *Madhucchandas*; *ubhayastobhagautama*; *ṛṣi*: *Gotama*; *dvihiṁkāravāmadevya*; *ṛṣi*: *Vāmadeva*; *dvaigata*; *ṛṣi*: *Dvigat*; *arkapuṣpa*; *ṛṣi*: *Āditya*; *kaṇvabṛhat*; *ṛṣi*: *Kaṇva*; *rathantara*; *ṛṣi*: *Vasiṣṭha*; *saptaha*; *ṛṣi*: *Jamadagni*; *devasthāna*; *ṛṣi*: *Varuṇa*; *ārthavaṇa*; *ṛṣi*: *Atharvan*; *yaśah*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*; *aśvinorvrata*; *ṛṣi*: *Aśvinau*; *apāṃvrata*; *ṛṣi*: *Āpaḥ*; *gavāṃvrata*; *ṛṣi*: *Gāvaḥ*; *rathantara*; *ṛṣi*: *Vasiṣṭha*; *vārkajambhādya*; *ṛṣi*: *Vṛkajambha*; *bṛhat*; *ṛṣi*: *Bharadvāja*] -Ūg.

11 *rahasyagāna*: *rathantara*, *saptaha*, *devasthāna*, *ārthavaṇa*, *yaśah*, *aśvinorvrata*, *apāṃvrata*, *gavāṃvrata*, *rathantara*, *vārkajambhādya*, *bṛhat*

[nombre de *gāna*: Gg. (16); Āg. (1); Ūg. (45) dont 11*rahasya*; Ūhg.]

SVB.1.4.3-*párītó ṣiñcatā sutáṁ* iti vargeṇa: RV.IX107.1, *pratīka*: *párītó ṣiñcatā sutáṁ*

SV. 512, [(*ṛc*) *Saptarṣayaḥ=Bharadvāja*, *Kaśyapa*; *Gotama*, *Atri*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭha*; *SómaPavamāná*; *bṛhatī́*; (18)*gāna*: *acchidra*; *ṛṣi*: *Viśvāmitra*; *rayiṣṭha*; *ṛṣi*: *Indra*; (2)*bhāradvāja*; *ṛṣi*: *Bharadvāja*; (2)*ābhīśava*; *ṛṣi*: *Abhīśu*; (2)*māṇḍava*; *ṛṣi*: *Maṇḍu*; *abhīvāsa*, *parivāsa*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgiras*; *vaiṇava*; *ṛṣi*: *Veṇu*; *somakratavīya*, *māṇḍava*; *ṛṣi*: *Somakratu*, *Maṇḍu*; *gūrda-pratoda*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*, *Kaśyapa*; *goṣṭha*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgiras*; *puṁstin*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgiras*; *mahāraurava*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni*, *Ruru*; *mahāyaudhājaya*; *ṛṣi*: *Indra*, *Yudhājit*, *Vísvāmitra*] -Gg.

SV. 1313-15, [(*tṛc*) *Saptarṣayaḥ=Bharadvāja*, *Kaśyapa*; *Gotama*, *Atri*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭha*; *SómaPavamāná*; *pragāthá*-première *ṛc* est *bṛhatī́*, seconde est *satóbṛhatī́*, troisième est *dvipadā́virā́j*; (31*gāna*) *pṛṣṭha*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*; *kaulmalabarhiṣa*; *ṛṣi*: *Kumalabarhiḥ* [Nānā: *Kulmala*]; *arkapuṣpa*; *ṛṣi*: *Āditya*; *dairghaśravasa*; *ṛṣi*: *Dīrghaśravas*; *vaiyaśva*; *ṛṣi*: *Vyaśva*; *ābhīśavādya*; *ṛṣi*: *Abhīśu*; *mādhucchandasa*; *ṛṣi*: *Madhucchandas*; *aiḍamāyāsya*; *ṛṣi*: *Ayāsya*; *bharadvājasya pṛśni*; *ṛṣi*: *Bharadvāja*; *ābhīśavottara*; *ṛṣi*: *Abhīśu*; *samanta*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni*; *kāleya*; *ṛṣi*: *Kali*; *bārhaduktha*; *ṛṣi*: *Bṛhaduktha*; *raurava*; *ṛṣi*: *Ruru*; *āṣṭādaṁṣṭottara*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṣṭādaṁstra*; *varuṇa*; *ṛṣi*: *Varuṇa*; *utsedha*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgirasas*; *pṛśni*; *ṛṣi*: *Bharadvāja*; *vāmra*; *ṛṣi*: *Vamra*; *mānavottara*; *ṛṣi*: *Manu*; *ānūpavādhryaśva*; *ṛṣi*: *Anūpa Vādhryaśva*; *yaudhājaya*; *ṛṣi*: *Yudhājit*; *dvaigata*; *ṛṣi*: *Dvigat Bhārgava*; *kaṇvarathantara*; *ṛṣi*: *Kaṇva*; *devasthāna*; *ṛṣi*: *Varuṇa*; *saṃkṛti*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*, *Devāḥ*; *bharga*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*; *yaśaḥ*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*; *ārthavaṇa*; *ṛṣi*: *Atharvaṇa*; *rathantara*; *ṛṣi*: *Vasiṣṭha*; *vārkajambhottara*; *ṛṣi*: *Vṛkajambha*]-Ūg.

7 *rahasyagāna*: *devasthāna*, *saṃkṛti*, *bharga*, *yaśah*, *ārthavaṇa*, *rathantara*, *vārkajambhottara*

[nombre de *gāna*: Gg. (18); Ūg. (31) dont 7*rahasya*]

SVB.1.4.9-*sómaḥ pavate janitā́ matīnā́ṁ* iti caturvargeṇa: RVIX.96.5, *pratīka*: *sómaḥ pavate janitā́*

SV. 527 [(*ṛc*) *Pratardana Daivodāsi*; *SómaPavamāná*; *triṣṭúbh*; (4) *gāna*: 2*viśāla*; *ṛṣi*: *Veṇu*; 2*tantrātantra*; *ṛṣi*: *Gotama* (ĀrṣB); 2*vāsiṣṭha*; *ṛṣi*: *Vasiṣṭha*; 2*jānitra*; *ṛṣi*: *Aṅgiras*, *Vasiṣṭha* (Sad)] -Gg.

SV. 943-45 [(*tṛc*) *Pratardana Daivodāsi*; *SómaPavamāná*; *triṣṭúbh*; (4)*gāna*: *vātsapra*; *ṛṣi*: *Vatsapri*; *jānitra*; *ṛṣi*: *Vasiṣṭha*; *yajñāyajñīya*; *ṛṣi*: *Agni Vaiśvānara*; *śyāvāśva*; *ṛṣi*: *Śyāvāṣva*] -Ūg.

[nombre de *gāna*: Gg. (4); Ūg. (4)]

I.2.2- Nombre de *gāna* pouvant former un *varga* dans SVB:

SVB. livre I:	Gg.	Āg.	Ūg.	Ūhg. (+)[4]	nb.*gāna*/*varga*
1.3.3	3	1		+	4^+
1.3.9 (2*pratīka*)	4 2		1	+	4^+ 3
1.3.11	2	2			4
1.4.3: (3*pratīka*)	4 16 18	1	8 > 2*rahasya*< 45 > 11*rahasya*< 31 > 7*rahasya*<	 +	12 62^+ 49
1.4.4	6		7 > 1*rahasya*<		13
1.4.9	4		4		8
1.4.13	3	1		+	4^+
1.4.17	4		1		5
1.4.19: (4*pratīka*)	2 2 5 8	1	 1 1 10 > 1*rahasya*<	 + +	2 3 7^+ 18^+
1.4.20: (3*pratīka*)	3 3 3		1 1		4 4 3
1.7.16	3				3
1.8.13	4		2		6

I.2.3- L'environnement du *varga.*

I.2.3.1- Le terme est précédé d'un nombre:

tri:

SVB.1.3.3 / prathamaṁ trivargaṁ (4^+*gāna*)
SVB.1.4.13 / prathamas trivargaḥ (4^+*gāna*)

catur:

SVB.1.3.9 / *tám índraṁ vājayāmasi* iti caturvargeṇa (4^+*gāna*)
SVB.1.3.11 / *bṛhád índrāya gāyata* iti caturvargeṇa (4*gāna*)
SVB.1.4.3 / *yajñā́yajñā vo agnáye* iti caturvargeṇa (12*gāna*)

[4] *Ūhg*.: le nombre de *gāna* dans ces livres n'a pu être identifié et sera symbolisé par le signe (+).

SVB.1.4.9 / *sómaḥ pavate janitā́ matīnā́ṁ* iti caturvargeṇa (8*gāna*)
SVB.1.8.13 / *agne tváṁ no ántama* iti caturvargeṇa (6*gāna*)

I.2.3.2- *varga* ne donne pas son nombre:

SVB.1.4.3 / *punānáḥ soma dhā́raya* iti vargeṇa (62+*gāna*)
SVB.1.4.3 / *párītó ṣiñcatā sutáṁ* iti vargeṇa (49*gāna*)
SVB.1.4.4 / *tisró vā́ca údīrate* iti vargeṇa (13*gāna*)
SVB.1.4.17 / *tad vo* vargaḥ (5*gāna*)
SVB.1.7.16 / *agnís tigména* iti vargaṃ (3*gāna*)

I.2.3.3- des *varga* pluriel dont le nombre n'est pas précisé avec leurs sous-ensembles:

SVB.1.4.19 / *ádardar, suṣvāṇā́so, ā́ tū́ na iti vargāḥ*: (3varga:2,3,7+=12+gāna)
SVB.1.4.20 / *ā́ mandraír indra háribhir, ā́ no víśvāsu hávya, prá senānī́ḥ iti vargāḥ*: (3varga:4,4,3=11gāna)

I.2.3.4- le terme *varga* est absent:

SVB.1.3.9- *tám índraṁ vājayāmasi* iti caturvargeṇa *asyá preṣā́* iti (*vargeṇa*)
[nombre de *gāna*: Gg; (6); Ūg. (1)]
SVB.1.4.19-*mṛjyámānaḥ suhastya* iti prathamaṣaṣṭhe (*vargasya*) (RV. IX.107.21-SV. 1079-80)
[nombre de *gāna*: Gg; (8); Ūg. (10) dont 1*rahasya*]
SVB.1.5.8- bhrātaraṁ mātulaṁ pitṛvyam iti gurujātīyān prasādya pakṣinīṁ rātrim upoṣya *távāháṁ̐ soma rāraṇa* iti prathamam (*vargasya*) ekaviṁ̐śatikṛtvaḥ (*gāyet*)
SVB.1.5.9- upādhyāyaṁ mātaraṁ pitaram ity (*gurujātīyān prasādya*) eteṣu *trirātram upavasann etasyaivāntyam* (*vargasya gāyet*)

I.2.4- Pour un *varga* imprécis, les commentateurs hésitent:

KONOW: « Burnell erwähnt, Introduction s.32, einen Fall, wo die Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa angegebene Zahl der Sāmans nicht mit dem Grāmageyagāna stimmt. Er nimmt hier mit Sāyaṇa eine Verschiedenheit der Śākhā an. Ein anderer Fall derselben Art ist *bṛhad indrāya gāyateti caturvargeṇa* in I.3.10, wo das Geyagāna nur zwei Sāmans hat. Man kann hierbei auch an eine andere Möglichkeit denken. Ein Sāman nämlich kann ja auch zu anderen Yonis gesungen werden als zu derjenigen, der es zugeschrieben wird ».[5]

[5] KONOW 1893: 10.

« BURNELL mentionne dans son introduction (p. 32) un cas où le décompte indiqué des *sāman* du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* ne correspond pas à celui du *Grāmageyagāna*. Il accepte ici avec Sāyaṇa une diversité de *śākhā*. Un autre cas de même nature est en 1.3.10: *bṛhad indrāya gāyateti caturvargeṇa*, là où le *Geyagāna* n'a seulement que deux *Sāman*. On peut alors penser à une autre possibilité: en effet, un *sāman* peut être aussi chanté d'une *yoni* autre que celle pour laquelle il a été attribué ».

OLDENBERG renvoie au commentaire de Sāyaṇa pris de l'édition de SĀMAŚRAMIN:[6]

> *chando-nāmake granthe nānā-vidhānāṁ sāmnāṃ yonibhūtā eva ṛcaḥ paṭhitāḥ* [7]

« Dans l'œuvre appelée *Chandas* (là où l'arrangement selon la métrique est la caractéristique=*Pūrvārcika*), les *ṛc*, précisément devenues *yoni* des *Sāman* diversement fixés, sont apprises (récitées). »

Une autre possibilité est, au regard du tableau (1.3.11), que les deux livres *Geyagāna* donnent le bon nombre.

I.3- Le procédé *daśat*:

Six occurrences sont formulées dans le Livre I: SVB.1.4.2; 1.4.3; 1.4.5; 1.4.6; 1.4.7; 1.4.9 pour un ensemble de 57 *yoni*. Si nous considérons seulement les chants du *Grāmageya* en harmonie avec les trois premiers *khaṇḍa* du *Pūrvārcika* nous avons en grande majorité une équivalence de dix pour notre texte; pourtant nous avons deux exceptions: une *daśat* comprenant *aṣṭagāna* et une autre *navagāna*.

→ 1.4.5 / *ā́ va índraṃ krívim yathā* iti daśatā

SV.214 [(*ṛc*) *Śunaḥśepa Ājīgarti*; *Índra*; *gāyatrī́*; *gāna*: *kautsa*; *ṛṣi*: *Kutsa*] -Gg.

SV.214-222, soit:

RV.I.30.1; VIII.92.10; VIII.45.4; VIII.32.10; I.90.1; VIII.5.1; III.62.16; I.37.10; I.22.17.

Les 9 *gāna*: 1-*kautsa*; 2-*kautsa*; 3-*taubha*; 4-*bhāradvāja*; 5-*kautsa*; 6-*auṣasa*; 7-*saṃyojana*; 8-*ṛtuṣā*; 9-*viṣṇoḥ*.(Gg.)

[9*yoni*; Gg: 9*gāna*]

→ 1.4.7 / *ábodhy agnís* iti daśataṁ

SV.73 [(*ṛc*) *Budha*, *Gaviṣṭhira Ātreya*; *Agní*; *triṣṭúbh*; *gāna*: *śyena*, *śyaina*, *śyaita*, *śayana*, *śāyana*, *dīrghāyuṣya*; *ṛṣi*: *Prajāpati*] -Gg.

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[6] SĀMAŚRAMIN 1871-89 Vol.i: 22.

[7] *ví-dhā-ana*: le fait de déterminer, fixer. Attribuer des applications différentes.

SV.73-80, soit:

RV V.1.1; X.46.5; VI.58.1; III.1.23; X.46.1; VII.6.1; III.29.2; X.87.19.
Les 9 *gāna*: 1-*śyena-śyaina-śyaita-śayana-śāyana-dīrghāyuṣya*; 2-*śukra*; 3-*pauṣa*; 4-*kautsa*; 5-2*kāśyapa*; 6-*ghṛtāci*; 7-*prāsāha*; 8-*rākṣoghna*.(Gg.)

SV.1746-48, SV.1758-60, soit:

RV. V.1-3; RVI.157.1-3
Les 6 *gāna*: 1-3-3*auśana*; 4-6-3*kāva*. (Ūg.)
[8*yoni*; Gg: 9*gāna*; Ūg: 6*gāna*; Ūhg:]

« Est-ce-que par *daśata,* on veut dire les premiers *Sāman* comme *yoni* complète dans une *daśati*, ou est-ce qu'on entend par là tous les *Sāman* d'une *daśati* ? Je n'ai pu en décider. L'explication de *Sāyaṇa* en 1.4.2 par *daśavarga* penche pour la première possibilité. En I.3.2 *Sāyaṇa* définit *varga* par *Sāman*. Le mot indique ordinairement dans notre *Brāhmaṇa* le *Sāman* ou les *Sāman* appartenant à une *Yoni... daśavarga* désignerait une section de dix *Sāman*, tout comme *trivarga* une collection de trois ou *caturvarga* une collection de quatre ou *ṣaḍvarga* une collection de six *Sāman*. Ou est-ce qu'on entend par là la section des *gāna* par *daśati* » KONOW.[8]

Le terme employé dans cette étude est très clairement: *daśat.* Il est à noter que le processus *daśat* n'est pas repris dans les deux autres livres du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*.

I.4- Procédé *saṃhitā*:

Les *mantragānasaṃhitā* du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* se basant exclusivement sur *Pūrvārcika* et ses référentiels *Grāmageyagāna* et *Araṇyegeyagāna* devront être présentés. Les petites *saṃhitā* sont appelées: *mādhucchandasī*, *raudrī*, *vaiṣṇavī*, *vaināyakī*, *skandasya*, *pitryā*, *amṛtā*.

Pour cet article voici la *raudrīsaṃhitā.*[9]

[8] KONOW: « Ob mit Daçata die ersten Sāmans zu sämtlichen Yōnis in einer Daçati gemeint sind, oder ob alle Sāmans der Daçati darunter zu verstehen sind, vermag ich aber nicht zu entscheiden. Sāyaṇas erklärung zu I,4,2 mit daçavarga spricht für die erste Möglichkeit. Sāyaṇa erklärt zu I,3,2 varga mit sāman. Das Wort bezeichnet gewöhnlich in unserem Brāhmaṇa das oder die zu einer Yōni gehörenden Sāmans. Mit einem Zahlwort zusammengesetzt, bezeichnet es einen Abschnitt, bestehend aus so vielen Sāmans, als das Zahlwort ausdrückt. So trivarga (I,3,2), caturvarga (z.B.I,8,13), (ṣaḍvarga (II,7,3). Daçavarga würde demnach eine Abschnitt von 10 Sāmans bezeichnen. Oder hat es eine Einteilung der Gānas in Daçatis gegeben? » 1893: 11.

[9] Pour faciliter la lecture des sons la transcription des caractères est ainsi: Une longue: doublement de la syllabe: ā → aa.

raudrīsaṃhitā

	ṛgvedá-mántra-sāmavedá-mántra-gāna
IV.3.1	á vo rā́jānam adhvarásya rudrám hótāraṁ satyayájaṃ ródasyoḥ / agníṃ purā́ tanayitnór acíttād dhíraṇyarūpam ávase kṛṇudhvam //
69-s	2 3 1 2 3 1 2 3 1 2r 3 2 3 1 3 aa vo raajaanamadhvarasya rudraṃ hotaaraṁ satyayajaṃ rodasyoḥ / 3 2 3 1 2 3 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 1 2 agniṃ puraa tanayitnoracittaaddhiraṇyaruupamavase kṛṇudhvam //
-pp	2 3 1 2r 3 1 2 3 2 1 2r 3 1 2 3 1 2r 1 2r aa / vaḥ / raajaanam / adhvarasya / rudram // hotaaraṁ / satyayajaṁ / satya / yajaṃ / rodasyoḥ // 3 2 3 2 3 2 3 1 2 3 1 2r 1 2r 1 2r 3 1 2r 3 agniṃ / puraa / tanayitnor / acittaat / aa / cittat // hiraṇyaruupaṃ / hiraṇya / ruupaṃ / avase / kṛṇudhvam //
-g.g *vāmadevya* *raudra*	4r 5r r 4 3 2 3 2 3 4 5 1 2r 1 2 ^ 2^ 3 4 5 aavoraajaa // namadhva / rasyarudraam / ho / taa / raam / sa / tyayajaa ऽ३ m / rodasiiyoḥ // 2 1 2 3 2^3 4 5 1 2 1 2 ^ 1 2 ^ 2 ^ 4 agniṃpu / raa / tanayi / loracittat // hiraṇya / ruu // paa ऽ३ mava / saa ऽ३४३ i / kaa ऽ३ ṛṇuu ऽ५ dhvaa ऽ६५६ m //
VI.45.22	tád vo gāya suté sácā puruhūtā́ya sátvane / śáṃ yád gáve ná śākíne //
115-s	1 2 3 1 2r 3 2 3 1 2 2u 3 2 3 1 2 tadvo gaaya sute sacaa puruhuutaaya satvane / śaṃ yad gave na śaakine //
-pp	2 3 2 1 2r 3 1 2 3 1 2 1 2r 1 2r 3 1 2 tat / vaḥ / gaaya / sute / sacaa // puruhuutaaya / puru / huutaaya / satvane // śaṃ / yat / gave / na / śaakine //
-g.g-1 *mārgīyava*	5 r 4 5 1 ^ 3 2 ^3 5 1 2r r 1 2 1 2 ^ 2^ 3 5 tadvauhovaa // gaayaa ऽ२ / sutaaisaa ऽ२३४ caa / puruhuutaa / yasaatvaa ऽ१ naa ऽ२ i // śaṃyat / haa / au ऽ३ hoi / gaa ऽ२३४ vaai // 1 ^ 3 5r r 2 ^ 1 1 1 1 naa ऽ२ śaa ऽ२३४ auhovaa // e ऽ३ / kine ऽ२३४५ //
-g.g-2 *raudra*	5 r r 2 ^ 1 r 2 3r 2 ^ 1 2 3 5 2 1 2 tadvogaaya // sutaaisacaa ऽ३ / puru ऽ२३ huutaa ऽ३४ / haaho ऽ३/ yaasatvaa ऽ२३४ nai // śaṃyadgaa ऽ२३ ve // naśau ऽ२ / hau ऽ२ / 1 5 4 5 huvo ऽ२३४/ vaa // kaa ऽ५ ino ऽ६ haai //
-g.g-3 *raudra*	5 r r r 5 2 r 1r 2r 1 2r r 1 a 2 5 2 ^ 3 5 1 4 tadvogaayasutesacaa ऽ६ e // puruhuutaayasatvane / puruhuutaa / yaasatvaa ऽ२३ naa ऽ३४ i // śaṃyat / gauvaao ऽ२३४ vaa // naa ऽ२३ śaa ऽ३, 2 ^ 5 kaa ऽ३४५ ino ऽ६ haai //

	ṛgvedá-mántra-sāmavedá-mántra-gāna
-g.g-4 *mārgīyava īnidhana*	tadvogaayasutesacaa ऽ६ e // puruhuutaayasatvanai // śaṃyadgaa ऽ२ ३ ve // ai ऽ२ ho ऽ१ aa ऽ२ ३ ihii / naśaa ऽ२ ३ / kaa ऽ२ inaa ऽ२ ३ ४ auhovaa // ii ऽ२ ३ ४ ५ //
VI.7.1	mūrdhā́naṃ divó aratíṃ pṛthivyā́ vaiśvānarám ṛtá ā́ jātám agním / kavíṁ samrā́jam átithiṃ jánānām āsánn ā́ pā́traṃ janayanta devā́ḥ //
67-s	muurdhaanaṃ divo aratiṃ pṛthivyaa vaiśvaanaramṛta aa jaatamagnim / kaviṁ samraajamatithiṃ janaanaamaasannaḥ paatraṃ janayanta devaaḥ //
-pp	muurdhaanaṃ / divaḥ / aratiṃ / pṛthivyaaḥ // vaiśvaanaraṃ / vaiśva / naraṃ / ṛte / aa / jaataṃ / agnim // kaviṁ / samraajam / saṃ / raajaṃ / atithiṃ / janaanaam // aasan / naḥ / paatraṃ / janayanta / devaaḥ //
-g.g-1 *agnervaiśvānara*	muurddhohohaai // naṃdaa ऽ२ ३ ४ ivaaḥ / arataaim / pṛthii ऽ३ vyaaḥ / vaiśvaanaraam / ṛtaaa / jaatamagniim // kaviṁsamraajamatithaaim / janaa ऽ२ ३ naam // aasanaaḥpaa / traa ऽ३ ० jana / yaa ऽ३ ४ ३ / taa ऽ३ daa ऽ५ ivaa ऽ६ ५ ६ ḥ //
-g.g-2 *agnervaiśvānara*	hovaai / muurddhohaai // naṃdaai / vaa ऽ३ ara / tiṃpṛthivyaaḥ / ihoiyaa ऽ३ / ii ऽ३ yaa / vaiśvaanaraam / ṛtaaa / jaatamagniim / ihoiyaa ऽ३/ ii ऽ३ yaa // kaviṁsamraa / jaa ऽ३ mati / thiṃjanaanaam / ihoiyaa ऽ३ / ii ऽ३ yaa // aasannaḥpaa / traa ऽ३ ० jana / yatadevaaḥ / ihoiyaa ऽ३ / ii ऽ२ / yaa ऽ२ ३ ४ / auhovaa // ii ऽ२ ३ ४ ५ //
ājyadohāni : ā.g-1 *jyeṣṭha*	haauhaauhaau / aajyadoham / (triḥ) / muurddhaanandaai / vaa ऽ३ ara / tiṃpṛthivyaaḥ / vaiśvaanaraam / ṛtaaa / jaatamagniim // kaviṁsamraa / jaa ऽ३ mati / thiṃjanaanaam // aasanna * paa / traa ऽ३ ० jana / yantadevaaḥ / haauhaauhaau / aajyadoham / (dviḥ) / aajyado ऽ५ haau / vaa / e / aajyadoham / (dve-dviḥ) / e / aajyadohaa ऽ२ ३ ४ ५ m //
ā.g.2 *īnidhana*	haauhaauhaau / hum(sthi) cidoham / cidoham / cidoham / muurddhaanandaai / vaa ऽ३ ara / tiṃpṛthivyaaḥ // vaiśvaanaraam / ṛtaaa/ jaatamagniim // kaviṁsamraa / jaa ऽ३ mati / thiṃjanaanaam // aasanna * paa / traa ऽ३ ० jana / yantadevaaḥ / haauhaauhaau / hum(sthi)cidoham / cidoham / cido ऽ३ haau / vaa ऽ३ // ii ऽ२ ३ ४ ५//

	ṛgvedá-mántra-sāmavedá-mántra-gāna
ā.g-3 *ṛtanidhana*	haauhaauhaau / vyoham / (triḥ) / muurddhaanandaai / vaa ऽ३ ara / timpṛthivyaaḥ // vaiśvaanaraam / ṛtaaa / jaatamagniim // kaviṁsamraa / jaa ऽ३ mati / thiṃjanaanaam // aasanna * paa / traa ऽ३ ñjana / yantadevaaḥ / haauhaauhaau / cyoham (dviḥ) / cyo ऽ३ haau / vaa ऽ३ // e ऽ३/ ṛtam //
devavratāni 615-s *stobhānugāna*	
ā.g.-1 *raudra*	adipa / taai / mitrapa / taai / kṣatrapa / taai / sva * pataai / dhanapataa ऽ२ i / naa ऽ२ maaḥ // manyunaavṛtrahaasuuryeṇasvaraaḍyajñenamaghavaadakṣiṇaasyapriyaatanuuraajñaaviśaṃdaadhaara / vṛṣabhastvaṣṭaavṛtreṇaśaciipatirannenagaya * pṛthivyaasṛṇikogninaaviśvaṃbhuutam / bhyabhavovaayunaaviśvaa * prajaaabhyapavathaavaṣaṭkaareṇaarddhabhaaksomenasomapaaḥsamityaaparameṣṭhii / yedevaadevaaḥ / diviṣadaḥ / sthatebhyovodevaadevebhyonamaḥ / yedevaadevaaḥ / antarikṣasadaḥ / sthatebhyovodevaadevebhyonamaḥ / yedevaadevaḥ / pṛthiviiṣadaḥ / sthatebhyovodevaadevebhyonamaḥ / yedevaadevaaḥ / apsuṣadaḥ / sthatebhyovodevaadevebhyonamaḥ / yedevaadevaaḥ / dikṣusadaḥ / sthatebhyovodevaadevebhyonamaḥ / yedevaadevaaḥ / aaśaasadaḥ / sthatebhyovodevaadevebhyonamaḥ / avajyaamivadhanvanovitemanyunnayaamasimṛdataannaiha // asmabhyam / iḍaa ऽ२ ३ bhaa // yaidaṃviśvaṃbhuutam / yuyo ऽ३ aau / vaa ऽ२ ३ // naa ऽ२ ३ ४ maa //

	ṛgvedá-mántra-sāmavedá-mántra-gāna
ā.g.-2 *raudra*	adipa / taai / mitrapa / taai / kṣatrapa / taai / sva ॰ pataai / dhanapataa ऽ२ i / naa ऽ२ maaḥ // namauttatibhyaścottanvaanebhyaścanamoniiṣaṃgibhyaścopaviitibhyaścanamosyadbhyaścapra / tidadhaanebhyaścanama ॰ pravidhyadbhyaścapravyaadhibhyaścanamaḥtsaradbhyaścatsaaribhyaścanamaḥśri / tebhyaścasraayibhyaścanamastiṣṭhadbhyaścopatiṣṭhadbhyaścanamoyatecaviyatecanama ॰ pathecavipathaayaca / avajyaamivadhanvanovitemanyunnayaamasimṛḍataannaiha // asmabhyam / iḍaa ऽ२३ bhaa // yaidaṃviśvabhuutam / yuyo ऽ३ aau / vaa ऽ२३ // naa ऽ२३४ maaḥ //
ā.g-3 *vaiśvadeva*	adipa / taai / mitrapa / taai / kṣatrapa / taai / sva ॰ pataai / dhanapataa ऽ२ i / naa ऽ२ maaḥ // namonnaayanamonnapatayaekaakṣaayacaavapannaadaayacanamonamaḥ / rudraayatiirasadenamaḥsthiraayasthiradhanvanenama ॰ pratipadaayacapaṭariṇecanamastriyambakaayacaka / pardinecanamaaaśraayebhyaścapratyaaśraayebhyaścanama ॰ kravyebhyaścavirimphebhyaścanamaḥsaṃvṛtecavivṛteca / avajyaamivadhanvanovitemanyunnayaamasimṛḍataannaiha // asmabhyam / iḍaa ऽ२३ bhaa // yaidaṃviśvaṃbhuutam / yuyo ऽ३ aau / vaa ऽ२३ // naa ऽ२३४ maaḥ //

SVB.1.4.17 / *ā́ vo rā́jānam tad vo* varga ājyadohāni devavratāni caiṣā raudrī nāma saṁhitaitāṁ prayuñjan rudraṁ prīṇāti //

II- Les phrases elliptiques du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*.

II.1- Une tacite concaténation ou le processus *anuvṛtti*:

Comment fonctionne le système *anuvṛtti* dans la grammaire à travers les travaux de S.D. JOSHI et Saroja BHATE puis une étude de Jan HOUBEN.

II.1.1- L'*anuvṛtti décrypté* par Saroja BHATE et S.D. JOSHI s'interprète avec les données suivantes:[10]

Selon l'arrangement des règles de l'Aṣṭādhyāyī [~4000], Pāṇini ne travaille pas avec le processus de transformation mais de substitution.

Tous les éléments ne sont pas explicitement présents dans la rédaction du *sūtra*.

Tout comme les verbes finis sont implicites, un certain élément est compris du contexte.

Interprétant certaines règles les commentateurs empruntent le terme manquant de la règle précédente.

L'emprunt ou cette reconduction implicite d'un (des) mot(s) est techniquement appelé *anuvṛtti*. La procédure de l'*anuvṛtti* n'est rien d'autre qu'une forme d'ellipse laquelle est une forme naturelle du langage. Toutefois une importante différence entre l'*anuvṛtti* et l'ellipse (*vākyaśeṣa*) dans le langage naturel est celle-ci: l'ellipse y est temporelle et factuelle alors que l'*anuvṛtti* est obligatoire. La reconduction y est mécanique avec la possibilité d'un effet de blocage par incompatibilité. L'*anuvṛtti* est intrinsèque au style *Pāṇinisūtra*.

Les règles fondamentales de l'*anuvṛtti* sont dégagées ainsi:

– un mot (ou groupe de mots) est reconduit dans les règles postérieures à moins qu'ils ne soient en incompatibilité avec un autre mot (ou groupe de mots).

– deux mots (ou groupe de mots) sont incompatibles s'ils appartiennent au même groupe A, ou B ou C.

– un mot (ou groupe de mots) en entête en arrête un autre mais pas un attribut si c'est compatible.

– un qualificatif arrête un autre qualificatif devenu incompatible, mais n'arrête pas un mot (ou groupe de mots) en entête si c'est compatible.

– dans certains cas le qualificatif n'est pas reconduit non pas par syntaxe, mais par incompatibilité de groupes sémantiques.

[10] II.1.1 est tiré de JOSHI, BHATE 1984.

Dans une thématique Pāṇini-éenne les *sūtra* sont arrangés sur la base de l'*anuvṛtti.*

L'*adhikāra* est la tête de chapitre, par ex.:

Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.3.1 ouvre une nouvelle thématique par un *adhikāra*: *anabhihite*

> « (ajout d'une désinence après radical) si ce n'est (déjà) exprimé »
> « in der Folge ist zu einem Locativ das Wort (*anabhihita*) wenn (das Object...) nicht schon ausgedrückt ist » zu ergänzen.

Le point de départ serait un énoncé: phrase préliminaire pour commencer une procédure Pāṇini-éenne

nivṛttiḥ fait cesser:

pūrvatrāsiddham: (dans cette section chaque règle est considérée comme) n'ayant aucun effet au regard des règles précédentes A.8.2.1

Pour confirmer voici un exemple de texte Pāṇini-éen étudié et traduit par Jan HOUBEN:[11]

II.1.2- Le Prakriyāsarvasva de Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa

a_*ekayoganirdiṣṭānām saha vā pravṛttiḥ vā nivṛttiḥ*

Paribhāṣenduśekhara de Nāgeśa
Prakriyāsarvasva de Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa XVII.4

« les éléments indiqués dans une seule et même règle grammaticale ou bien procèdent ensemble (sont reconduits ensemble) ou bien ils disparaissent ensemble (dans la règle suivante) »

b_*ekayoganirdiṣṭānām apy ekadeśo'nuvartate*

Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya de Patañjali II.212; III.74
Paribhāṣenduśekhara
Prakriyāsarvasva XVII.5

ekayoganirdiṣṭānām apy ekadeśānuvartanam

Vyāḍīyaparibhāṣāvṛttiḥ XX

« même des éléments indiqués dans une seule et même règle grammaticale, une seule partie continue (dans la règle suivante) »

c_*cānukṛṣṭam uttaratra nānuvartate*

Paribhāṣenduśekhara de Nāgeśa

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[11] Cette étude n'est pas publiée.

Vyāḍīyaparibhāṣāvṛttiḥ liii
Prakriyāsarvasva de Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa XVII.6

« un élément tiré (d'une règle précédente) dans (la règle en cours) par 'et' ne continue pas dans la prochaine (règle) »

d_*kva cid anuvartate*

Prakriyāsarvasva de Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa XVII.7

« parfois (l'élément tiré d'une règle précédente dans la règle en cours par 'et') continue »
la fin d'un *adhikāra*: *ā*+°(*apadāna*)
Pāṇini:1.4.1 *ākaḍārād ekāsaṃjñā*

« bis *kaḍāra* (2.2.38) hat Jedes nur einen technischen Namen », trad. BÖHTLINGK.

II.1.3-Dans le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* des phrases elliptiques portent le régime des *anuvṛtti*. Pour un élément manquant il suffit de regarder le contexte immédiat ou médiat. Celui-ci peut être un mot clé. Ici sont présentés quelques exemples simples:

mots clés: *sāmnaḥ svaras*, *upajīvanti*
phrase modèle:

1.1.8.1 / tad yo 'sau kruṣṭatama iva sāmnaḥ svaras taṁ devā upajīvanti

phrases parallèles:
ajout *avareṣāṁ* à reconduire jusqu'en 1.1.8.2f

1.1.8.2a / yo 'vareṣāṁ prathamas taṁ manuṣyā
1.1.8.2b / yo dvitīyas taṁ gandharvāpsaraso
1.1.8.2c / yas tṛtīyas taṁ paśavo
1.1.8.2d / yaś caturthas taṁ pitaro
1.1.8.2e / ye cāṇḍeṣu śerate (proposition balance *ca*)
1.1.8.2f / yaḥ pañcamas tam asurarakṣāṁsi
antyas bloque *avareṣāṁ*

1.1.8.2g / yo 'ntyas tam oṣadhayo vanaspatayo (proposition asyndète)
1.1.8.2h / yac cānyaj jagat (proposition balance *ca*)

mots clés: *evaṁ sadā prayuñjāno*, *avāpnoti*
phrase modèle:

1.3.4 / evaṁ sadā prayuñjāno'gnyādheyam avāpnoti

phrases parallèles:

1.3.5 / (*evaṁ sadā prayuñjāno*) *pratīka* de RV.IX.107.17 iti pavamānahavīṁśy etena kalpena (*avāpnoti*)

1.3.6 / (*evaṁ sadā prayuñjāno*) suvarmahāḥ suvarmayā ity etābhyāṁ darśapūrṇamāsāv etenaiva kalpena (*avāpnoti*)

1.3.7 / bhṛtyātithiśeṣabhojī kāle dārān upeyād yathāśakti cātithibhyo dadyād apy udakam antataḥ evaṁvrato *pratīka* de RV.VIII.14.1 ity ete sadā prayuñjīta suvarmahāḥ suvarmayā ity ete ca parvaṇi tathā hāsyāgnihotram aviluptaṁ sadā hutaṁ sadarśapūrṇamāsaṁ bhavati

bhojī ne bloque pas *prayuñjāno*, mais introduit une nouvelle donnée adjacente. Ceci est confirmé par la forme verbale *prayuñjīta* qui, pour autant n'annule nullement le verbe directeur (*darśapūrṇamāsāv*) *avāpnoti*. Par contre le procès sera arrêté par un nouveau sujet introduit par *tathā*: *agnihotram bhavati*. Dans ce régime d'*anuvṛtti* nous avons par contre une concaténation de l'expression *etena kalpena* et un rebond sous la forme de *evaṁvrato*.

Cet exemple montre que le sens reste souverain de l'application stricte de la règle.

propositions clés: *vrīhiyavau bhojanam asauhityam*, *ante tv agny ādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*, *avāpnoty*

phrase modèle:

1.3.9 / vrīhiyavau bhojanam asauhityam ante tv agny ādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ *pratīka* RV.VIII.93.7 iti caturvargeṇa cāturmāsyāny avāpnoty *pratīka* de RV.IX.97.1 iti (*vargeṇa*) pāśukāni (*avāpnoty*)

phrases parallèles:

1.3.10 / (*vrīhiyavau bhojanam asauhityam ante tv agny ādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* de RV.VI.47.11 *pratīka* de RV.X.23.1 ity etābhyāṁ paśubandham (*avāpnoty*)

payovratam bloque *vrīhiyavau bhojanam asauhityam*

1.3.11 / payovrata (*ante tv agny ādir*) etena kalpena (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* iti caturvargeṇa sautrāmaṇyau (*avāpnoty*) sautrāmaṇyau (*avāpnoty*)

L'absence en 1.3.10 de référence au *kalpa* laisse entendre qu'il s'agirait plutôt d'une seule phrase 1.3.9-10.

propositions clés: *bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam... ante tv agny ādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*, *anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno avāpnoti*

phrases modèles:

1.4.1 / bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam eke bhaikṣārthāyaiva grāmaṁ praviśet... ante tv agny ādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ āmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ

1.4.2 / *pratīka* de RV.X.153.1 iti daśataṁ rathantaraṁ ca vāmadevyaṁ caitāny anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno'gniṣṭomam avāpnoti

phrases parallèles:

1.4.3 / (*bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam...ante tv agny ādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* de RV.VI.48.1 iti caturvargeṇātyagniṣṭomam *pratīka* de RV.VIII.75.10 iti daśatokthyam *pratīka* de RV.IX.107.4 iti vargeṇaṣoḍaśinam *pratīka* de RV.IX.107.1 iti vargeṇātirātram (*anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno avāpnoti*)

payovratam bloque l'alternance *bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam*. Le rebond de *kalpa* en 1.4.4 laisse entendre que

1.4.1-3 serait une seule phrase.

1.4.4 / payovrata (… *ante tv agny ādir*) etena kalpena (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* de RV.IX.33.4 iti vargeṇa (*anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno*) vājapeyam (*avāpnoti*)

l'absence de restriction remet en marche l'alternance *bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam*. Concaténation de *etena kalpena*.

1.4.5 / (*bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam... ante tv agny ādir*) māsam etena kalpena (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* de RV.I.30.1 iti (*anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno*) daśatāptoryāmāṇam (*avāpnoti*)

bhuñjānaḥ avec sa proposition temporelle ne bloque pas *prayuñjānaḥ* et sa proposition temporelle.

Concaténation tacite de *etena kalpena*.

1.4.6 / (*bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam... ante tv agny ādir*) māsam caturthe kāle bhuñjāna (*etena kalpena*) (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* iti daśatā dvādaśāham (*anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno avāpnoti*)

rebond des propositions *etena kalpena*, *anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno avāpnoti*

1.4.7 / (*bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam... ante tv agny ādir)* saṁvatsaram etena

kalpena (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* de RVV.1.1; I.157.1 iti daśataṁ rathantaraṁ ca vāmadevyaṁ ca bṛhac ca vairūpaṁ ca vairājaṁ ca mahānāmnyaśca revatyaṁ caitāny anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno gavāmayanam avāpnoti

concaténation tacite d'une proposition temporelle et de *etena kalpena*.

1.4.8 / (*bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam... ante tv agny ādir*) (*saṁvatsaram etena kalpena*) (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) rājanarauhiṇābhyāṁ (*anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno*) tāpaścite (*avāpnoti*)

payovratam bloque l'alternance *bhaikṣavratam* et rebond de *avāpnoti* avec *etena kalpena*

1.4.9 / payovrata (... *ante tv agny ādir*) etena kalpena (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* de RV.IX.96.5 iti caturvargeṇa (*anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno*) cāturmāsyāni saumikāny avāpnoti

annam bloque l'alternance *payas*. *bhuñjānaḥ* avec sa proposition temporelle revient comme en 1.4.6.

abhyāsa de *avāpnoti* jusqu'à la fin de cette section. Concaténation tacite de *etena kalpena.*

1.4.10 / (*bhaikṣavratam... ante tv agny ādir*) saṁvatsaram aṣṭame kāle bhuñjāno grāmyam annaṁ (*etena kalpena*) (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) *pratīka* de RV.IX.87.1 iti daśatam (*anusavanaṁ prayuñjāno*) āvartayan naimiśīyaṁ dvādaśasaṁvatsaram avāpnoti

reprise de l'alternance puis de *anusavanaṁ prayuñjānaḥ* et de *etena kalpena.*

1.4.11 / (*bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam... ante tv agny ādir*) āgneyam aindraṁ pāvamānam ity etena kalpena (*kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ*) catvāri varṣāṇi (*anusavanaṁ*) prayuñjānaḥ śatasaṁvatsaram avāpnoti

anaśnant bloque le procès *bhojanavidhi.* L'alternance est présente mais s'est déplacée. L'aboutissement du *vrata* et de ses *kalpa* débute par *sarvam.*

1.4.12 / sarvaṁ prayuñjānaḥ sahasrasaṁvatsaram avāpnoti anaśnant saṁhitāsahasreṇa vā pṛṣṭhopatāpaśatasahasreṇa vā

II.2- Les *vākyaśeṣa* du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa:*

En *sanskrit* l'ellipse s'appelle *vākyaśeṣa.* La pensée se concentre sur les mythes, les sons, les idées, les effets, le re-connu. Le manque apparent pour 'qui sait ainsi' n'est pas obstacle à la compréhension. Certes les phrases contenant un verbe de connaissance sont les plus énigmatiques et la plus énigmatique du texte est '*ya evaṃ veda*'.

DELBRÜCK, Berthold attire déjà notre attention sur le *mántra* RV.I.170.1b:

kás tád veda yád ádbhutam /

« qui connait ainsi ce qui est du domaine de l'étonnant »

et encore traduit en acte dans MS.1.1.5

kó ha tád veda yád etásya kriyate yán ná

« alors, qui connait ainsi, ce qui faut en faire ou non. »

et dans CH.U 2.21.4

yas tad veda, sa veda sarvaṁ, sarvā diśo balim asmai haranti
sarvam asmīty upāsīta, tad vrataṃ, tad vratam

« Celui qui sait cela sait tout; toutes les régions de l'espace lui apportent leur tribut. Se connaître identique au cosmos: telle est l'application pratique -telle est l'application pratique. », trad. SENART.[12]

Peut-être faut-il trouver là l'essence de l'ellipse du régime direct de la proposition forte du *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*: '*ya evaṃ veda*'. Cette 'accessibilité' n'est pas sans responsabilité sur la cosmologie et l'environnement de sept descendants et sept ascendants.

L'existence de l'ellipse ne fait pas de doute dans le *Ṛgveda* où il ne s'agit nullement d'économiser les mots.

DELBRÜCK, Berthold ouvre son *Altindische Syntax* sur le cas des ellipses et inaugure la reflexion sur le langage dans l'indologie moderne. Gonda, Jan complète et élargit la documentation de DELBRÜCK.

Louis RENOU: « En fait, l'ellipse -ou, si l'on préfère, l'économie des mots, -touche au fond même de la pensée védique et, pourrait-on dire, de la pensée indienne en général, où ce qui n'est pas dit importe autant que ce qui est explicité. Les éléments demeurés à l'état latent, ou à peine ébauchés, complètent un mode de spéculation qui doit jouer simultanément sur deux registres et qui normalement n'en livre qu'un au jour » [13]

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[12] SENART 1930: 27.

[13] RENOU 1939: 234.

L'intention, l'atmosphère du regard, l'intonation, la complicité des gestes font partie intégrante du langage. L'ellipse n'est pas littérale mais découle du contexte, de la situation. Tout est parfaitement connu, reconnu, *antara*. Le gestuel, le son, suppléent au non-dit. Il peut même être à l'origine avant le mot, terme concis. La difficulté est pour un moderne car elle devient objective, extérieure, *bahis* et peut vite prendre la tournure d'une énigme même si chaque terme est identifié. L'ellipse est subjective, temporelle et donc extrêmement fluide et en ce sens difficile à classifier. Pourtant l'ellipse est à différencier d'une autre plus technique (voir II.1), d'un idiome ou des ajouts nécessaires à une traduction dans nos langues, ainsi que l'a soulevé Jan GONDA dans ses nombreux ouvrages sur le style. « L'ellipse est la partie dans l'expression d'usage familier ou d'un usage restreint d'un milieu particulier qui est omise puisqu'au moment de l'exprimer elle s'entend, coule de source pour le public auquel elle est adressée. » [14] En conséquence pour l'auditeur il n'y a pas de recherche particulière à faire.

Il reste que beaucoup sont devenues traditionnelles. Le mot comme dénotant une idée mais aussi la manifestation de l'idée; *namaḥ* est adoration, salutation mais aussi le texte portant l'adoration. L'ellipse du terme '*namaḥ*' supposera connu l'ensemble de ces notions ou une partie. Le terme *āhuta* (offert comme oblation) sera pour un *yajurvedin* (ce qui est aspergé de ghee). Le terme *manuṣayugāni* se concentre en *manuṣā*.

Un déterminant (participe futur) renvoie à une connaissance bien connue de l'audience:

SVB.1.1.7,9 / <u>upajīvanīyo</u> bhavati ya evaṁ veda

Dans le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*, outre les éléments d'informations implicites innombrables, voici quelques illustrations d'ellipses de mots tirés du contexte et clairs de sens:

II.2.1- *ākhyātalopa*:

II.2.1.1-le verbe se laisse déduire du contexte:

*ellipse du verbe

SVB.1.4.1 / bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam eke (*āhuh*)
SVB1.5.4 / abhyāsaḥ sāmnāṁ̐ śataṁ daśāvaram (*kartavyaḥ*)

*ellipse d'une proposition injonctive

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[14] GONDA 1960: 6.

SVB1.7.1, 1.7.6-7 / …., māsam udake vasan divā bhuñjāno (*bahir ā syād*)

II.2.1.2- L'absence du verbe évite une redondance:

le diptyque gauche porte le verbe qui est à faire glisser sur le diptyque droit

SVB1.3.9 / *tám índraṁ vājayāmasi* iti caturvargeṇa cāturmāsyāny avāpnoty *asyá preṣā́* iti pāśukāni

le triptyque gauche porte un *anuvṛtti* (voir II.1) et le verbe qui sont à reconduire dans les deux autres propositions et ne le seront pas; le premier selon une procédure, le second pour donner plus de force et de légèreté à l'ensemble.

SVB.1.7.4 / brāhmaṇāyāvagūrya (*ekarātram upavasann*) *pratīka* RV.IX.102.1 gāyet (*brāhmaṇe*) (*ekarātram upavasann*) nihatya *pratīka* (*gāyet*) (*brāhmaṇasya*) (*ekarātram upavasann*) śoṇite kṣarati *pratīka* RV.IX.107.12 iti dvitīyam (*gāyet*)

II.2.2- Ellipse autre que le verbe:

*ellipse de pronom

SVB.1.1.15,17 / kathaṁ nu vayaṁ̐ svargaṁ lokam iyāmeti

portion brachylogique:

SVB.1.1.15 / etaiḥ (*yūvaṁ̐*) svargaṁ lokam eṣyatheti

*ellipse de propositions subordonnées introduite par *yat*

SVB.1.2.10 / (*yaḥ*) abbhakṣas tṛtīyaḥ sa kṛcchrātikṛcchraḥ

*un absolutif éclipse une subordonnée de forme *yad*

[et Pāṇini 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*
« when two events have the same agent (*Ktvā* is suffixed to the root) which denotes the prior event », trad. KIPARSKY]

SVB.1.5.5 / kāhalam uktvā *pratīka* RV.IV.39.6 ity etad gāyet

*ellipse de portion au génitif en proposition asyndète

diptyque gauche avec deux propositions asyndètes dont la première porte un ensemble au génitif qui est à faire glisser sur la portion médium qui porte le verbe, et un diptyque droit qui, en résultante, reprend chacune des parties de l'ensemble.

SVB.1.1.11 / yo ha vai sāmnaḥ svaṁ yaḥ (*ha vai sāmnaḥ*) suvarṇaṁ

veda svaṁ ca ha vai sāmnaḥ suvarṇaṁ ca bhavati

*ellipse d'un substantif

SVB.1.1.12 / prati ha tiṣṭhaty asmiṁś ca loke 'muṣmiṁś ca (*loke*)

*ellipse de prédicat dans un régime *anuvṛtti* (II.1) et *ākhyātalopa* dans les deux propositions ultérieures.

SVB.1.7.4 / brāhmaṇāyāvagūrya (*ekarātram upavasann*) pratīka de RV.IX.102.1 gāyet (*brāhmaṇam*) nihatya (*ekarātram upavasann*) pratīka (*gāyet*) (*brāhmaṇasya*) śoṇite kṣarati (*ekarātram upavasann*) pratīka de RV.IX.107.12 iti dvitīyam (*gāyet*)

*ellipse de termes peuvent rester présents à l'esprit grâce à leurs déterminants qui demeurent:

SVB.1.1.14 / kruṣṭaḥ (*yamaḥ/svaraḥ)* prājāpatyo brāhmo vā vaiśvadevo vādityānāṁ prathamaḥ (*yamaḥ/svaraḥ)* sādhyānāṁ dvitīyo 'gnes tṛtīyo vāyoś caturthaḥ saumo mandro mitrāvaruṇayor atisvāryaḥ (*yamaḥ/svaraḥ)*

SVB.1.2.2 / haviṣyān prātarāśān bhuktvā (*prathamāḥ*) tisro rātrīr nāśnīyāt

SVB.1.3.3 / (*pūrvārcikasya*) prathamaṁ trivargaṁ navakṛtvo navakṛtvo gāyet

*ellipse d'une expression vocale et gestuelle métonymique:

expression modèle qui est à reconduire dans les portions séquentielles et ne le sera pas.

SVB.1.2.7 /...etābhyo devatābhyo juhuyāt agnaye svāhā somāya svāhā agnīṣomābhyām indrāgnibhyām indrāya viśvebhyo devebhyo brahmaṇe prajāpataye'gnaye sviṣṭakṛta iti

SVB.1.3.8 / karmānte...juhuyāt agnaye svāhā somāya pavitravate varuṇāya dhanvantaraye manasā prājāpatyāṁ brahmaṇe agnaye sviṣṭakṛta iti paścāt

*ellipse de *iti* de citations suite à un *iti* prégnant:

SVB.1.4.15.1a / *idáṁ hy ánv ójasā* iti prathamottame (*vargasya*) *tvā́m idā́ hyó náró sá pūrvyó mahā́nāṁ purā́m bhindúr yúvā kavír upa prakṣé mádhumati kṣiyantaḥ pávasva soma mádhumāṁ ṛtā́vā surūpakṛtnúm* rāhasaṁ mādhucchandasam

*ellipse de *iti* de citation

SVB.1.4.17 / *pratīka* RV.IV.3.1 *pratīka* RV.VI.45.22 (*iti*) vargaḥ
SVB.1.7.4 / *pratīka* RV.VI.IX.102.1 (*iti*) gāyet
SVB.1.8.1 /.:. caran *pratīka* RV.VI.70.1 (*iti*) dvitīyam

*ellipse dans phrase balance:

a) phrase modèle:

SVB.1.1.14 / kruṣṭaḥ prājāpatyo brāhmo vā vaiśvadevo vā
SVB.1.1.17 / ye cāpūtā ye ca kāmepsavas
SVB.1.4.2 / rathantaraṁ ca vāmadevyaṁ ca bṛhac ca vairūpaṁ ca vairājaṁ ca mahānāmnyaś ca revatyaṁ caitāny

b) proposition antithèse brachylogique:

SVB.1.3.2 / kāmam uktvopakrāmed (*vā*) ante vā
SVB.1.4.1 / bhaikṣaṁ (*vā*) payo vā vratam

c) proposition asyndète:

SVB.1.1.13 /... bārhataṁ jagatyāṁ (*ca*) jāgataṁ triṣṭubhi (*ca*) samatāṁ cāpadyate
SVB.1.4.13 /... sāvitryāṁ (ca) gāyatraṁ (ca) mahānāmnyaś ca
SVB.1.4.19 /...iti vargā (*ca*) *pratīka* RV.IX.107.21 iti prathamaṣaṣṭhe ca

II.2.3- L'ellipse d'un terme technique est d'usage courant à l'intérieur d'un même groupe de professionnels. Nos spécialistes ont le jargon, langage codifié scientifique d'aujourd'hui.

Dans sa grammaire Pāṇini assume la procédure elliptique. Il emploie une fois le terme *adhyāhāra* (le fait de suppléer dans un langage elliptique) dans un de ses *sūtra* en VI.1.139: *upātpratiyatnavaikṛtavāky ādhyāhāreṣu.* Bien que l'ellipse soit un fait extra grammatical non établi comme règle de grammaire, Pāṇini a précautionneusement réfléchi aux conséquences de celle-ci dans son système et l'a simplement pris en compte dans plusieurs règles syntaxiques. Si une convention ne donne pas les résultats attendus, Pāṇini rend l'élément voilé 'visible' au moyen de conditions spéciales ou de règles.

III- Des expressions également bien repérées dans la *smṛti* sont des renvois implicites à une autre partie du texte; par exemple la formule: *etena kalpena* est un un renvoi à enseignement antérieur.

III.1- *agniṁ pratiṣṭhāpya kalpa*

structure pour un exposé *athātaḥ* enchaînement et condition prérequise sans transition:

SVB.1.3.1 / athātaḥ svādhyāyādhyayanasya
SVB.1.3.2 / kāmam uktvopakrāmed ante vā trīn kṛcchrām̐ścaritvā pūto bhavati
SVB.1.3.2 / agniṁ pratiṣṭhāpyāgnyabhāve tūdakam ādityaṁ vopasamādhāya darbhān upastīrya darbheṣv āsīnaḥ prākkūleṣūdakkūleṣu vā dakṣiṇena pāṇinā darbhamuṣṭiṁ gṛhītvā
→ est une autre structure de base.

les renvois:

SVB.1.3.5 /...etena kalpena
SVB.1.3.6 /... etenaiva kalpena
SVB.1.3.7 / evaṁvrato
→ introduction nouvelle donnée: complément du savoir-faire précédemment décrit.

SVB.1.3.8 / karmānte ’gniṁ pratiṣṭhāpya vrīhiyavām̐s taṇḍulām̐s triḥ prakṣālya juhuyāt agnaye svāhā somāya pavitravate varuṇāya dhanvantaraye manasā prājāpatyāṁ brahmaṇe agnaye sviṣṭakṛteti paścāt
→ est une structure de base perfectionnée.

III.2- *pāñcarātrika kalpa*

à l’intérieur du même *khaṇḍa* ou *anuvāka*:

SVB.1.3.9 / athātaḥ pāñcarātrikāṇām vrīhiyavau bhojanam asauhityam ante tv agnyādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ
→ est une structure ‘enfilée’ avec un nouveau sujet dans le chapitre et ajout d’une nouvelle donnée, un renvoi antérieur *uktaḥ kalpaḥ* (1.3.2+1.3.8) puis une option soit, l’ouverture sur une alternative, *kāmya*.

renvoi:
SVB.1.3.11 /...etena kalpena (1.3.9)

III.3- *sāptarātrika kalpa*

SVB.1.4.1 / athātaḥ sāptarātrikāṇām bhaikṣaṁ payo vā vratam eke bhaikṣārthāyaiva grāmaṁ praviśet nānyatra svādhyāyād vācam

utsṛjed adhaḥ śayīta nāpo 'bhyaveyād ante tv agnyādir uktaḥ kalpaḥ kāmyānāṁ cāvipratiṣedhaḥ //

→ est une structure 'enfilée' avec un sujet dérivé de *svādhyāyādhyayana* et ouvre un nouveau chapitre (1.4); avec un renvoi (1.3.2+1.3.8) puis l'ouverture sur une alternative, *kāmya* (reprise de 1.3.9).

→ introduction de nouvelles données (*liṅ*)

renvoi:
SVB.1.4.1 / … uktaḥ kalpaḥ
SVB.1.4.4 /... etena kalpena (1.4.1) idem 1.4.5; 1.4.7; 1.4.9; 1.4.11

→ résultante de la sous-thématique:
SVB.1.4.12 / sarvaṁ prayuñjānaḥ sahasrasaṁvatsaram avāpnoti

→ fin de la thématique:
SVB.1.4.23 / yaś caivaṁ veda yaś caivaṁ veda //

IV- Le genre du *sūtra* dans le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*.

IV.1- L'origine du terme

Pour l'étymologie du mot *sūtra*, le terme *sūcana* est précieux, ayant d'une part un rapport, au moins formel, avec *sūci* 'aiguille', de l'autre notant une valeur obtenue par allusion indirecte. C'est la pointe de la forme *sūtra* selon l'*anekārtha* dont la traduction même est: 'qui a plus d'un sens', oeuvre de Hemacandra.2.458

sūtram tu sūcanākāri granthe tantuvyavasthayoh

« le mot *sūtra* au sens de 'passer le fil' s'applique à un livre et à un arrangement de tissu ».[15]

Il faut regarder le texte s'enfiler par les phrases comme le fil à travers le chat de l'aiguille. Et RENOU cite les énoncés suivants:[16]

Selon l'image célèbre qui faisait peut-être déjà proverbe du *ŚB*. 12.3.4.2:

yathā ta ukthāni maṇir iva sūtra etāni bhaviṣyanti, *sūtram iva vā maṇau*.

« ...hymns shall be strung as a pearl on a thread, or a thread through a pearl », trad. Julius EGGELING.

Le mot est attesté depuis AV. 3.9.3 pour désigner le cordon d'une amulette:

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[15] RENOU 1963: 215n4.

[16] RENOU 1963: 200n4.

piśaṅge sūtre khṛgalam tadā badhnanti vedhasaḥ / śravasyuṁ śuṣma kābavaṃ vadhriṃ kṛṇvantu bandhuraḥ //,

ou AV. X.8.37, un ‘fil’ symbolique sur lequel sont tissés les êtres vivants,

yo vidyātsūtraṃ vitataṃ yasminnotāḥ prajā imāḥ / sūtraṁ sūtrasya yo vidyātsa vidyādbrāhmaṇam mahat //

L’important est la notion d’enchaînement des séquences sur un fil invisible. Chaque séquence est tissée avec la précédente et se forme avec la suivante. Dans l’écriture on ne répétera pas ce qui a été déjà énoncé ou énoncé ailleurs. Ceci implique donc un découpage du texte par *daṇḍa*.[17]

sūtra, le fil, dérivé de la racine √*sīv* ou √*syū*: coudre.

IV.2- Les divers registres du terme

IV.2.1- L’intention didactique:

Le terme *sūtra* tel qu’il nous est connu aujourd’hui nous oriente soit vers une oeuvre soit vers une unité plus petite: la phrase. L’intention didactique est présente dans le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* et s’adresse à l’être depuis la plus petite enfance à toute une vie. En cela il se relie à l’intention didactique du védisme dans d’autres oeuvres. Le genre *sūtra* confié aux écrits lie ensemble des phrases qui peuvent paraître disparates, inintelligibles mais il constitue un ensemble qui n’est jamais désarticulé tant que nous sommes dans cet ensemble. Il n’est pas non plus exclusif de toute expression orale, gestuelle ou sonore.

Ecoutons le témoignage de Pierre Sylvain FILLIOZAT: «Notre expérience nous a montré que cette concision si fréquente, allant si souvent jusqu’à l’abus, dans les textes, n’apparaît pas dans l’enseignement oral. Nous avons senti que le pandit aimait exprimer ses idées oralement, se prêtant volontiers à tout développement, tout éclaircissement oral. Il n’en n’est pas de même dès qu’il s’agit d’écrire; dans ce cas ce qui est recherché c’est l’économie d’expression par l’ellipse, par l’usage immodéré des pronoms de rappel, etc... aux dépens de la clarté.

[17] Dans les trois éditions du SVB. il existe une grande divergence entre celle de SĀMAŚRAMIN et celles de BURNELL et SHARMA. Dans le Livre I, les 8 *khaṇḍa* se découpent en *daṇḍa* comme tels: S.:1(7)2(6)3(8)4(9)5(3)6(3)7(4)8(2); B. Sh.:1(1) 2(12)3(11)4(23)5(16)6(9)7(16)8(15).

Nous sentons que pour beaucoup de pandits la phrase écrite est un cadre d'un discours parlé, que beaucoup de leurs textes de prose sont comparables à des notes destinées à un développement oral».[18]

Lorsque les *sūtra* furent copiés et que les commentaires s'écrivirent, l'oralité réabsorbera ce qu'apporta la base écrite. Le commentaire est une forme très élaborée qui s'enrichit des influences des autres sciences. Il n'est que de souligner la nature expérimentale de la pratique millénaire... sur une observation, corrigée et élaborée scientifiquement par adaptations successives des cultures qui y sont nées et dont la complexité rivalise avec leur environnement. Le modèle rituel permet de fonctionner sans l'écriture ou avec, indifféremment. Le style d'une oeuvre est d'abord un choix à opérer parmi les registres de la langue. Dans le rituel il semble que le genre du *sūtra* se soit développé sous le chef *kalpa*.

Les *Śrautrasūtra* élaborent du comment faire un rite qui vise à l'adoration d'*Agni* tel que l'*Agnihotra*. Á l'intérieur d'une communauté *gurukula* s'expérimente une science. Certaines personnes furent des experts en exercices oraux comme les réarrangements de mots ou comme l'insertion entre les strophes du *Veda* pour usage rituel (*prayoga*). D'autres privilégièrent un savoir-faire rituel, surent quoi, comment, où et quand agir ou réciter (*viniyoga*); toutes sortes d'activités nées d'un environnement culturel.

L'intention didactique du védisme de *smṛti* se retrouve d'abord dans les 6 *vedāṅga*, la méthode structuraliste d'investigation avec présentation formalisée s'est déjà imposée partout. Une exception toutefois: en lexicographie le *sūtra* n'est pas fait pour supporter une liste énumérative.

IV.2.2- Les oeuvres:

Nous pouvons aujourd'hui parler d'une certaine littérature *sūtra*:

Dans le *Nirukta*, chez *Yāska* la trace de *sūtra* est en tête de chaque développement.

Prātiśākhya: le *sūtra* cotoie le *śloka*.

Śrautasūtra et aux autres disciplines, par ex. *Gṛhyasūtra.*

Dharmasūtra.

Darśana.

Le *Jayadevachandas* décrit en style *sūtra* la prosodie védique. *Hemacandra* reste fidèle au style *sūtra* dans *Chando'nuśāsana* qui s'inspire de la texture serrée des procédés abbréviatifs de *Piṅgala.*

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[18] FILLIOZAT 1988: 32-33.

En Mathématiques, Astronomie le *Śulbasūtra* énonce les *sūtra*, les exemples sont en *śloka* et le commentaire en prose.

Hors le *vedāṅga* les disciplines où fleurit le *sūtra* sont celles qui dans leur ensemble s'apparentent le plus directement aux préoccupations védiques: *Darśanasūtra*, *Nyāya*, *Mīmāṁsā*, *Vaiśeṣika*.

En politique, *Kauṭilya*, prose, *sūtra*, *bhāṣyā*.

En médecine: kārakā et sūtra.

Tout ceci conduit Louis RENOU dans son article célèbre «*Sur le genre du sūtra dans la littérature sanskrite*» à distinguer deux types de littérature *sūtra*: un style A descriptif, normatif et bref comprenant l'*Aṣṭadhyāyī* de Pāṇini et un style B. qui admet une part de discussion et concerne les *Darśana*. Ce dernier ne semble pas clairement établi comme autorité mais plutôt comme une dérivation de la vision générale portée sur le *sūtra*; ainsi l'a fait remarquer Jan HOUBEN dans un article sur le « *Sūtra and bhāṣyasūtra in Bhartṛhari Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* ».

Plus tardivement la définition traditionnelle du *sūtra* est ainsi formulée:

alpākṣaram asandigdhaṁ sāravad viśvatomukham /
astobham anavadyaṃ ca sūtraṁ sūtravido viduḥ // Prāṇavopaniṣad (?)
Madhvācārya dans son commentaire des *Brahmasūtra*

« the experts of *sūtra* understand by the term *sūtra* an expression which consists of very few letters and yet is free from ambiguity, which contains the essence (of a thought) and is omnidirectional, which is devoid of meaningless sounds and is pure », trad. S. BHATE.

La forme la plus célèbre, se trouve dans la grammaire où chaque *sūtra* se joint théoriquement à un *sūtra* antérieur ou plusieurs, notamment à l'aide des *adhikāra* et *anuvṛtti.* Les règles s'égrènent et constituent l'oeuvre. Elle montre les différents styles qu'il s'agit de tisser avec rigueur pour comprendre. Une marche s'est installée pas à pas.

Le terme *sūtra* désigne un énoncé par une proposition ou par un ensemble de propositions qui formeront un recueil. Mais, précise Louis Renou « ...la recherche de la concision – qu'on enseigne d'ordinaire comme l'essence des sūtra – n'est pas une donnée fondamentale, mais une résultante. En effet, il y a un grand nombre de sūtra amples, qui ne laissent à peu près rien à désirer sur le plan de l'explication. Le genre du sūtra se définit par sa relation plutôt que par son contenu: un sūtra (au sens de 'règle' ou 'aphorisme') est d'abord un élément dépendant du contexte, même s'il est grammaticalement autonome; il est déterminé par le système et (à l'exception des sūtra de définition ou

d’interprétation générale qui sont, nous dit la tradition grammaticale, comme des lampes éclairant toute l’oeuvre) corrélatif au groupe qui l’environne ».[19]

IV.3- Les *sūtra* du *Veda* des *sāman*

IV.3.1-les oeuvres:

Nous nous intéressons ici au *Veda* des *sāman* que, ou plus précisémment à sa production en tant qu’oeuvres littéraires et spécifiquement aux *Brāhmaṇa* parmi lesquels le bien-nommé *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*.

Le *sūtra* comme structure d’oeuvre n’échappe nullement aux oeuvres répertoriées au *Sāmaveda*.[20]

Sur 97 oeuvres, 22 titrent avec le terme *sūtra* dont 4 ne sont pas reconnues des éditions d’Arthur Coke BURNELL ou Bellikath Ramachandra SHARMA.

[*drāhyāyaṇaśrautasūtram*; *lāṭyāyanaśrautasūtram*; *kalpānupadasūtram*; *nidhanasūtram*; *ārṣeyakalpasūtram*; *upagranthasūtram*; *kṣudrakalpasūtram*; *pañcavidhāsūtram*; *upaniṣadānasūtram*; <u>*kalyānupadasūtram*</u>; *anupadasūtram*; <u>*anustotrasūtram;*</u> *puspasūtram*; *navagrahasūtram*; *khādiragṛhyasūtram*; <u>*pitṛmedhasūtram*</u>; *gautamadharmasūtram*; *gautamasūtrapariśiṣṭam*; <u>*udgīthasūtram*</u>; *mātrālakṣaṇasūtram*; *pratihārasūtram*; *gāyatravidhānasūtram*; *gobhilīyagṛhyasūtram*; *sandhyāsūtram*]

IV.3.2- Le *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa*:

Dans SVB.1.5.2 se trouve un aphorisme qui a valeur d’axiome des *prāyaścitta* et, en fait tisse tout le texte,

anādeśe mantrā balavantas tapo’nvitāḥ pāvanā bhavanti

[19] RENOU 1963: 166; la note 7: 201 fait état de *sūtra* ultra-brefs: «...ainsi les sūtra à mot unique ne manquent pas dans les *DhSū*, les *VedSū*, les *Pāśupatasū*; les sūtra monosyllabiques chez Pāṇ, Piṇg, le Vprāt, le Ṛktantra (*JA* 1960:13),...»

[20] Voir PARPOLA: 1968. vol. I.

Structure pour un changement exposé sans transition *athātaḥ* enchaînement et condition prérequise sans transition; la phrase brève: les *pratīka*-titres: ils ne comprennent rien d’autre qu’une rubrique précédée d’un ou plusieurs ligateurs: 1.3.1 *svādhyāyādhyayanasya* 1.3.9 *pāñcarātrikāṇām* 1.4.1 *sāptarātrikāṇām* 1.5.1 *prāyaścittānām*

placé sous le '*pratīka*-titre' -*para* d'un chapitre ou d'une thématique:[21] *athātaḥ prāyaścittānām* qui luimême est en étroite dépendance au développement de la thématique précédente sous le *pratīka*-titre: *athātaḥ trīn kṛcchrān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* et avant d'aborder l'enseignement, *pratīka*-titre suivante: *athātaḥ svādhyāyādhyayanasya* dans l'environnement dominant de *'pūto bhavati'*.

Sten KONOW traduit ainsi le *sūtra*: « Wo nichts anders gelehrt wird, wirken starke, von Buse begleitete Sprüche reinigend ».

En tant que structure ou éléments d'informations exprimés dans la phrase, sans nécessité d'un contexte, nous lisons que les *mantra* sont à accompagner des *tapas* et avec force participent du procès de clarification. Mais qu'est *anādeśe* ? Nous avons l'emploi de *ādeśa* (dans l'énoncé) et non de *upadeśa* qui aurait clairement stipulé un enseignement, une instruction transmise (orale), ni de *nirdeśa*, un énoncé de *sūtra* en tant que principe d'autorité (souvent le texte de la *smṛti* extérieur au *sūtra* et qui les commande), c'est le fameux marqueur dans l'énoncé; ni de *uddeśa*: explication par description qui annonce un

anudeśa; *anudeśa*: élément ultérieur corrélatif; *upadeśa*: explication directe;

[*ādeśa:* le sens primitif est « enseignement sous forme d'équivalence » dans BāU. II.3.6 *neti neti brahmety ādeśa*; le ŚB.X.4.5.1 parle de l'*ādeśa* des *upaniṣad*, c.a.d, de la formulation par équivalence des textes corrélatifs, d'où « enseignement en général », ChU.; « la position d'un 'substitut' grammatical semble donc s'être faite par le truchement de la notion d'« équivalence »; Soubassement philosophique, RUEGG », selon RENOU[22]; *vyapadeśa*: désignation, énonciation, assignation; *anādeśe:* pour le rituel, cet énoncé signifie: quand il n'y a pas d'indication contraire dans un contexte où l'on possède une première indication].

Il est dit qu'il est inutile de dire ce qui est dit en implicite tout au long du texte et, en fait, de tout texte reconnu. Ici l'enseignement est encore reconnaissance et le plus beau des *sūtra* vaut enseignement sur tout le texte. C'est peut-être la fenêtre entr'ouverte sur comment fut conçu dans un système de pensées exprimées par des propositions implicites tissées en va et vient, la transmission des connaissances.

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[21] *pratīka*-titre: VERPOORTEN, J.M. 1977: 53-54; MINARD, A. vol.I. §§94, 130, 166; DELBRÜCK, B. 1968: 10-11.

[22] RENOU 1960C: 36-37; RUEGG 1959.

L'expression y est sonore partout:

sarve svarā ghoṣavanto balavanto vaktavyāḥ indre balaṃ dadānīti.
sarva ūṣmāṇo 'grastā anirastā vivṛtā vaktavyāḥ prajāpater ātmānaṃ paridadānīti.
sarve sparśā leśenābhinihitā vaktavyāḥ mṛtyor ātmānaṃ pariharāṇīti.

« il faut prononcer toutes les voyelles avec sonorité, avec force, dans l'intention de conférer de la force à *Indra*; prononcer toutes les sifflantes sans paraître les avaler ni les expulser, mais avec netteté, en se proposant de s'abandonner à *Prajāpati*; prononcer toutes les consonnes avec une friction légère, en se proposant d'échapper à *Mṛtyu* » nous transmet la *Chāngogyopaniṣad*.2.23.5, trad. Emile SÉNART.[23]

Abréviations

AV *Atharvaveda Śaunakīya* version, ed. Roth, Whitney and Lindenau (Berlin, 1924); tr. Whitney (Cambridge, Mass. 1905);

ĀrṣB. « Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇam sāmavedīyam » avec le commentaire de Sāyaṇa, ed. Sāmaśramin (Calcutta: *Uṣā*, 1891-92: 129-191); *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda* with extracts from the commentary of Sāyaṇa, ed. Burnell (Mangalore: Stolz & Hirner, 1876); *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa* with vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa, ed. Sharma (Tirupati: Kendrīya Saṁskrita Vidyāpīṭha, 1967);

ChU *Chāndodya Upaniṣad of the Sāmaveda with extracts from the commentary of Śankara Ācārya*, tr. Mitra (Calcutta: BI/ASB n° 78, 181. 1862); *Chāngogyopaniṣad*, ed. tr. Senart (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1930); *Chāngogyopaniṣad* dans *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*, ed. Limaye and Vadekar (Poona, 1958);

Nir *Nirukta*, ed. tr. L. Sarup (London/Lahore, 1920-27);

BāU *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* dans *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*, ed. Limaye and Vadekar (Poona, 1958);

Ps *Das Puṣpasūtra*, ed. Simon (München, 1908); *Puṣpasūtra. Text and Commentary*. 3vols. ed. Sharma (Wiesbaden, Steiner / Kathmandu. 1979-1985); *The Puṣpasūtra. A Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda*. 2vols. ed. Tarlekar (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. Kalāmūlaśāstra series, 2001);

23 SENART 1930: 28.

RV *Die Hymnen des Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*, ed. Aufrecht (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1968);

Sad. *Sāmavedārṣeya dīpa* of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskarādhvarīndra, ed. Sharma (Tirupati: Kendrīya Saṁskrita Vidyāpīṭha, 1967);

SV *Sāmaveda* avec le commentaire de Sāyaṇa, ed. Sāmaśramin (Calcutta, BI/AS, news series, 1871-89; ed. 5 vols. 1925-1935); *Sāmavedārcikam. Die Hymnen des Sāma-Veda,* ed. Benfey (Leipzig, Brockhaus 1848; New York, Hildesheim 1978); *Sāmavedasaṃhitā*, ed. Sātavalekara, (Pāraḍī, caturthaḥ saṁskaraṇam svādyāyamaṇḍala 1952); *Sāmavedasaṃhitā* 2ème ed. Arya (Delhi, Parimal, 2001); *Sāmaveda Saṃhitā Kauthumī* avec les commentaires de Mādhava, Bharatasvāmin and Sāyaṇa, ed. Sharma (Cambridge, Harvard Oriental series 57, 58. 2000-01); *Sāmaveda Kouṭ umaśākhīyagānārcikapadastobhaḥ*, ed. Śroutī (Vārāṇasī, 2004);

Āg *Sāmaveda Araṇyegeyagāna* (*Mahānāmnī-Āraṇyakagāna*);

Gg *Sāmaveda Grāmageyagāna*;

Ūhg *Sāmaveda Ūhagāna* (*Uttaragāna* de *Grāmageyagāna*);

Ūhy *Sāmaveda Ūhyagāna* ou *Ūharahasyagāna* (*Uttaragāna* de *Araṇyegeyagāna*);

SVB *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* avec le commentaire de Sāyaṇa, ed. *Sāmaśramin* (Calcutta, 1895); *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, ed. Burnell (London, Trübner. 1873); *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* with the commentary of Sāyaṇa et Bharatasvāmin, ed. Sharma, Tirupati.1964); *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. Ein altindisches Handbuch der Zauberei*. tr. Konow (Halle, Niemey. 1893);

ŚB *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (*mādhyandina*), ed. Weber (London, 1855); tr. Eggeling (Oxford, 1882-1900).

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Vedic Education in early mediaeval India according to North Indian Charters

SARAJU RATH

1. Introduction[1]

1.1 The study and transmission of Vedic texts, which presupposes a sophisticated textual memory culture, has from ancient times been exclusively and later on predominantly oral.[2] Except for the fact that Vedic texts are still taught and recited at various places in India, Vedic education has left hardly any tangible traces. Throughout history, however, there have been grants to temple schools and pāṭha-śālās which can provide a glimpse of how education in the Veda and in other subjects took place at a certain place and in a certain period. In a recent study of *Education in Ancient India*, Hartmut SCHARFE (2002) has mainly used south Indian records regarding schools and related institutions such as libraries.

We propose here to make a fresh study of similar records in north India and compare the results with the general picture of Vedic education in India as available at present. The study of Vedic education cannot be separated from the study of the "carriers" of Vedic education and Vedic culture through the ages, groups of people who can be summarized in the category of "brahmins," even if it is a category that cannot be defined in an entirely rigid way. In his article "Toward a History of

[1] Proper names of places and persons are often in an older British spelling, but in quotations they are usually updated. I thank my husband Jan E.M. Houben for critical remarks and suggestions for improvement.

[2] See now also HOUBEN & RATH Forthc. on the contours and parameters of Indian manuscript culture against the background of a remarkably strong oral memory culture.

the Brahmins," Michael WITZEL (1993) rightly emphasizes the crucial importance of inscriptional evidence for the history of brahmins and reviews earlier work, including studies by DATTA (1989) and GUPTA (1983). In addition, reference can be made to studies relevant to the history of brahmins that have a regional focus, for instance: S.K. PANDA 1991 and 2000, G.C. TRIPATHI 1981.

It should be emphasized from the outset that the history of Vedic education in India overlaps with, but is not identical with, the history of brahmins in India. Even if it is true that "to teach and to study the Veda" are defining characteristics of a brahmin and are prescribed by Manu as his primary duties,[3] "shortcuts" to the study of the Veda have been available since ancient times.[4] The very notion of a "brahmin" has been interpreted, defined and redefined in diverging and mutually opposing ways in Upaniṣads, in early Buddhist and Jaina works, and in treatises of later religious currents.[5] In addition to the history of brahmins that can in theory be grasped through inscriptions and grants, there is, moreover, a history of brahmins settling[6] as cattle-herders and agriculturalists in villages and surviving on their own without donations

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[3] His subsequent duties are: offering sacrifices and officiating at sacrifices, and giving and receiving gifts: Manu 10.75 *adhyāpanam adhyayanaṁ yajanaṁ yājanaṁ tathā / dānaṁ pratigrahaś caiva ṣaṭkarmāṇy agrajanmataḥ //*

[4] SCHARFE 2002: 249: "As was mentioned earlier, not every student studied to become a Vedic scholar or ritualist, and these boys had several shortcuts open to them: they could learn the first and last hymn of those attributed to a seer, the first and last hymn in a section ... a group of short hymns ... or whatever abbreviation their teacher deemed fitting."

[5] We can even speak of an interpretation of "Brahmin" according to the British, and, with regard to the Indonesian island Bali, Dutch colonial administrations (SCHULTE NORDHOLT 1994). On brahmins in Bali and Southeast Asia as "Brahmins" see also STAAL 1996, Appendix II. Apart from the well-known interpretation of the term "Brahmin" in social and hereditary terms, there are purely ethical interpretations such as those proposed in early buddhism (e.g., in the Brāhmaṇa-vaggo of the Dhammapada). In his commentary on the Amarakośa 2.7.4 (AK, p. 452), Liṅgayasūrin comments on the word *brāhmāṇa* in the verse and gives as one possible analysis: *brāhmaṇaḥ ... brahmaṇi parabrahmaṇi niṣṭhāvattvād* : the term derives in this interpretation "from having *niṣṭhā*, a 'strong devotion to' or 'strong basis in' Brahma (i.e.) the ultimate Brahma."

[6] In a long term perspective, Brahmins and, more generally, Vedic ritualists, had an affinity to mobile agro-pastoralism, cf. RATNAGAR 2006. The "political disturbances" and "insecurity and instability" of the period, emphasized in DATTA 1989, may therefore be only part of an explanation for migrations of Brahmins in the second half of the first millennium.

or grants: a history that has received hardly any attention because it is of little interest either to indologists in search of manuscripts or to anthropologists or social historians as these communities are neither tribal nor belonging to the poorest of the poorest.[7]

The history of Vedic education can therefore not be reduced to the history of land grants and other donations to brahmins. Records of these grants do provide a unique and important window on one of the most remarkable and most long-lived intellectual traditions in the world. Although it is clearly not yet the time for final and definitive overviews or judgements, the indications provided by these sources can contribute significantly to our understanding of the position of the study of Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and of oral memory culture and manuscript culture, in several historical contexts in ancient and early mediaeval India.

1.2 The present study has been carried out making use of a preliminary version of the database of north Indian early mediaeval land grants from 4th–13th centuries CE which is being prepared by A. Stolyarov (Moscow). This database, known as Diplomatica Indica Database – DIDB – contains, in the version used by me, ca. 1250 entries including more than 1000 grants on copper-plates (CP). It is to include around 60 characteristics of the grants containing the name of the places, date of the grant, owner, scribe, donor, donee, their pedigree, purpose and so on.

In addition to the material in this database, I have used authoritative publications (e.g., Epigraphia Indica, Corpus Inscriptorum Indicarum) on these and additional records, including ca. 200 stone inscriptions. In each case, I verified the text as it appears in the original script on the copper-plate or inscription and compared this critically with the edited version and with the interpretation offered by the editor. The languages in these copper-plates and inscriptions are Prakrit (Pali) and Sanskrit, depending upon the age and provenance of the material. The scripts used are, Gupta, Kuṭila, Box-headed, various varieties of Nāgarī (proto, eastern, western and northern), Siddhamātṛkā, Śāradā, Proto-bengali, Gauḍīya, Proto-telugu-kannaḍa etc. The period covered in my study is from the 3rd BCE (Aśoka) till the 14th century CE. As for the area covered, the focus is on the northern half of the Indian subcontinent. Because of the frequent political overlap, data regarding the area just

[7] Again, the history of brahmins, whether they ever profited from royal grants or had to survive on their own with exceptinal resilience, is to be placed in a still larger context of history of non-brahmins (cf., for instance, U. CHAKRAVARTI 2006).

south of this northern half, esp. areas that are now in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka, are occasionally included. These records provide a wealth of authentic information on centres for learning, religious centres, branches of learning, rituals, donors, donations, donees and many other subjects related to this. In this article I naturally focus on the information which these records provide on Vedic education in early mediaeval India, and I refer only sporadically and briefly to other interesting aspects such as palaeographic details, etc.

2. How important was orality, how important literacy?

2.1 With regard to Vedic education, and also in connection with the theme of the seminar on "Veda, Vedāṅga and Avesta between orality and writing," the first question to ask is whether the records in this study provide any information on the oral transmission of Vedic texts (esp. Vedas and Vedāṅgas).[8] Although completeness is not within reach, some information on these points may be derived from the proper names (and titles) of the donees and from other references in the records.

2.2 In India, the name which is usually inherited from parents, i.e., the family name or surname, plays an important role in revealing details about the family and about the ancestors. It may indicate the place to which the ancestors belong, or from where they migrated, their original occupation, designations or honorifics bestowed on them by kings or local institutions or communities, etc. It may also be that a title was first bestowed not on an ancestor but on the person concerned. In either case it is expected that a name is not accidentally appropriate: even if someone is called Caturvedin because his father indeed mastered the four Vedas, the son who receives a royal grant continues to use the name because he himself too masters the four Vedas. Epigraphic sources in the form of land grants provide ample material about the names and titles of donees.

A number of surnames mentioned in land grants in the northern region refer to "academic titles" received in the pattern of education

[8] With regard to the Avesta I only note that the famous 6th cent. BCE Behistūn inscription in Persepolis (SIRCAR 1986 : 3ff) shows an awareness of religious notions with which we are familiar through the Avesta, but finds no occasion to show an awareness of either a written or oral form of the Avesta. The currently available Avesta is thought to derive from a written archetype attributed to ca. 400 CE (HOFFMANN & NARTEN 1989).

pattern that was followed[9]:

caturvedin'reciter of four vedas';

trivedin 'reciter of three vedas';

dvivedin 'reciter of two vedas';

pāṭhaka 'reader';

śrotriya[10] 'versed in the Veda';

pāṭhin,[11] *pāḍhin*: 'reciter (who knows a Veda by heart)';

tripāṭhin / tivāḍī[12] : 'familiar with the three pāṭhas: saṁhitā, pada, krama';

paṇḍita 'learned, wise';

sarvajña: 'knowing all śāstras';

ācārya: 'the one who, having initiated (the student), teaches him the entire Veda[13]';

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[9] A typical example is formed by the Mandhātā plates of Devapāla and Jayavarman II (EI 9, pp. 103-115), Indore, Madhya Pradesh, which mention 32 donees having surnames such as *agnihotrin, āvasathika upādhyāya, caturvedin, ṭhākkura, trivedin, dīkṣita, dvivedī, paṇḍita, pāṭhaka, yājñika, śukla, śrotriya*, etc. Kielhorn suggests that most of the epithets refer to religious occupations. The donees are linked to villages in the Muttra district (probably current Mathura district, UP) and Jabalpur district (Madhya Pradesh), Akola in former Berar, now in Amaravati district (Maharashtra), and a town in Jodhpur (Rajasthan).

[10] Silimpur Stone slab Inscription of Jayapāladeva (EI 13, p. 283) mentions this surname with the meaning

[11] GUPTA 1983: 11: "Sometimes we get in the inscriptions the term Pāṭhin, which probable referred to a brāhmaṇa who was an expert in the Saṁhitā-pāṭha." However, to master the saṁhitā-pāṭha only would not be a very special fact that needs to be highlighted in a title or surname. Does *pāṭhin* then perhaps refer to someone who masters an indeterminate numbers of *pāṭhas*, *saṁhitā*, *pada*, *krama* ... ? The colloquial version of this name, Pāḍhi(n), is a brahminical surname in Orissa.

[12] Cf. "Some Gāhaḍavāla Grants," EI 35, p. 207-208. This inscription mentions (in line 19) the surnames *Tivāḍi* for three brahmins. SIRCAR states, "... All the three persons are called *Tivāḍi* which was apparently their family name derived from Sanskrit Tripāṭhin meaning 'familiar with the three pāṭhas (viz. saṁhitā, pada and krama)'. The same family name is even now current among the Brāhmaṇas of UP". The name *Tiaḍi* (probably from *Tivāḍi*, *Tripāṭhin*) is still common among the brahmins of Orissa. Also see GUPTA 1983: 11, "In the same way the term Tripāṭhi should be differentiated from Trivedi ... who specialized in the three pāṭhas of a particular Veda, whilst, the latter referred to one who studied three ... Vedas".

[13] Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (VDhS) 3.21, *upanīya kṛtsnaṁ vedam adhyāpayet sa ācāryaḥ*.

upādhyāya: 'one who teaches only a part of the Vedas or only the auxiliary sciences[14]';

Brahmins and their families received these titles as honorary designations on account of their achievements in the traditional memorization and recitation of Vedic texts. The Asankhali plates[15] of Narasiṁha II, for instance, mention donees who were *tripāṭhin*[16], *pāṭhin*[17], *upāsanin*, *paṇḍita* or *pāṇigrāhin* (see below). The one who received the designation may have been continuing a family tradition. On several occasions we understand from the text in the grant that the son is following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather.[18] But this was not always the case. The Nogawa plates of Maitraka king Dhruvasena II[19] (640-41AD) found in Ratlam, Madhya Pradesh, mentions two donees, namely Dattasvāmin and Kumārasvāmin, from the village Udumbaragahvara, who are both sons of the brahmin Buddhasvāmin: one is a *trivedin* residing in Ayānaka agrahāra (an agrahāra belonging to Trivedins), the other a *caturvedin* residing in Agastika agrahāra (which belongs to Caturvedins).

The term *tripāṭhin* normally refers to someone mastering three modes of reciting the Ṛgveda. In the Jajilpara grant of Gopāla II,[20] it is apparently connected with the Sāmaveda: it refers to a donee "brahmin Śrīdhara Śarmā, a brahmacārin of the Vājasaneya caraṇa, belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra, Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva pravara, student of Mādhyandina Śākhā (of the Śukla Yajurveda)" who is apparently

[14] Cf. VDhS 3.22-23. This has remained in use as surname in Orissa also in the form of Pādhye.

[15] Asankhali plates of Narasimha-II, 1225 saka, Mayurbhanja, Orissa, preserved in Baripada museum; script: eastern Nāgarī [EI 31, p.109-128]. Sakhigopal CP of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III gives three of such extensive lists containing all the donees with their names, surnames, gotras etc., see EI 37, p 318-321.

[16] Kosgain stone inscription of Vahara refers to the king's family priest whose name was Devadatta Tripāṭhi (CII, 4, pt. I, p.557ff.)

[17] Mandhātā plates by Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman (EI 32, p. 154) refer to a family of Pāṭhins who for three successive generations specialised in the same branch of knowledge.

[18] The Mandhātā plates by Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman (EI 32, p. 154) mentions a brahmin Vāmaśarman, his father Devaśarman and grandfather Śrīvatsaśarman, who were all *dvivedin*. Similarly, in the Mandhātā plates of Devapāla, saṁ 1282 (1225 AD) (EI 9, p. 103-11), mention is made of Nārāyaṇaśarman, his father Dāmodaraśarman and grandfather Samudradharaśarman, who are all referred to as *trivedin*.

[19] E. HULTSCHZ in EI 8, inscr. no. 20, p. 188-194.

[20] P.N. MISRA and R.C. MAJUMDAR in JASB, 17, p. 137-144

also "reader, in three varieties, of the Sāma Veda[21] ... " Three extensive lists containing the names of the donees with their titles, gotras etc. are given in the Sakhigopal copperplate of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (13th cent.).[22] The designation *pañcapāṭhin* – if this is, indeed, the word intended[23] – is added to the name of Uddharaṇaśarman in the Mandhātā plates of Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman (13th cent.)[24] and may perhaps be explained as a title for an expert in five modes of recitation (*pāṭha*), *saṁhitā, pada, krama,* and two additional ones, for instance, *jaṭā* and *ghana*. It is interesting to note that the inscriptions contain no term for someone mastering two or four modes of recitation (*pāṭha*).

A different type of orality is indicated in an inscription of the time of Hammir of Ranthambhor,[25] Rajputana. It records the name of the composer of the inscription (esp. of the praśasti praising the Chahamana kings of Ajmer and Ranthambhor), who was a Purāṇa-reciter at the court of king Hammīra. It shows that recitation (a strong oral tradition) was a profession during those days.

2.3 Some of the names in grants refer to ritual or political functions performed by the person who carries the name and/or his father or ancestors. Although these names do not directly express an oral mastery of texts, they refer to a ritual context which normally requires the oral mastery of a Saṁhitā or of smaller or larger parts of it, together with a knowledge of the ritual applications.

agnihotrin 'who performs the basic Vedic Śrauta ritual, the *agnihotra*';

dīkṣita 'who has undergone a *dīkṣā* for a Soma sacrifice'; in a non-Vedic context it may refer to the one who has received *karṇamantra* and a tantric initiation;

yājñika[26] 'Vedic ritualist';

hotṛ[27]: 'main Ṛgvedic officiant at a Vedic ritual';

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[21] JASL, 17, p. 139, fn.1. In this footnote the editors refer to an original reading "*tṛpāṭipāṭhakāya*" but the inscription clearly reads *tripāṭipāṭhakāya* which, in the context, should be corrected into *tripāṭhipāṭhakāya*.

[22] EI 37, p. 318-321.

[23] It is an emendation for *pañcapīṭhi* in the inscription, EI 32, p. 154.

[24] EI 32, p. 139-156.

[25] The inscription of the time of Hammir of Ranthambhor, 1288AD., EI 19, p. 46

[26] GUPTA 1983: 10: "A Yājñika studied the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, Kalpa, Mimāṁsā and some other optional subjects."

[27] EI 26, p. 79, Baripada Museum plate of Devanandadeva. The grant was given

rājaguru: 'the king's councellor, e.g., in ritual and religious matters';
śukla[28]: 'knower of the white yajurveda';
upāsanin[29]: 'a brahmin maintaining the sacred fire';

If the word *pāṇigrāhin* (still a brahmin surname in Orissa) is indeed equivalent to *pāṇīyagrāhin*[30] (both terms occur in grants) it refers to the honorific role attributed to the one who receives a grant on behalf of a whole group of brahmins.

2.4 With regard to the orality of learning in early times,[31] we get an interesting passage from the Aśokan Bhabru minor Rock edict,[32] Vairat, Rajasthan, dated 258-257 BCE. In this passage, king Aśoka enumerates favorite – and very early[33] – canonical, or at least well-established and

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to Bhaṭṭa Brahmadhara, a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajurveda, who is also referred to as Hotṛ. Does it mean that as Yajurvedin he adopted the function of Hotṛ which is normally meant for Ṛgvedins? (Cf. GONDA 1977: 493, on the Yajurvedic Sūtras: "Although it is true that these works deal first and foremost with the ritual for the *adhvaryu* and his assistants ... the sūtras ... pay also attention to the function of the hotar cum suis (hautra(m)) ... ") Hotā is still a well-known brahmin surname in Orissa.

[28] Śukla is still known as surname.

[29] D.C. SIRCAR in EI 31, inscr. no. 19, p. 114, "One name is preceded by the word Upāsanī ... The word upāsana from which upāsanī is derived, generally means 'worship' and ' religious meditation'; but according to Yājñavalkya smṛti, III. 15, it also indicates 'sacred fire'. Upāsanī in the present case may be the same as Agnihotrin indicating 'a Brāhmaṇa maintaining the sacred fire'. Upāsanī is known to be a surname among the Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāshṭra even today".

[30] D.C. SIRCAR in EI 31 (1955-56), inscr. no. 19, p. 114, "A mention of the names of the brāhmaṇa donees, called pāṇigrāhi-mahājana ... throws some interesting light on the social history of medieval Orissa. The expression pāṇi-grāhin is no doubt the Oriya corruption of Sanskrit pānīya-grāhin ... " ib., p. 113, "The expression pānīya-grāhin (modern Pāṇīgrāhī which is a surname among Oriya Brāhmaṇas) means 'a recipient of water' literally, but [refers in fact to] a recipient of a grant." Cf. also SIRCAR 1966:234.

[31] For a discussion of other examples and of theoretical problems in connection with the relation between orality and early literacy in India see further HOUBEN & RATH Forthc.

[32] Ashoka the Buddhist Emperor of India, Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, (p. 154-155). Also see, Ashokan Bhabru minor Rock edict, Vairat, Rajasthan, dated 258-257 BCE, EI 1.

[33] SCHARFE 2002: 20 note 70, referring to MISRA 1998, vol. I: 269, fn. 166 (see now MISRA 2008, *ibid.*), notes that the first inscriptional evidence for the canonical organization of Buddhist texts into three *piṭaka*s "baskets" is found much later in an inscription from the reign (third year) of Kaniṣka.

well-known, passages which are apparently still predominantly orally transmitted and recommends that the monks and nuns should hear them. The main relevant passage in the old translation of SMITH (1920: 154-155)[34] is:

> ... these passages of the Law, to wit:-
> [1] The Exaltation of Discipline (*vinaya-samukkasse*);
> [2] The Course of Conduct of the Great Saints (*aliya-vasāṇi*);
> [3] Fears of what may happen (*anāgata-bhayāni*);
> [4] The Song of the Hermit (*muni-gāthā*);
> [5] The Dialogue on the Hermit's Life (*moneya-sūtte*);
> [6] The Questioning of Upatissa (*upatissa-pasine*);
> [7] The Address to Rāhula, beginning with the Subject of Falsehood (*lāghulovāde musāvādaṁ adhigicya*) – spoken by the Venerable Buddha – these, Reverend Sirs, I desire that many monks and nuns should frequently hear and meditate; and that likewise the laity, male and female, should do the same. For this reason, Reverend Sirs, I cause this to be written (*likhāpayāmi*), so that people may know my intentions (*abhipretaṁ me jānaṁtū ti*).

We do not know whether the passages to which king Aśoka refers as his favourite ones were at that moment fixed in writing or only orally, but even in the case of fixation in writing there was apparently an interaction with an oral tradition that allowed the tradition to vary and change. Such variation and change are evident from the various Chinese translations of fundamental Buddhist texts which have the same title but are nevertheless every one or two centuries again different (VETTER 1994: 138-139, 159). Whether written or oral, Aśoka wants the texts not to be read but to be listened to, which means that literacy was in any case not very wide-spread.

The predominantly oral nature of early Buddhism – which is clear from this inscription of Aśoka, even if it, at the same time, attests to the first major use of writing in India – is confirmed in ancient texts of the Pali canon. This was already clearly noticed by RHYS DAVIDS & OLDENBERG (1881: XXXIII-XXXV):

> Had the sacred texts been written down and read, books, manuscripts, and the whole activity therewith connected, must have necessarily

[34] The brief citations follow BLOCH 1950: 154-155. See also CII vol. 1 devoted to the Aśokan inscriptions.

played a very important part in the daily life of the members of the Buddhist Order. Now the texts of the Vinaya place clearly enough before our eyes the whole of the 'personal property,' so to speak, of the Buddhist Ārāmas and Vihāras. Every movable thing, down to the smallest and least important domestic utensils, is in some way or other referred to, and its use pointed out; while the use of other articles, not usually found in the Vihāras, is mentioned, and condemned. But nowhere do we find the least trace of any reference to manuscripts; much less of inks, or pens, or styles, or leaves, or other writing materials.

And we do find, on the contrary, passages which show the difficulties which arose every time that the memorial tradition by word of mouth of any of the sacred texts was interrupted, or threatened to be interrupted.

So, for instance, we find the case discussed of no one Bhikkhu, among all the Brethren dwelling in some particular place, knowing the Pātimokkha. There was no other way out of the difficulty, save that of one of the Bhikkhus being sent out to some neighbouring fraternity, with the commission there to learn the Pātimokkha by heart, either in its full extent (that is, as we take it, all the rules being learnt in full) or at least in abstract.

And again, in a passage already quoted, we hear of the case of an Upāsaka, who knows some important Suttanta, and is afraid that the knowledge of it will fade away. So he sends to a fraternity of Bhikkhus, and invites the Brethren to come over to him; and in that case an exception is made to the Rule forbidding the Brethren to travel in the rainy season, provided only that they do not stay away from home longer than seven days.

We may quote in this connection a passage of the same tendency from the Anguttara Nikāya, in which, among the circumstances hurtful to the security and the propagation of the Buddhist faith, the possibility is mentioned of the well-instructed Bhikkhus neglecting to take pains to hand on to others the Suttantas which they know. Then, when they have passed away, 'the root of that Suttanta is cut off, and it finds no place of refuge.'

It is very plain from these last passages that the Buddhist community in its earliest days did not think of the possibility of using writing as a means of guarding against such painful accidents. Can this have arisen from any belief that writing the books would have been an irreverent treatment of them? We cannot think that among such a

community as that of the Buddhists–who were so advanced in their views that they deliberately adopted the language of the people, and even took no thought, within the ranks of their community, of caste–any such consideration would have prevailed. It seems much more probable that, at the date referred to, the art of writing had not been taken advantage of for the purposes of any kind of literature; but that its use was wholly confined to recording short messages or notes, or private letters, or advertisements of a public character–a result which may well have been due to the want of any practical material on which to engrave the letters that were nevertheless evidently known.

2.5 For the use of writing, inscriptions provide, not unexpectedly, more evidence. A few examples will do. According to a Nālandā copper-plate of the ninth century, the Buddhist king Devapāla (812-850) donated five villages at the request of Bālaputradeva, ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra). The villages were meant for the buddhabhikṣus for their assembly, for writing, etc., the sacred texts of Buddhist Mahāyāna (*dharmaratnasya lekhanādyarthaṁ*).[35] The "etc." (*ādi*) probably refers to storing and reading these texts.

King Guhasena (6th cent.) donated a village to the buddhist monastery at Valabhī for a number of purposes. According to the grant,[36] the "acquisition of books of the true religion" (*saddharmasya pustakopakra*...) was one of the purpose of the gift. Apparently, this monastery possessed a library of some interest.

The Terundia plate[37] records a grant by the buddhist (*paramopāsaka*) Śubhākara II (8th cent.) to maṭhas and maṇḍapas established by brahmins. It states that some villages were donated to a *pusta[ka]pāla*[38] (book- or record-keeper or librarian) and to the writer of the record who was known as *lekhako mahākṣapaṭalika*[39]. Queen Alhaṇadevī (12th cent.)[40]

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[35] The Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāladeva, 812-50 CE, EI 17, p. 323, line, 38-40. (p. 325) "... granted by this edict.....etc..of the assembly of the venerable bhikshus of the four quartes (comprising) the Bodhisattvas well versed in the tantras, and the eight great personages (i.e. the ariya-puggatas), for writing the dharma-ratnas or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery (when) damaged..."

[36] Additional Valabhī grants, Nos. ix-xiv, 559 CE, Gujrat, IA 7, p. 66-68, Pl. II.1.7.

[37] Terundia pl. of Śubhākara II, EI 28, No.36, p. 211-216.

[38] *Ibid.*, line 15. See also the Santiragrama grant (11th century), EI 29, p. 79ff.; and SCHARFE 2002: 183-184 for libraries and librarians in ancient South India.

[39] *Ibid.*, line 29.

[40] Bhera-Ghat Inscription of Alhaṇadevī, EI 2, p. 7- 17.

founded a Śiva temple, with a maṭha, a hall of study[41] and gardens attached to it. The Hathigumpha inscription (2nd BCE)[42] refers to the compilation of the Jaina canon in a conference.

Donees are referred to according to other skills or professions as well, for instance as *jautiṣa*: 'professional astrologer'. The derived form Joshi is still widely in use in north-west India as surname. This refers to a knowledge system that must have involved writing and probably written texts since an early time. Subjects and intellectual specializations mostly mentioned in inscriptions include, apart from Vedas and Vedāṅgas: Āyurveda, Astronomy (Siddhānta, Pañca-Siddhānta: Puliśa, Romaka, Vaśiṣṭha, Sūrya and Pitāmaha), Tantra, Phala-saṁhitā, Dharmaśāstra, Ṣaḍ-darśanas, Mīmāṁsā, Purāṇa, etc.

3. Centres of Learning and Famous Teachers

3.1. The terms used in the land grants for various educational centres are: *maṭha, vidyāmaṭha*, *agrahāra, bhāṇḍāgāra, upāśraya, mahāvihāra, pāṭhaśālā*, *ghaṭikāsthāna, pothivāra*, *granthāgāra, granthakuṭī, pustakasthāna*. Several of these names (the last four) directly express the importance of manuscript-books and hence of writing.

Kings took special care to promote education, as is clear from land grants with the sole purpose to construct educational centres. These grants often specify the use of the planned buildings for specific branches of learning. The donations were meant for what we would call schools, colleges and universities. In the Asankhali plates, king Narasiṁha II donated 7 *vāṭikā*s and 10 *vāṭikā*s of land to a brahmin village (*śāsana*) for the construction of two schools or colleges (*maṭha*) for Vedic *(veda)* and grammatical studies (*vyākaraṇa)* respectively.[43] Similarly, the donation of nine *vāṭi* land was given by King Anaṅgabhīmadeva III[44] for a *veda-maṭha*, *vyākaraṇa-maṭha* and *purāṇa-maṭha* (three

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[41] *Ibid*. *vyākhyānaśālā.* KIELHORN has translated this term as above, but I would think that 'lecture hall' (where *vyākhyāna* or lectures were given for the students) would be more appropriate in this context. To a modern reader "hall of study" could wrongly suggest that it was a "reading hall" (where students would use it as reading room only) for the students of that *maṭha*, but this would not be possible at that time.

[42] EI 20, p. 71-89.

[43] EI 31, inscr. no. 19, p. 127, line 201-202, plate 5, *vedamaṭhārthaṁ sapta vāṭikā [ḥ], vyākaraṇa-maṭhārthaṁ daśa vātikā[ḥ].*

[44] EI 37, p. 331, line 148-149, plate 5, *Veda-Purāṇa-Vyākaraṇa-maṭhānāṁ navavāṭyaḥ // Vri(Bṛi)hatvṛi(dvṛi)[ddha]-maṭhasye(sy-ai)kā vāṭī* // A list [D] consists

vāṭi each), also to *bṛhadvṛddha-maṭha*[45] alongwith one *vāṭi* land[46] meant for Parameśvara[47] (God) of the above *maṭha*s. The existence of those educational institutions and the fact that the gifts were made to them reveal the care with which these studies were fostered under royal patronage. Several centuries earlier, Prakrit inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda record the donation of pillars, chaitya-halls, cells and all sorts of necessaries to various groups of monks and espcially for two monasteries, called Kulaha-vihāra and Sīhaḷa-vihāra. The donors are mostly noble ladies, one of whom is related to a king who is said to have performed the Aśvamedha (*asamedha*) and other Vedic rituals.[48]

Records in eastern India show how importance was given simultaneously to hindu and buddhist studies. In the Paścimabhāg plate, the 10th century ruler of Bengal, king Śrīcandra, donates, in the name of Lord Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka, a huge quantity of land for several purposes. In the words of SIRCAR[49]:

> The first block of land measuring 120 pāṭakas was granted to the God Brahman for his maṭha[50] or temple, the existence of which in Sylhet during 10th century is of considerable importance because the independent worship of the said god was not popular in ancient and medieval India. Moreover, the details of the grant of the 120 pāṭakas of land, as given in the charter, show that the maṭha was a big religious establishment. Out of the said land ... , 1 pāṭaka to the Brāhmaṇa who built (or supervised the building of) the temple, ...

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of the names of some temples, institutions and officials with their share in *vāṭis* available in p. 321.

[45] In this grant, the land gift with a special mention of the term *Brihadvṛddhamaṭha* could mean only to a 'University' under which possibly *Brihadmaṭha* 'college(s)' and *maṭha* 'school(s)' were assimilated. It could also mean that there were faculties or centres for each branch of learning *maṭha*s in a big University.

[46] On the Vāṭi, cf. SIRCAR in EI 30, no. 34, p. 198: "One Vāṭi which is equal to twenty Māṇas, is now regarded as equivalent to 20 acres of land." 1 Māṇa would then be 1 acre or ca. 4000 (4046.86) m^2.

[47] EI 37, p. 331, line 146-147, plate 5, *[Atha]Veda-Vyākaraṇa maṭhayo[r] pa(ḥ=Pa) [ra]-meśvaraḥ //*

[48] EI 20, 1-36.

[49] SIRCAR in EI 37, p. 289-304. Sylhet (currently in Bangladesh) came under strong Muslim influence in the 14th century.

[50] EI 37, p. 295, "It is interesting to note that a brāhmaṇa, whose name is not mentioned, may have been the founder of the maṭha ...". Since the maṭha for the god Brahman has apparently an educational function, the translation "temple" proposed by SIRCAR is hardly justified, even if it is very well possible that some type of worship of the god Brahman by the inmates of the maṭha took place in the college.

> and 47 pāṭakas for repairs (navakarman) to be carried in the temple establishment.
> . . .
> Another interesting fact to note is the reference to the popularity of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa. This reminds us of the tradition according to which its author, the celebrated Buddhist savant Candragomin (5th – 6th century A.D.), lived in Candradvīpa, the original Candra territory, for some years.
> The second block of land measuring 280 pāṭakas was granted in favour of the gods Vaiśvānara (Agni), Yogeśvara (aspect of Śiva), Jaimani (often called Jaimini in other works) and Mahākāla (aspect of Śiva) worshipped in the four dēśāntarīya (foreign) maṭhas and the four Vaṅgāla maṭhas ... 1/2 pāṭaka to each of the eight maṭhas- the florist, barber ... for repairs to each one of the eight maṭhas ...
> The third block of land ...to the Brāhmaṇa donees who belonged to various gōtras and pravaras and who were the students of different śākhās of the four caraṇas.

With regard to the grant in favour of Jaimani (after Vaiśvānara and Yogeśvara and before Mahākāla), SIRCAR notes (EI 37, p. 296): "The reference to Jaimani's temple is ... interesting, because it was hardly known so far that the celebrated founder of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā school of philosophy was deified and worshipped. Of course, the deification is not unnatural since we hear of the existence of a temple at Gaṅgāsāgara at the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī, in which Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy, was under worship.[51]"

The relevant passage in the Paścimabhāg plate (lines 42ff) is:

> *tathā deśāntarīya-maṭha-catuṣṭaye / vaṅgāla-maṭha-catuṣṭaye ca vaiśvānara-yogeśvara-jaimani-mahākālebhyaś ca / eṣām ubhayeṣāṁ maṭhaprativa(ba)ddha-ṛg-yajus-sāmātharvvopādhyāyānām aṣṭānāṁ pratyekaṁ daśapāṭakāḥ prati-maṭha-pañca-chātrāṇāṁ pañcapāṭakāḥ /*

Since, in fact, no mention is made here of any temple (except for maṭha which is here rather a school or college), and since the two times four maṭhas for those from "foreign" areas and those from "Baṅgāla"[52] are connected with eight (twice four) teachers in the Ṛg-,

[51] SIRCAR refers here to his *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (1960: 181-182).

[52] EI 37, p. 296, "Another interesting point in this section is the reference to a group of four Vaṅgāla-*maṭha*s which was distinguished from another catagory

Yajur-, Sāma-, and Atharva-veda, SIRCAR's interpretation is, in fact, not as natural as he suggests. Rather, the connection of the twice four maṭhas with Vaiśvānara, Yogeśvara, Jaimani, and Mahākāla seems to be intentionally parallel to the R̥g-, Yajur-, Sāma-, and Atharva-veda, so that Jaimani (MW notes this as variant of Jaimini) could refer to the (deified) founder of one of the branches of the Sāma-veda without requiring a special temple. Similarly, the name Yogeśvara could be a reference to the Yajurvedic teacher Yājñavalkya (MW and Petersburger Dictionary s.v. *yogeśvara*[53]). The association of the fire (Vaiśvānara, i.e. Agni[54]) with the R̥g-vedic Hotr̥-priest is well known: since the R̥g-veda Agni is praised as divine Hotr̥ for gods and men.[55] This leaves only the association of Mahākāla and the Atharvaveda unaccounted for.[56]

3.2 Some of the maṭhas in the South were famous colleges, with students boarding at the college and with several teachers teaching on different subjects.[57] Similar arrangements we find in other regions.

It is explained that king Bhoja II[58] granted some *śālikhalla*[59] 'paddy

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of maṭhas called *dēśāntarīya* or foreign. We know that Candradvīpa, of which Śrīcandra's father became king, was also known as Vaṅgāladeśa and that the name Vaṅgāla gradually extended over wide areas of Eastern Bengal with the expansion of the Candra dominions". With reference to this passage SCHARFE 2002: 172 suggests more convincingly: "two sets of four maṭha-s each for Bengalis and non-Bengalis."

[53] The association of Yoga and Yājñavalkya, whatever its origin or history, is evident from the existence of a text on *yoga* called *Yoga-yājñavalkya* (cf. DIVANJI 1954). The text was widely quoted, as is clear from AUFRECHT 1891 : 478.

[54] Further down in the same grant, line 51, the divine or deified "donees" or patrons of the maṭhas are enumerated in the phrase *vra*(*bra)hma / agni / yogeśvara / jaimani - mahākālebhyaḥ*.

[55] He is born as the visible or intelligent Hotr̥ (R̥V 2.5.1 *hótājaniṣṭa cétanaḥ*), he is the Hotr̥ of olden times (2.7.6 *pratnó hótā*), of heaven and earth (R̥V 3.17.2 *yáthā́yajo hotrám agne pr̥thivyā́ yáthā divó jātavedaś cikitvā́n*), etc., etc.

[56] It is to be noted, however, that *kāla* or 'time' appears as the highest principle in the earliest philosophical hymns on time in the Atharva-veda (AV 19.53-54).

[57] See the chapter "From temple schools to universities" in SCHARFE 2002: 166ff. which deals mainly, though not exclusively, with the South.

[58] Kolhapur stone inscription of the Silhara Bhoja II, śaka-saṁvat 1112-1115, EI 3, No. 27, pp. 213ff

[59] KIELHORN has edited this inscription and he writes (p. 214, f. 2), *śāli* is 'rice'and *khalla* denotes, in addition to other things, a canal, cut, trench, deep hole,'etc; but the meaning of the whole term I do not know. Here I would like to throw some light on the whole term. In eastern part of India this is a familiar term more regular in use in the village. *śāli* means 'paddy' (does not mean rice but all types of grains)' and *khalla* means field, 'paddyfield'.

field' to four brahmins namely, Āditya Bhaṭṭa, Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa, Prabhākara Ghaisāsa and Vāsiyaṇa Ghaisāsa who were settled at a maṭha founded by the Nāyaka Lokaṇa. The field was given for the purpose of feeding the brahmins dwelling at the maṭha, for offering eatables three times a day to Mahālakṣmī, and for keeping the maṭha in proper repair. In the second part of this inscription, another donation was given to the same four brahmins by Nāyaka Kāliyaṇa, son of above founder of the maṭha, for the purpose of feeding the brahmins at a ritual session (*sattra*) established by his mother. The final part of the land was donated to those four[60] for the purpose of feeding the pupils at a school established for the study of the Vedas (*vedādhyayana ... chātrabhojanārthaṁ*). The maṭha apparently was a residential college where both students and teachers of the Vedas were boarded.

In 11th century Dhārā (in the Malwa or Mālava country, currently in Western Madhya Pradesh), king Jayasiṁha granted a land with all its facilities to the brahmins of a school at Amareśvara, for food and other purposes. [61] The buddhist king Śubhākara II donated a grant for the upkeep of the maṭhas[62] and maṇḍapas established by the brahmins in their native village.

The Gunaighar Grant, ca. 506 AD., is probably the earliest epigraphic record of a brahmanic king making a gift of land to a buddhist monastery. King Vainyagupta gifts this land to a monastery in favour of a congregation of buddhist monks belonging to the Vaivarttika[63] sect

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[60] Those four brahmins were perhaps the teachers of Vedic subjects and must have had pupils staying with them.

[61] Mandhātā plates of Jayasiṁha of Dhāra, saṁvat 1112, EI 3, No. 7, p. 47-49, pl. 1, line 14-15, The text says that,"...*śrīamareśvare paṭṭaśālāvrā[brā]hmaṇebhyaḥ svahasto'yaṁ śrījayasiṁha-devasya* // The word used here for school is *paṭṭa-śālā*; with *paṭṭa* (from *pattra*?) in the sense of 'slab' or 'tablet for writing'? Cf. also SIRCAR s.v. *paṭṭa* 1966: 244.

[62] Terundia pl. of Śubhākara II, EI 28, No. 36, p. 214, The words maṭha and maṇḍapas appear to mean here respectively 'a college'and 'a public building'.

[63] IHQ, vol. 6, p. 51,"The Vaivarttika Saṅgha of a Mahāyāna is for the first time mentioned in this plate alone...which found so much currency in post-Śaṅkara Vedantism, but the term is never used in Buddhist philosophy as far as we know. The sect which was founded (as we interpret and construe the word pratipādita in the text) by Ācārya Śāntideva had probably a very narrow local existence and did not apparently long survive its founder...Nevertheless it is an interesting fact that in the far Eastern corner of India Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished uder the broad patronage of both Buddhism and Brahmanic kings ...allowed one of its teacher to found a new and distinct school of monks. It is tempting to identify Ācārya Śāntideva of our plate

of Mahāyāna, which was established by the buddhist monk Ācārya Śāntideva in a vihāra dedicated to Avalokiteśvara. From the Nālandā copper plate by Devapāladeva already referred to above, we get the information that Bālaputradeva, the ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa[64], had founded a buddhist monastery (*vihāra*) at the university of Nālandā, to which further grants are added for its upkeep and repair.

Two 10th cent. grants[65] (Grant A and B) of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III concern two residential Jain monasteries. On the day of his Paṭṭabandha[na] festival (celebration of his coronation), the king donated two villages (Grant A) to a Jain monastery "Amogha" (probably named in the name of the ninth century Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa), which was at Candanapuri; and six villages (Grant B) to another Jain monastery situated at Vaḍanera named "Uriamma" (a kannaḍa name for Jvālāmālinī, the Yakṣiṇī devotee of Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha). This is the first inscription where the names of the monasteries are found. The grants were given to a donee Vardhamāna who is described as a disciple of preceptor Lokabhadra and was a teacher himself in those residential monasteries.

An earlier grant to residential monks is recorded in a Valabhī copper-plate inscription. It concerns two buddhist monasteries[66]:

> ... a grant made by King Dhruvasena I ... to the congregation of monks residing in the Vihāra founded by the king's sister Duḍḍā (l.17) and in another, founded by the teacher, the venerable Buddhadāsa (l.18, ācāryya-bhadanta Buddhadāsa). The grant consisted a village, named perhaps, Vaṭaprajyaka(?) ... Of the two monasteries mentioned in our inscriptions, the first is well known from other inscriptions of the same king and his successors ... The second is a new one, ... has not hitherto been found in any other inscription. Probably it was one of the some hundred saṅghārāmas, of which Hieun Tsiang gives us

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with the famous Mahāyāna teacher of the same name who wrote the Śikṣāsamuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra".

[64] The Nālandā copper-plate by Devapāladeva, 812-50 CE, EI 17, p. 310-327. This is a period of wide-spread prosperity for buddhist institutions. The Jagjibanpur inscription (Westbengal) records grants of king Mahendrapāla for a buddhist monastery, 9th CE, EI 42, p. 6-29.

[65] Two grants of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III from Vajirkheda, 915 AD, EI 38, No. 2, p. 5-22.

[66] An unpublished Valabhī Copper-plate inscription of King Dhruvasena I, JRAS, 1895, p. 379-384.

a short account in his Si-yu-ki (translated by Beal, ii. 266), quoting by name only one great saṅghārāma, not far from the city which was built by the Arhat Ācāra (‘O-che-lo), identified by Prof. Bühler with the monastery of Aṭharya ...

A grant could also be given to a single student. The 12th century Bengal king Vijayasena[67] donated to Udayakaradeva Sharman, a student of six aṅgas belonging to the Āśvalāyana branch of the Ṛgveda, as a part of a *dakṣiṇā* for performing a sacrifice. The plates found in Nowgong (Assam) record a 9th century royal grant of a plot of land to a brahmin student Śrutidhara when he has returned from his teacher and plans to settle down (*sa samāvṛtto guruto gṛhadharmavidhitsu*[*ḥ*]). [68]

Special attention is paid to the students in the Paścimabhāg plate which we have already mentioned.[69] It is explained that from the first block of land, 10 pāṭakas were meant for *pāli* (maintenance) and for *ghuṭikā* (chalk, probably including other necessities of the type) of 10 students. Again 5 pāṭakas are meant for the daily offering of food to 5 guest brahmins.[70] It seems that there was a full-fledged arrangement not only for the students in the maṭhas but also for the guests and for people who come there to serve them. In the distribution of the second block of land apart from the gift for the teachers, 5 pāṭakas for each group of 5 students in each of the 8 maṭhas (i.e., 40 pāṭakas[71]) ½ pāṭaka to each of the following in each of the eight mathas: a garland maker, cobbler, haircutters, cleaner and servants. King Anaṅgabhīmadeva III[72] donated some agricultural land situated in a village to a brahmin who was a student of the Kāṇva branch of Yajurveda and Kauthuma branch of Sāmaveda. Elsewhere a donation was for the maintenance of specific brahmin students (Maitrāyaṇi branch of the Yajurveda only) associated with the *maṭha*.[73] The Terundia plate[74] records the donation

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[67] Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena, Bangladesh, EI 15, p. 280.

[68] Nowgong Plates of Balavarmā III, Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali, p. 71-77, 182-185. Cp. Bargaon Grant of Ratnapālā, p. 78-87.

[69] EI 37, No.51, p 289-304.

[70] Select Inscriptions, vol. 2, No. 19, p. 97, 1 37-38, *daśacchātrāṇāṁ pālighuṭṭakārthaṁ daśapāṭakāḥ / apūrva-pañca-vëā[brā]hmaṇānāṁ pratyahan bhaktan dātum pañcapāṭakāḥ //*

[71] Two groups of four maṭhas are mentioned above. (see under 3.0 Centres for learning)

[72] See fn. 45 and 48.

[73] Two plates from Kanas by King Bhānudatta (Orissa): 599-600 CE, EI 28, 328ff.

[74] Terundia pl. of Śubhākara II, EI 28, No. 36, p. 211-216.

of a village for six persons who are still students of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Vājasaneya caraṇa of the Yajurveda.

Other donations concern a single teacher, either one's own teacher or one who is for some other reason considered important. King Devendravarman[75] gifted a village Haduvaka to his Guru, the learned brahmin teacher Pataṅga Śivācārya who was expert in Veda-Vedāṅga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Nyāyavidyā. The gift was part of his Guru-pūjā at the end of his Dīkṣānta Samārambha. King Siṁharāja[76] donated the extant portion of certain village to a brahmin teacher Upādhyāya Nānaka. A similar gift is also offered to Ācārya Someśvara Paṇḍita, a teacher in charge of a temple, mentioned in Aland inscription.[77]

The following description illustrates the functioning of an ancient educational centre and its arrangements. It is based on the Kotavumachgi inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI (beginning of 11th CE) and concerns an institution in Ummachige (Gadag Taluka, Dharwad district, currently in Karnataka). It was[78] "a great educational centre" and

> ... maintained a college with a free hostel attached to it, where instruction was imparted in several sciences. It allots a share of mattar with one house-site to the Bhaṭṭa who could expound Nyāsa and Prabhākara and twenty-five mattar to the pupils studying those subjects, while twenty-five mattar and one house-site only are given to the Akkariga (man of letters) named Nāgadesiga who could teach and compose works on mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics, etc., and was well-versed in grammar. It is enjoined that this Nāgadesiga should teach his pupils feeding them once a day and supplying them with a cloth every year. These two vr̥ttis are respectively called as bhaṭṭa-vr̥tti and akkariga-vr̥tti in the record. It is interesting to note that the Bhaṭṭa and his pupils are the recipients of separate shares in the villages whereas the Akkariga, who enjoys a lesser income, has also to feed and cloth his pupils. From the distinction in the two vr̥ttis, it is apparent that the curriculum of education was divided into two sections of which one was intended for specialization in śāstras and the other meant for the general needs of a student.

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75 Two eastern Ganga Copper-plate grants from Sudava, EI 26, 62-65, A.P.
76 Jodhpur fragmentary grant of Siṁharāja, EI vol. 36, pt. 1, p. 45-47
77 Aland inscription of Yuvaraja Mallikarjuna, EI 28, p. 31-38
78 EI 20, No. 6, p. 64ff. ed. by R.S. PANCHAMUKHI.

4. Branches of learning and ritual context

4.1 The ancient records attest to students having a wide range of learning. The 11th century Silimpur stone-slab inscription[79] shows a beautiful praśasti written by a brahmin Prahāsa (with the permission of king Jayapāladeva of Kāmarūpa) on his virtues and his clan and śāstras in which they were experts. He refused to accept a donation of 900 gold coins in cash and a gift of landed property (*śāsana*) yielding an income of 1000 coins from the king, in order to be free from the debt of his parents. So he requested the king to erect this praśasti for him and his kin, and for his village. The slab-inscription is almost free from spelling mistakes. It shows how North Bengal abounded with learned people, who were experts in *tarkaśāstra*, Vedas, rituals, *dharmaśāstra*, *smr̥tis*, *mīmāṁsā*, *tantras*, etc. It gives a vivid description of all the branches of learning in which the people of this brahmin's clan and village were experts.

The Tezpur plates mention a brahmin Bhijjata (Vijjat), the donee's father,[80] "who was pure, with the attributes of a god or of a holy brahmin (*devaguṇopapannaḥ*), conversant with the import of the Vedas (*vedārthavid*), who was like a lamp for the Śāṇḍilya-clan (*śāṇḍilya-kula-pradīpo*), who had studied the Yajurveda with all its auxiliary sciences (*sāṅgaṁ yajurvedam adhītavān*)."

In the Sevadi Copperplates,[81] the Chahamana (Chauhan) king Ratnapāla (12th century), donated a village[82]...

> to all the resident Brāhmaṇas of the great Brāhmaṇa's village named Guṁdakūrchchā that has survived in all the four yugas,

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[79] Silimpur stone-slab inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva, EI 13, p. 283

[80] Tezpur Copper-plates of Vanamālavermadeva, Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali, p. 43-49 (173-176), in a verse in the Upajāti metre: *babhūva śāṇḍilyakulapradīpo vedārthavid bhijjatanāmadheyaḥ / sāṅgaṁ yajurvedam adhītavān yas tyāgī śucir devaguṇopapannaḥ*. See also Barganga Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmā, Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali, p. 3-4, 150.

[81] Sevadi Copper-plates of the Chahamana Ratnapala V.S. 1176, EI 11, p304.

[82] EI 11, p. 311, line 28-31, "*....yajanādi ṣaṭkarmma-japa-svādhyāya-dhyānānuṣṭhānavidhāyine itihāsa-purāṇa-rāmāyaṇa-bhārata-pada-vākya-yājñavalkya-kātyāyana-bhagvaṅgiromārkaṇdeya-*

bhaṭṭadarśanādi ṣaṭdarśanaśā[stra]ābhiratāya āvasathyāgnihotrāgniṣtomasau trāmaṇi-paśubandha cāturmmāsyādi yajukriyāniratāya nivièatarakalmaṣagra(graṅ) thibhide [ve]da-vedāṅgavider..."

> who delight in the six acts[83] of sacrificing etc., prayer, study of the Vedas, meditation and religious practices, who are well-versed in the sacred lore of Itihāsas (epic poems), Purāṇas (legends), Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārata, in words and sentences, and in (the Smritis of) Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Bhṛigu, Aṅgiras, and Mārkaṇḍa; in the six darśanas[84] beginning with Bhaṭṭa-darśana (Purvamīmāṁsā) and other sciences; who are performers of sacrificial rites prescribed in the Yajur-veda, such as Āvasathya (sacred domestic fire), Agnihotra (daily offering to fire), Agniṣhṭoma (liturgical rite in the Soma-sacrifice), Sautrāmaṇi (rite sacred to Sutrāman, i.e, Indra), Paśubandha (animal sacrifice) lit, binding of victim to sacrificial post), Chāturmāsya (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month) and others, who are competent to break the hard knot of sins ; who are well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas[85]...

In Harṣa's Madhuban plate,[86] the king donated villages to two brahmins who are fellow students of Sāmaveda (Chandogas) and Ṛgveda (Bahvṛcas) respectively. According to the Bonda plates,[87] king Mahāśiva Tivara donated two lands namely Bondaka and Avaḍika in favour of twenty-five brahmins. SIRCAR summarizes the text as follows:

> The donees are enumerated in two groups, one of which belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the Yajurveda and the other to the Chāndoga caraṇa of the Sāmaveda. But the brahmins are also described as priests of the Caraka section of the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, although the Carakas actually belonged to the Black Yajurveda. The first group of the donees consisted of ... Ōpādhyāya[88]...

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[83] EI 11, p. 306, ff. 1 (such as sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, giving and taking)

[84] EI 11, p. 306, ff. 2 The six darśanas are Pūrva-mīmāṁsā of Jaimini, Uttara-mīmāṁsā of Vyāsa, Nyāya of Gautama, Vaiśeshika of Kaṇāda, Sāṅkhya of Kapila and Yoga of Patañjali.

[85] EI 11, p. 306, ff. 4, The six Vedāṅgas are, Śhikshā (orthography or phonetics), Kalpa (rituals or liturgy), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology and lexicography), Chhandaḥ (prosody), and Jyotisha (astronomy)

[86] EI 1., p. 67-75; EI 7, p. 155-160, See also Dhanaidaha copper-plate Inscriptions (EI 17, p. 345) of the time of Kumāragupta I , that the donation was given to Varāha-svāmin, who is a Sāmavedi brahmin from Chāndogya.

87 EI 34, Bonda plates of Mahashiva Tivara, p. 111-116

[88] Ōpādhyāya continues as a brahmin surname in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

The 11th century king Vigrahapāla III[89] of the Pal dynasty, a devout worshipper of the Buddha, gifted a village to a donee who was a brahmacārin, a student of the Kauthumī śākhā of the Sāmaveda, well versed in the rules of philosophy (*mīmāṁsā*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and logic (*tarka-vidyā*).

The Kākatīya ruler Rudradeva[90] (in fact a woman, Rudrāmbā[91]), granted a village to her preceptor Viddhana[92] Dīkṣita as *Guru-dakṣiṇā.* Furthermore the inscription (line, 44) reveals that, Viddhanācārya was a paṇḍita of *śaiva-āgamas, yoga, tantra, mantra, dharma-śāstra* and he was teacher of all *vidyās* and skilled in the Vedas. As the editors remark, "The praise bestowed on Viddhana as a poet and scholar and the reference to his work Prameyacarcāmṛta are of interest. From the description of the work in line 100 as *sūktimaṇi-vrajānāṁ ratnākaraḥ*, it may be concluded that Prameyacarcāmṛta was of a didactic nature, containing *subhāṣitas*." I could not locate any trace of this work in current collections of manuscripts.

King Vajrahasta III[93] granted land to five-hundred learned brahmins who delighted in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, and accepting, and who are well versed in sacred lore, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. In this grant much importance is given to brahmin donees having a thorough knowledge in astronomy.

The location of this plate is modern Bilaspur, Raipur, in the Sambalpur region at the border of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

[89] The Amagachhi Grant of Vigrahapāla III, Bengal, EI 15, p. 293-301.

[90] Uttareśvara Grant of Kakatiya Rudramba, Saka 1211, EI 38, 76ff., ed. by K.V. RAMESH and V.S. SUBRAHMANYAM.

[91] EI 38, p. 83: "The plates under study are important for the local history of the period to which they belong. They refer themselves to the reign of Vīra-Rudranṛpati. The Kākatīya kingdom was under the sway of Rudrāmbā alias Rudramadevī, daughter and successor of Gaṇapati (1199-1262 A.D.) from 1262-1296 A.D., and the date of the present grant, 1290 A.D., falls within her reign period. In a number of her inscriptions, Rudrāmbā is given the masculine name of Rudradeva-mahārāja and, therefore, Vīra-Rudranṛpati of the charter under study is to be identified with her."

[92] That is, *vid-dhana*, apparently in the sense of *vidyā-dhana*.

[93] Madras museum plates of Vajrahasta III, 1061 CE, EI 9, p. 94-98. The inscription belongs to King Vajrahasta III, from the Ganga lineage who were rulers of the area which is now Orissa. The locations mentioned in the inscription belong to the Ganjam district, Orissa. It is therefore likely that the plates were originally located here, although it was not identified as such by editor Sten KONOW who writes "I do not know where they have been originally found." Since Ganjam was at that time coming under the Madras Presidency, it is not surprising that these plates found their way to the Madras museum.

In the Pithapuram plates of Vira-Choḍa[94], the donees of the grant were no less than five hundred and thirty-six brāhmins who are engaged in performing the six duties. The titles which are added to their names are: *sahasra, ṣaḍaṅgavid, bhaṭṭa, daśapuribhaṭṭa, daśapurīyabhaṭṭa, trivedin, trivedibhaṭṭa, somayājin, bhaṭṭasomayājin*. The king gifted the village with the following stipulations:

> In this (village) one share (was assigned) for the maintenance of one who expounds grammar, two to the expounder of Mimāṁsā, one to the expounder of Vedānta, one to the teacher of the Rigveda, one to the teacher of the Yajurveda ; one to the teacher in singing the Sāmans ; one to the expounder of Rūpāvatāra(?), one to him who teaches the reciting of the Purāṇas, one to the physician, one to the barber; one to the poison-doctor(and) one to the astrologer[95].

4.2 Vedic education, whether (purely) oral or with the help of written supports, takes place with reference to the application of Vedic texts in the appropriate, ritual context, originally in the context of Vedic rituals, later on in the context of rituals which we may consider Hindu, Tantric, or mixed Hindu-Buddhist, etc.[96]

A few of the earliest available epigraphic records mentioning Vedic rituals are the Yūpas at Isarpur, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh and Nāndsā.[97] The Īsāpur Yūpa record ends appropriately with "May the fires be pleased."[98] It refers to two sacrifices in the "Sapta Soma-saṁsthā." The Allahabad Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription, 2nd CE, refers[99]

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94 Pithapuram plates of Vira-Choḍa, EI 5, p. 70ff.

95 EI 5, p. 94, line, 271- 274, *atra vyākaraṇaṁ vyācakṣa[.]nasya vṛtyatya bhāga ekaḥ mīm[āṁ]sāvyākhyāce dvau / vedāntaṁ vyākhyātur ekaḥ Ṛgvedam adhyāpayitur ekaḥ[..]yajur vvedam adhyāpayitur ekaḥ s[ā]māni gāpayitur ekaḥ rupāvat[ā]raṁ vyācakṣāṇasyaikaḥ purā[ṇa]vācayitur ekaḥ vaidyasyaikaḥ aṁbaṣṭhasyai[kaḥ] viṣavādina ekaḥ jyotirvvida ekaḥ '/ iti guṇavṛttibhā[.] dvādaśa /*

96 See the reference above to the maṭhas in Sylhet: the study of Veda and Vyākaraṇa was associated with traditions that cannot be considered strictly Vedic.

97 The Īsāpur Yūpa commemorates the celebration of a Dvādaśa-rātra sacrifice. Each of the three Baḍvā Yūpa inscriptions refers to a Trirātra sacrifice, the Bijaygaḍh Yūpa to a Soma variety and the Nāndsā Yūpa to a Ṣaṣṭi-rātra sacrifice.

98 Īsāpur Yūpa inscription, *prīyant[ā]m agnaya[ḥ]*. The reference to the burning (sacrificial) fires suits well in a record commemorating a Vedic sacrifice.

99 EI 24, p. 245-251. Text A, "*[tṛtī*]yo yūpa utchritaḥ // [catu*]rthas tu śrīmān yūpaḥ samut-chritaḥ // [t*]to vidvān agniṣṭomāt tu paṁcamam // [ta]tonena ṣaṣṭhas tu prathamāt kratoḥ // [kṛta*]vānyūpamgniṣṭomāttu saptamam//[pratha*] mādyajñātpaṁcamo vājapeyikaḥ// [trayo*]viṁśe varṣe yūpaḥ samutchhritaḥ//*

to the erection of seven yūpas in connection with the performance of seven Soma sacrifices, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Aptoryāma[100]. The sacrificer was Śivadatta, a trusted minister of an unidentified king. The fourth Maukhari Yūpa Inscription from Baḍvā[101] shows a sacrifice Aptoryāma, a variety of the one day Soma sacrifice, performed by Dhanutrātā of the Maukhari clan, who received an honorarium of a thousand cows (which was given on the occasion).

Among Śrauta rituals, Haviryajñas and Somayajñas were most prominent (at least in records). Agnyādheya was the first of the Haviryajñas enumerated in the Gautama-dharmasūtra (GDhS 8.20-21), and four priests, namely Hotr̥, Udgātr̥, Adhvaryu and Brahman, were required to perform this. The Agnyādheya is given much importance in the inscriptions, either by direct mention or in the name Āhitāgni, i.e., someone by whom the Agnyādheya has been performed. In the Dasgoba inscription, King Rājarāja III[102] gives one *gr̥ha-vāṭi* of land to the Hotr̥ and to the Udgātr̥: the Hotr̥ – Mādhava-śarma of the Bhāradvāja gotra, the Udgātr̥ – Puruṣottama-śarman of Vatsa gotra. A donation is given to many others, including Jāgeśvara who is Āhitāgni.

King Anaṅgabhīmadeva III[103] gives five vāṭis of land to the Āhitāgni brahmin Somapāla-śarman, 3 vāṭis to the brahmin Ācārya Agnicit Kāyaḍī-śarman and two vāṭis to some priests (*r̥tvij*) who were students of the R̥g-veda and other Vedas. A good number of donations to Agnihotrins[104] and for the purpose of Śrauta and domestic (Gr̥hya) rituals are found in inscriptions by kings in the areas of current Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh (former Central Provinces). The 2nd BCE Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela,[105] which we have mentioned above, records the performance of a Rājasūya and a fire-sacrifice

[100] They are to be performed in the stated order (Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, 10.9.27). In the enumeration of these sacrifices as given in Gautama-Dharmasūtra, however, Ukthya, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ṣoḍaśin and Atirātra occupy the 2nd ,6th, 3rd and 4th position respectively.

[101] EI 24, p. 252-253. Text, *Mokharer=Hastī-puttrasya Dhanuttrātasya dhīmataḥ / Apto[r]yy[ā]mṇa[ḥ] kratoḥ yūpaḥ sahasro gava-dakshiṇā //*

[102] Dasgoba plates of Rājarāja III, Śaka 1120, EI 31, p. 249-262.

[103] Nāgarī plates of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, Śaka 1151-1152, EI 28, p.235-258.

[104] Agnihotrins belonging to the Atharva-veda, however, I have not found in northern inscriptions.

[105] EI 20, p. 71-89.

(*Agiṇathiyā*=Agnyādheya[106]?). In a Nāgārjunikonda inscription[107], king Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Chaṁtamūla, a devotee of brahmaṇism, is eulogized as a performer of the Vedic sacrifices Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha. The inscription of Rudradeva mentioned above has many verses in praise of the gift-village Uttareśvara which show the engagement of its inhabitants in Vedic learning and rituals:

> The sacrificial altars in the court-yards of the temples in Uttareśvara were crowded by the well-versed in the Ṛg-, Yajur- and Sāma-vedas; all the streets in that village, [are] covered ... by smoke from the sacrificial altars and by men engaged in scholarly disputations day and night ... Rudradeva's father was Pinnayācārya, the foremost among the Somayājins.

The donee Viddhanācārya is further said to have performed sacrifices such as Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Sarvatomukha, Vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava, Mahāvrata, Aptoryāma and Cāturmāsya.[108]

The king Vijayadevavarman[109] himself is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices'(*assamedhayājino mahārāja-sirī-Vijaya-Devavammassa*). Two Śailodbhava grants from Banpur[110] refer to the achievements of king Mādhavavarman II as Śrīnivāsa and attributes to him certain sacrifices including the Aśvamedha. An inscription[111] records the performance of two Aśvamedha sacrifices by Senāpati Puśyamitra (also known as Puśyamitra Śuṅga), a few generations before the inscription's author. The Kendur plates of Kīrtivarman II[112] (Śake saṁvat 672), Maharashtra, mention a horse sacrifice performed by the great Calukya king Polekeśi (Pulakeśi) Vallabha. King Mādhava-varman II[113] claims to have performed thousands of Agniṣṭoma sacrifices and eleven Aśvamedhas. A village was granted by a relative of the king to a brahmin Rāma-śarman, well-versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas,

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[106] *Agiṇathiyā = Agni-iṣṭi* acc. to editors K.P. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerjee.

[107] EI 20, p.3ff. ed. by J. Ph. VOGEL.

[108] Uttareśvara Grant of Kakatiya Rudramba, Saka 1211, EI 38, p. 93, line 171-172.

[109] Plates of Vijaya Devavarman, EI 9, p. 56

[110] EI 29, No.5, p. 32-38.

[111] A Śuṅga inscription from Ayodhyā, EI 20, p. 54-55.

[112] EI 9, p. 200-206.

[113] Ipur plates of Govindvarman's son Madhavavarman II, A.P, EI 17, p. 334-337; See also Ramatirtham plates of Indravarman, EI, 12, p. 133-136.

whose father has performed a Vājapeya sacrifice. The Paithan plates[114] of Govinda III, Śaka saṁvat 716, mentions a donation of a group of 12 villages to a number of brahmins for keeping up the five great sacrifices[115] and other purposes. Similarly the Kaira plate[116] issued by Dadda II of the early Gurjara dynasty records a grant of some villages to forty brahmins, of whom thirty-five belonged to the R̥g-veda, (white) Yajur-veda and Sāma-veda. The purpose of this grant was to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as the five great sacrifices, which the grant enumerates as *bali*, *caru*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra*, etc. King Vajrahasta III (see under 4. 1) donated some villages permanently to 500 learned brahmins "who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, etc." There is also similar mention in the Sevadi copper-plates (see above).

The minister Vāsudeva of king Bhānudeva[117] is credited with the construction of two temples and a pond and is said to be ever intent on doing sacrificial and charitable acts (*iṣṭāpūrttapara*). The country is described as prosperous and happy due to Bhānudeva's rule, the brahmins being devoted to correct rituals (*satkarmaniṣṭhā dvijāḥ*), the subjects being likewise intent on doing sacrificial and charitable acts (*iṣṭāpūrttaparāḥ prajāḥ*), the citizens being utterly righteous (*paurāḥ paraṁ dharmikāḥ*), the councelors have their minds purified with the study of the śāstras (*sabhyāḥ śāstravicāradhautamanaso*).

Plate A of king Bhānudatta[118] (ca. 600) records the grant of a village in south Tosali, Orissa. SIRCAR summarizes the intent of the grant as follows:

> The purpose of the grant was the institution of *bali*, *caru*, *sattra* at the *maṭha* of the illustrious Maṇināgeśvara bhaṭṭāraka of Ekambaka (Ekamra[119]) and for the maintenance of the brahmins of different

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[114] EI 9, p. 103-110.

[115] The five great (*mahā-*) *yajñas* according to Manu (Chap. 3.69-71) are, i. Brahmayajña, ii. Devayajña, iii. Pitr̥yajña, iv. Manuṣyayajña and v. Bhūtayajña). The text here is, plate 3, line, 61,*va(ba)lī, charu-vaiśya(śva)dev-āgnihā(ho)tr-āti[thi]-pada(pañca)-mahāyajñādi....*

[116] Kaira CP Inscription of Dadda 2 Prasantaraga, 629-630 CE, CII 4.1: 57-66.

[117] Kanker Inscription of the time of Bhānudeva, Chatisgarh, EI vol. 9, p. 123-130.

[118] Two plates from Kanas, pl. A of Lokavigraha-Bhaṭṭāraka, 599-600 CE, EI 28, 328-334.

[119] Close to Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

gotras, who were students of the Maitrāyaṇī branch of the Yajurveda. It is interesting to note that the brahmin students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school, associated with the *maṭha* of Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka are also mentioned in the other charter (B).

The presence of the Maitrāyaṇī school is thought to have originated in Gujarat and survived till the last century in North-Maharashtra and in Gujarat. That it had also an active presence in Orissa, as indicated in this and other records, is less well known.

Royal grants did not necessarily concern only brahmanical or buddhist rituals. The Rajapura copper-plates[120] record a grant from the 11th century king Madhurāntakadeva, not to a brahmin but to someone referred to as Medipota or Churikāra Medipota, which is apparently related to the duty of the latter to supply victims for a human sacrifice in front of a goddess Danteśvarī in a temple constructed between two rivers, Saṅkhinī and Daṅkinī.

5. Conclusion

In Vedic education the oral transmission of knowledge was of major importance. This is most clear from earlier inscriptions, since the Aśokan period. However, these indications are naturally indirect or they derive from other sources such as from the inherited titles and names of occupations or professionsof the donees. Literacy can be inferred from donations for libraries etc.

Throughout the period studied, another noticable point is the special importance of Vedic ritual as context for the teaching and study of Vedic texts by brahmins teachers and students. Kings apparently paid much attention to the specific branches of learning adhered to by teachers and students while selecting them as potential donees.

Copper-plates and other inscriptions have been studied mainly from the perspective of political and of socio-economical history and have remained relatively unexplored from the point of view of early Indian intellectual and religious history in general and the history of Vedic education in particular. Further studies, which explore the inscriptional sources (on copper-plates and other materials) both quantitatively with

[120] Rajapura Copper plates of Madhuratankadeva Nagpur (Saka: Samvat 987, 1065 AD) by Dr. Hira Lal, EI 9, p. 174-181. In his interpretation of the grant, the editor proposes that *medi* in *medi-pota* is related to telugu *meriah*, and refers to information on the Meriah sacrifice to the Earth goddess Tari Pennu, which has otherwise become widely known in the description in J. FRAZER's *Golden Bough*.

regard to variables such as date, locality, branches of learning, gotra, etc., and qualitatively with regard to specific case histories, are very much needed in order to arrive at a better understanding of India's intellectual and religious history. In addition to information that can be obtained through other sources – including historical socio-economic studies and internal histories of communities of brahmins, whether they have ever profited from grants or not – the data available in these inscriptions contain still much that can shed light on what can be regarded as – the present article has confirmed this – one of the most remarkable and long-lived intellectual traditions of the world.

LIST OF COPPER-PLATES / INSCRIPTIONS REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLES

1. Bistūn (Behistūn) ins. of Darius, Persia, 6th BCE, SI, Vol. 1: 3ff.
2. Aśokan Bhabru minor Rock edict, Rajasthan, 3rd BCE, CII 1:22-27; IA 20:165ff.
3. Hathigumpha ins. of Kharavela, Orissa, 2nd BCE, EI 20:71-89.
4. A Śuṅga ins. from Ayodhyā, UP, 1st CE, EI 20:54-58.
5. Ipur plates of Govindvarman's son Madhavavarman II, AP, 2nd CE, EI 17:334-337.
6. Îsāpur Yūpa ins., Allahabad, 2nd CE, CII 3:252-254.
7. Allahabad Municipal museum Yūpa ins., Allahabad, 2nd CE, EI 24:245-251.
8. Fourth Maukhari Yupa ins. from Badva, 3rd CE, EI 24:252-253.
9. The Prakrit ins.s from Nagarjunikonda, AP, 3rd CE, EI 20:1-36.
10. Dhanaidaha CP ins.s of Kumaragupta I, Bangladesh, 5th CE, EI 17:345ff.
11. Additional Valabhī grants, Nos. ix-xiv, Gujarat, 6th CE, IA 7: 66-68, Pl. II.1.7.
12. An unpublished Valabhī CP ins. of king Dhruvasena I, 6th CE, JRAS, 1895, p.379-384.
13. Gunaighar CP ins. of Vainyagupta, Bangladesh, 6th CE, SI 1, pt.3: 340-345.
14. Kanas CP of Lokavigraha-Bhaṭṭāraka, Orissa, 6th CE, EI 28:328-334.
15. Madhuban plate of Harsha, UP, 7th CE, EI 1:67-75; EI 7:155-160.
16. Bonda plates of Mahashiva Tivara, Chattisgarh, 7th CE, EI 34:111-116.
17. Nogawa plates of Maitraka king Dhruvasena II, MP, 7th CE, EI 8:188-194.
18. Two eastern Ganga CP grants from Sudava, AP, 7th CE, EI 26: 62-65.
19. Two Śailodbhava grants from Banpur, Orissa, 7th CE, EI 29:32-38.

20. The Kendur plates of Kirtivarman II, Maharashtra, 7th CE, EI 9:200-206.
21. Kaira CP ins. of Dadda 2 Prasantaraga, Gujarat, 7th CE, CII 4.1: 57-66.
22. Ramatirtham plates of Indravarman, AP, 7th CE, EI 12:133-136.
23. Paithan plates of Govinda III, Maharashtra, 8th CE, EI 3:103-110.
24. Terundia plate of Śubhākara II, Orissa, 8th CE, EI 28:211-216.
25. Nalanda CP of Devapāladeva, Bihar, 9th CE, EI 17:310-327.
26. Nowgong plates of Balavarmā, Assam, 9th CE, Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī, p. 1-77.
27. Bargaon grant of Ratnapālā, Assam, 9th CE, Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī, p. 78-87
28. Jagjibanpur ins. of Mahendrapala, Westbengal, 9th CE, EI 42:6-29.
29. Baripada museum plate of Devanandadeva, Orissa, 9th CE, EI 26:74-82.
30. Jajilpara grant of Gopāla II, Bangladesh, 10th CE, JASL 17:137-144.
31. Paścimbhāg plate of king Śrīcandra, Bangladesh, 10th CE, EI 37:289-304.
32. Two grants of Rashtrakuta Indra III from Vajirkheda, Maharashtra, 10th CE, EI 38:5-22.
33. Jodhpur fragmentary grant of Siṁharāja, Rajasthan, 10th CE, EI 36, pt.1:45-47.
34. Rajapura CPs of Madhuratankadeva, Nagpur, 11th CE, EI 9:174-181.
35. Aland ins. of Yuvaraja Mallikarjuna, AP, 11th CE, EI 28:31-38.
36. Silimpur stone slab ins. of Jayapāladeva, Bangladesh, 11th CE, EI 13:283-295.
37. Mandhātā plates of Jayasiṁha of Dhara, MP, 11th CE, EI 3:46-50.
38. Amagachhi grant of Vigrahapala III, Bangladesh, 11th CE, EI 15:293-301.
39. Madras museum plates of Vajrahasta III, Orissa-Madras, 11th CE, EI 9:94-98.
40. Pithapuram plates of Vira-Choḍa, AP, 11th CE, EI 5:70ff.
41. Santiragrama grant of Dandimahadevi, Orissa, 11th CE, EI 29:79-89.
42. Sevadi CPs of the Chahamana Ratnapala, Rajasthan, 12th CE, EI 11:304-313.
43. Some Gāhaḍavāla grants, UP, 12th CE, EI 35:201-220.
44. Bhera-Ghat ins. of Alhaṇadevī, 12th CE, MP, EI 2:7-17.
45. Kolhapur stone ins. of the Silhara Bhoja II, 12th CE, Maharashtra, EI 3:213-216.
46. Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena, Bangladesh, 12th CE, EI 15:278-286.
47. Dasgoba plates of Rajaraja III, Orissa, 12th CE, EI 31:249-262.
48. Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, Orissa, 12th CE, EI 28:235-258.
49. Mandhātā plates of Devapāla and Jayavarman II, MP, 13th CE, EI 9:103-117.
50. Mandhātā plates of Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman, MP, 13th CE, EI 32:139-156.

51. Ins. of Hammir of Ranthambhor, Rajasthan, 13th CE, EI 19:46.
52. Uttareśvara grant of Kakatiya Rudramba, AP, 13th CE, EI 38:76-93.
53. Kanker ins. of Bhanudeva, Chatisgarh, 13th CE, EI 9:123-130.
54. Puri ins.s of Anangabhima III, Orissa, 13th CE, EI 30: 197-203.
55. Asankhali plates of king Narasimha-II, 14th CE, Orissa, EI 31:109-128.
56. Sakhigopal CPs of king Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, 14th CE, Orissa, EI 37:317-332.
57. Tezpur CP ins. of Vanamālavermadeva, Assam, Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī, p. 43-49.
58. Barganga rock ins. of Bhūtivarmā, Assam, Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī, p.3-4, p. 150.
59. Plates of Vijaya Devavarman, AP, EI 9:56-59.
60. An ins. from the Bastar State, MP, EI 9:160-166.
61. Kosgain stone ins. of Vahara, (undated) CII, 4, pt. II:557ff.

Abbreviations

AK = Amarakośa of Amara. Ed. with Amarapada-vivr̥ti of Liṅgayasūrin and with Amarapada-pārijāta of Mallinātha by A. A. Ramanathan, Madras, Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1971; Reprint. 1989.
CII = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vols. I – V, Calcutta, 1877 – 1963.
EI = Epigraphia Indica, vols. I – XXXXII (1-42), New Delhi, 1888 – 1936.
GDhS = Gautama-dharmasūtra, with the Mitākṣarā Sanskrit commentary of Haradatta, ed. with Hindi comm. and Introduction by Umesh Chandra PANDEY. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966.
IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal.
JASL = Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters.
Manu = Manu-smr̥ti or Mānava-dharmaśāstra. Ed. and tr. P. OLIVELLE, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
MW = Monier-Williams. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.
R̥V = R̥g-veda: ed. with Sāyaṇa's comm. (4 vols.), 2nd ed. Poona 1972-84 (incl. khilas in vol. 4).
SI = Select Inscriptions, vol. I, D.C. SIRCAR 1986.
VDhS = Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra. In: OLIVELLE 2000.

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Pastoral nomadism, tribalism, and language shift

SHEREEN RATNAGAR

It is a reasonable inference that the language of the *Rg Veda* had an ancestry in Eurasia and was carried into South Asia by certain pastoralist groups. And it is a reasonable inference that the language of the *Rg Veda* took the place of local South Asian languages, Dravidian (and/or Munda), these languages retreating south before the advance of the Vedic language.[1] What were the circumstances of this linguistic shift? I revisit the issue of pastoral nomadism and agro-pastoralism (after efforts in 1999 and 2006) and their connection with extensive migrations, and now explore the question of bilingualism, a necessary precondition for language replacement, turning to cross-cultural data from the Mesopotamian world and the replacement of Sumerian by Akkadian and of Akkadian by Aramaic. Akkadian and Aramaic, it may be recalled, were languages brought into the Mesopotamian agrarian heartland by pastoralists from the neighbouring steppe. There is also the question of Indo-European Hittite and Luwian in second-millennium Anatolia.

Let us begin with a recapitulation of the archaeological evidence on the Indo-European homeland.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The **Sredny-Stog chalcolithic culture**, say 4500–3500 BC, of the Don, Dnieper and Donnets valleys in the west of the Pontic-Caspian steppe, its best known site being Dereivka (on the right bank of the Dnieper), had a preponderance of *kurgan* burials (over village settlements). There was agriculture, hunting, fishing and stockbreeding (sheep-goat, pigs, cattle, and probably horses). For some scholars, this

[1] EMENEAU 1954(2005): 26-29.

is the nucleus of the Indo-European land, and after the out-migrations of several Indo-European languages, only a few, e.g. speakers of North Ossetian, were left behind. MALLORY (1989) dates the speaking of Proto-Indo-European dialects to 4500–2500 BC. The PIE culture in its classic mould may be dated to 3500 to 3000, but the ancestor of the Anatolian languages perhaps split off between 4000 and 3500 BC.

MALLORY refers to the spread of certain cultural elements of the **Yamnaya (Pit Grave) culture** over the Pontic-Caspian steppe from the north of the Black Sea to east of the Ural river, between 3500 and 2500 BC, as the "**Mortuary Mega Horizon**" (henceforth, MMH).[2] Here occurred a few hill forts, settlements being relatively few compared to the scores of burial mounds. Agriculture and fishing and herding continued, but herding took on different parameters with the advent of the wheeled wagon (a mobile house and grain store). Anthony[3] sees in this period a "strongly pastoral economy" with horse riding. MALLORY says that in spite of agriculture, this culture was "overwhelmingly centred on stockbreeding, which in some areas became a specialist economy of nomads" – there are camp sites in the deep steppe with no scope for agriculture[4]. Maria GIMBUTAS had thought that this new mobile culture with its new weapon forms was warlike, the nomads spreading out in search of pasture and imposing themselves on the old matriarchies (hence the appearance of hill forts), so that old mother goddesses were replaced by the worship of father Zeus. MALLORY, however, finds little specific data on invasions [5]; it was the pastoral economy (sheep and horses) as such that spread out.

The Indo-European languages have common root words for man and field, and significantly, for cow, ox, steer, pig, sheep, herd, and draught horses (which could only be bred after the coming of the spoked wheel and the chariot). Similarly, the roots of words for wheel, axle, yoke pole are the same in the Indo-European languages and thus, we infer, are embedded in PIE culture

East of the Ural range, meanwhile, at **Botai** (about 3500–2600 BC) horse remains abound and it is possible that horses grazed in the open. Moreover, horse skulls found buried under house floors point to a cult of this animal. Perhaps a few horses were tamed and ridden by the inhabitants of this village.

[2] MALLORY 2008.
[3] ANTHONY 2004.
[4] J. MALLORY 1989: 212-213.
[5] J. MALLORY 1989: 183-184.

Thereafter the **Late Bronze–Early Iron Andronovo cultures, say 2200 or 2000 BC** onwards, spread to the east and south-east of the MMH, from the Volga to the Ural and Tobol rivers, and south to the Oxus. There was mining, a developed metallurgy, and fortified settlement in places. MALLORY suggests and Kuzmina too avers that this could have been a second shatter-area, the source of the Indo-Iranian languages.[6] Speaking of the "explosive migration of a single culture", Anthony too thinks that it was on the wings of this social network that the Indo-Iranian languages could have dispersed.[7] In *kurgan* burials were tin-bronze weapons and ornaments, the horse, and a light wheeled vehicle (or war chariot). Cattle, sheep-goat, and horses were herded, but the relative frequency of settled sites increased. A chariot aristocracy is interred in the cemetery of **Sintashta**, an elaborately fortified settlement in the northern steppe, with sacrificed horses. Because of the agro-pastoralist economy, horse chariots, horse sacrifice, and hand-made pottery, Russian archaeologists identified the people as Indo-Iranians, and even went so far as to name the site of Ark**h**aim as the birth-place of Zarathushtra.

Archaeologists have taken such archaeology-language linkages further into the "**Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex**" (said to begin around 2000 BC) on the Oxus and in the delta of the Murghab, the richest oases of central Asia. Here small fortresses with "temples" were built and agriculture comprised wheat, barley, millet, legumes, and grapes. Livestock comprised in the main sheep and cattle, and there were a few camels. There are no horse bones in habitation debris, but the remains of a baby horse in a sacrificial pit in the Gonur cemetery, c. 2000 BC[8], speaks for a northern connection. The pottery which was white or pink was formed on the wheel. MASSON notes the occurrence also of pottery of the northern steppe (late-bronze cum early-iron age) sites, with simple incised decoration – a brittle pottery that was fired on a bed of charcoal rather than in a kiln. There were collective burials and cenotaphs. Funerary assemblages were rich in metal and stones such as turquoise and lapis lazuli. Distinctive seal amulets depicted various creatures. As for the occurrence of *soma*, scientists in Leiden have found that the plant materials at Gonur[9]

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[6] But see LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY 2002.

[7] ANTHONY 2007.

[8] ANTHONY 2007: 428-33.

[9] Gonur Tepe is the largest of the Margiana sites. It has a complex of temples

ogolok are not hemp or Ephedra, but broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*).[10]

This culture was said to have derived from the Kopet Dag piedmont,[11] but FRANCFORT has convincingly argued for a formative phase of this '**Oxus Civilization**' [12] between 2500 and 2400 BC, when several sites were founded in the Tedzen Delta and on the piedmont.[13] He finds that the Oxus Civilization blossomed between 2200 and 1700 BC. Its decline occurred around 1700 to 1500 BC when handmade pottery of the Andronovo horizon (that extended south to the Syr Darya), continued to be intrusive but with a higher frequency, in Bactria and Margiana.

Thus FRANCFORT has located a paradox. As the *Rg Veda* is reliably dated and migrations of the people of the *Rg Veda* would have occurred between 1800 and 1400 BC, chronology itself rules out any correlation of Aryan migrants with the Oxus Civilization.

It was after 1000 BC that many of the village sites of the Andronovo horizon were deserted: **mobile horse-mounted herding and full-fledged nomadic multi-animal pastoralism** are inferred for this period. And after 1000 BC the presence of Iranians in the steppe is accepted by scholars. Never a purely pastoral culture, the Andronovo steppe culture had nevertheless seen pastoralism develop with increasing emphasis on sheep and horses. (In an earlier stage cattle had predominated.)

While we should not confuse the pastoralism of the early cultures of the third and second millennia BC with the "true" steppe nomadism of the Scythians, Huns, or Turks, we can infer that mobile stockbreeding would have meant a widening spatial range. In earlier papers I had thought of certain kinds of push towards geographic expansion, the first being the quantum change in herder mobility brought about by the covered wagon and horse riding. The date of the beginning of horse riding is a very difficult problem. Bit marks on teeth may indicate the hitching of horses to wheand Teled vehicles rather than a rider's harness. Yet, if the huge proportion of horses in the animal remains of Botai means that horse herds grazed in the open, does this not indicate

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and palaces and appears to have been located at a point of control of water supply to a cluster of settlements. The cemetery lies to the west of the monumental complex.

[10] BAKELS 2003.

[11] MASSON 1992; JARRIGE 1994.

[12] Spread across the oases of Margiana, the Oxus system, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and with distant contacts:to the Indus plains, Seistan, the Gulf, etc.

[13] FRANCFORT (2005: 258 and n. 13) corrects the old belief about BMAC origins: "Namazga VI est l'une des forms de la phase finale de la Civilisation de l'Oxus, non son origine".

that at least a few of their breeders controlled them from horseback? Now able to scout for good pastures and water, herdsmen on horseback would choose the right routes and destinations, and hence achieve greater success, with larger herds. A self-correcting mechanism, on the other hand, would have been unpredictable droughts across the steppe causing stress, decimating herds; sometimes this too could encourage outmigrations into new terrain. Thus Turkic and Mongol horse-mounted herders also dispersed from the same eastern steppe in later centuries. Perhaps, suggests FRANCFORT, migrating steppe pastoralists of the second millennium BC lost their distinguishing material culture and were simultaneously instrumental in the dissolution of the coherence of the Oxus Civilization; and perhaps some of these migrants were indeed speakers of Indo-Iranian or Indo-Aryan.[14]

The borderland of South Asia is not like the Eurasian steppe with its horizontal mobility and extreme climatic conditions: there are no vast stretches of steppe, but instead high mountains interspersed by valleys. Grazing movements would have occurred over geographically limited areas and herds would have been much smaller. Even if it significant that at Pirak below the Bolan Pass from about 1700 BC there occurs testimony for the Bactrian camel and the horse, for the discussion that follows we take our lesson from H.-P. FRANCFORT and do not assume that artefactual similarities with sites further west and north-west reveal large-scale invasion or “a people on the move”.

In the post-Harappan period in what is now Pakistan we find a remarkable heterogeneity of cultural practices. Cemetery H burial pottery (there are dozens of Cemetery H sites in Cholistan) with fractional burials comprises superbly fired urns with symbols such as the peacock painted on them with artistry. At Mehrgarh’s South Cemetery were cenotaphs, at Dauda Damb near by, cupola graves and a child burial in a vaulted “chamber”. At Sibri (also in their close vicinity and of approximately the same age) an infant was buried in a large jar. JARRIGE[15] speaks of a scatter of elite burials over a large area. Besides, pedestalled bowls and trumpet-shaped pots with grooved rims occur at the sites on the Kacchi plain, and are important because they have parallels in the BMAC sites.[16]

In the Gomal valley and its environs, as well as at Sarai Khola near

[14] FRANCFORT 2005: 301.
[15] JARRIGE 1994: 310.
[16] JARRIGE 1994: 295, 310; RATNAGAR 1999, 2006.

Taxila, intriguing methods of disposal of the dead involved the digging of a deep pit and burning wood or charcoal, with sacrificed animals, on the floor. A covering of wood or charcoal was provided, atop which more wood was laid, together with the corpse. The whole was sealed with clay and fired, to produce a grave-cum-pyre that was not opened thereafter[17]. Was this a means of ensuring the complete burning of corporeal remains to become one with the earth? (The different laying out of the body according to sex and age is another unique feature of these burials in Pakistan.) Significantly, SALVATORI [18] reports at Gonur Tepe 1 (Margiana) one kind of grave consisting of an oval pit, its floor and walls fired before the interment, and its upper fill also fired to form a "kind of burnt lid". The similarity with the Gomal grave practice is too close to ignore.

Near Taxila in Gandhara and in the Swat, Dir, and Chitral regions have occurred early extended burials, followed by the fractional burials of cremated individuals, in pots; in Swat a few men were buried with their horses; at Timargarh III a grave had the iron cheek-piece of a horse harness. There is a sequence of cemeteries and burials between 1500 and 500 BC. IHSAN ALI *et al.* have found at the site of Parwak on the right bank of the River Chitral, that graves of a single period of the Gandhara Grave culture (*c.* 2000 BC ff) contain inhumation-, cremation-, and also fractional-burials with copper as well as iron tools. Pedestalled bowls have striking similarities with some pottery forms at sites in Iran. Vessels such as "pear-shaped bottles" of Kalako-derai, Swat, are recognized at Sarai Khola near Taxila. Ground-stone axes and "harvesters" at Kalako-derai echo artifacts from Burzahom near Srinagar.

Other than striking similarities with funerary customs in regions west and north-west, then, there is also marked cultural variation in ritual practices as well as in everyday life within northern Pakistan–India. The data thus point to a cultural break with the earlier Harappa culture and to small groups moving into disparate regions here and there. Concerning the incidence of permanent settlement, too, as MASSON [19] says, southern Afghanistan–southeastern Iran contrasts with Margiana–Bactria. Several scholars believe not in a wholesale invasion of Central or South Asia, but in the infiltration of small groups of people speaking new languages, now raiding the villages or lifting the cattle of the

[17] DANI 1992: 399-402.
[18] SALVATORI 1994: 658.
[19] MASSON 1992: 352.

autochthons, now engaging in battles among themselves, with chiefs leading retinues or else settling for a time in one zone or the other.

Pastoralism and Expansion, Pastoralism and Bilingualism

While multi-animal steppe pastoralism, especially horseback herding, is largely self-sufficient, there is a necessary and marked symbiosis between mobile and sedentary groups in agro-pastoralism with vertical mobility.[20] As FRACHETTI says[21], even a small change in a routine movement can bring pastoralists into contact and interaction with different people and new ideas or knowledge may be exchanged. Routine exchanges with sedentary communities may involve the necessity for both parties to understand (at least snatches of) each others' languages. ROWTON had constructed for western Asia the model of "enclosed nomadism": there is significant economic interdependence, sometimes pastoralists pitching camp on the outskirts of towns. Sometimes the coming and going of goods and people between field and pasture is almost routine. Sometimes it may be pastoralists who encapsulate villages of settled farmers.[22] In order to survive, nomadic pastoralists may regularly move out of their own area or camp, waylay strangers/travellers, and eke out news of conditions in the vicinity[23].

It was suggested[24] thus that expansion is inherent in the very nature of agro-pastoralism as evident in the *RgVeda*. Agro-pastoralism in this context means that a group sows fields *and* moves with herds, but that it is the large herd that gives prestige: given the choice, people opt for larger herds rather than larger land holdings. Cattle have social value in such a society and function as currency in prestations (gifts), loans, marital payments, the means of acquiring clients. Pastoralists can maintain production levels only with a judicious use of their main strategy, mobility. Common pastures are not geographically fixed, and given a choice pastoralists have a tendency to spread their flocks out rather than crowd their cattle to graze where their dung is piling up. If

[20] Concerning South Asia, HARMATTA 1992: 367-368) suggested three successive movements of the Indo-Iranian speakers: a slow infiltration of small cattle-raider groups, then immigration of chariot-warrior pastoralists, and last – in Iran – the swift migrations of horse-riding pastoralists in search of pasture and territory.

[21] FRACHETTI 2009: 24.

[22] See ALIZADEH 2010.

[23] See ROE *et al.* 1980.

[24] RATNAGAR 2006.

a common grazing ground begins to get crowded, families will trend towards "migratory drift" or migration – and thus it is that pastoralists "carry culture". Relevant to cultural interaction is also the fact that a summer pasture may not be the pasture of just one group.[25]

Tribal organization for its part encourages the splitting and dispersal or merger of groups. Several families may move and camp together for certain seasons of the year and then split up. The same families may not all re-group in the same place the next year. Women visit their natal groups periodically, and funerals are times for the coming together of large groups. So are the days of periodic markets. With mobility for grazing the flock, there occurs a coming together of families and also a splitting apart and interaction with ever different people. Politically, tribal organization offers the option for ambitious men to move away from the parent groups with their followers – there are no state frontiers to cross, no compulsions to follow just one ruler or leader.

Equally significant is the tendency to war, for victors to take wives from defeated groups, and perhaps build up polyglot militias, however short-lived. An important institution of the tribal[26] life is patron-client relationships. Sedentary farmers, individuals or families, become clients of militia chiefs – the way to acculturation then opens up. Concerning the intermittent warfare and cattle raids to which such groups are prone, plus the archaeological evidence for the horse at Pirak on the Bolan Pass route into the Indus plains (after c. 1700 BC) and in the Swat Valley, we realize that the very way of life of the immigrant herders

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[25] That mobile or migrating pastoralists "carry culture" is nowhere more clearly indicated than, for instance, in northern Karnataka, which saw the coming of forager-herders (herding cattle, sheep, and goats, animals that had been domesticated in earlier periods in Pakistan and northwestern India) after 2000 BC. The traces of these herders comprise ash-mounds, the traces of seasonal camps, with burnt dung, cattle bones, and evidence of pens or animal enclosures. There were also, at related settlements, querns for grinding grain, and local millets, Brachiaria and Setaria, were probably harvested. So too, two local pulses, *mung* (Vigna radiata) and horsegram (*kullath*, *Macrotyloma u.*). For centuries cattle keeping was economically important and accompanied the growing of indigenous millets and pulses; later, the crops of the north-west such as wheat were also grown (See D. Q. FULLER 2005). Perhaps migrating herdsmen had initiated this agriculture in the peninsula, in a casual and opportunistic way, but which spread with their movements over a region and became the foundation of rural life in the early historic period. Were these shepherds bilingual? What language(s) did they carry into peninsular India?

[26] The main social glue in tribal society is kinship.

would have spawned geographic and social expansion and interaction with others.[27] Mobile herders come to learn of more than one culture, more than one set of customary laws, in their lives. In a multi-cultural region it is often they who cross ethnic boundaries.

But what of **language shift or replacement**, the issue of this paper?

Replacement is not possible without bilingualism, the ability to speak entire sentences intelligibly in a language not the mother tongue. Two languages may be used in one and the same conversation (code-switching). While this is a necessary precondition for language replacement, it is not always followed by replacement. During a period of **bilingualism**, [28] native people may impose their own speech habits (phonology or syntax) onto a new language brought in by migrants, as in the case of Dravidian retroflexion in Vedic Sanskrit. Such "interference"/imposition occurs when the autochthons have relatively easy access to the foreign language. If A and B are two languages used by two groups, the familiarity of A-speakers with language B is in all likelihood due to the accessibility of the relevant social or political roles of B's native speakers. If, however, B is the currency of a section with ascribed status and there are impassable barriers (ritual, social, or political) to that status, bilingualism will not develop. We would imagine that continuing pastoralist–agriculturist interactions, as also pastoralist social schisms and regroupings, would enable relatively easy access (with personnel sometimes sedentarizing, families sometimes becoming mobile herders) and engender bilingualism.

Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Bilingualism and Replacement

A. Pastoralists and their Languages

The Fertile Crescent with its large swathes of greatly fertile farming tracts interspersed with seasonal pastures, the whole bordered with mountain ranges affording grazing in summer, has from the beginning of recorded history into medieval times, seen interaction between peasants and pastoralists. Periodically, pastoralists would enter the

[27] We need to add a caution here. Mobile pastoralism has itself seen numerous changes through history, and it is not wise to slap on to the ancient past the patterns we observe amongst nomadic and transhumant herdsmen today – as S. ROSEN has admirably worked out for the Negev. Pastoralists today are almost always the marginalized sections of modern nations.

[28] See GUY 1989, FISHMAN 1972: 136-141.

territories of the early states either as conquerors or more frequently as immigrants in search of pasture or settlement or employment, even as fighters for one or other ruler. AMIET (2002) suggests that several early Mesopotamian "colonies" so called could have been established on the steppe in agricultural pockets by erstwhile nomads, and that several site desertions were perhaps prompted by reversions to pastoralism.

1. Some time in the third millennium BC, **Akkadian,** an East Semitic language of pastoralists, became a spoken language in the southern Mesopotamian heartland. Akkadian gradually gained currency at the expense of Sumerian, the autochthonous language.[29]

Sargon, who set up (c. 2370 BC) a dynasty that ruled Mesopotamia and Syria from the city of Akkad, has an important place in the Mesopotamian historical tradition. Copies of his royal inscriptions, plus legends about him, are extant. One of these concerns his mother having had to bear him in secret, as his father was a man of the hills whose kin came from a place called Azupiranu (literally meaning "fields of wild grass"?) on the Euphrates. "Sargon" (*sharrukenu*) is less a personal name than a title meaning "legitimate king": he was not born to a royal dynasty.

While Sargon did not actually lead an invasion into Sumer from the steppe, he conquered the south and many places in the north: there are destruction levels in Syria (of the Ebla palace, Mari, Tuttul, and other towns) after he came to power in Akkad. There are also cuneiform tablets written in Old Akkadian at Chagar Bazar, Mari, and Tell Mozan in Upper Mesopotamia/Syria[30]. *Kranzhugel* settlements with spaces between a small built-up area and the city wall, are known in this region, unsuitable for agriculture without irrigation, 2900 to 2400 BC – LYONNET suggests[31] that some of these saw periodic gatherings of nomads and flocks.

Akkadian was the language of the mobile pastoral population in the steppe around the heartland of Sumer, but also the language of a state elite and its administration. The occurrence of Old Akkadian tablets

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[29] Akkadian was spoken in Mesopotamia from at least 2500 BC to about 500 BC. It was written until the 3rd cent AD.

[30] At the site of Tell Beydar occur about 140 tablets written in a Semitic language which however is not Akkadian (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 256-59). As for Ebla, its tablets were written in a language that either developed from the Akkadian of northern Sumer or else was an independent, regional (Syrian) language (GEORGE 2007: 39).

[31] B. LYONNET 2009.

tends to coincide with the extent of the Sargonic empire. Even if not the spoken vernacular, says GEORGE[32], it was in these places the language of administration.

At Nippur even in the 1740s**,** ROBSON shows[33], the majority of literary tablets found in a scribal school were written in Sumerian. Two-thirds of the literary works were bilingual versions and only one was an Akkadian composition. WOODS argues for **Sumerian–Akkadian bilingualism** south and north of Nippur from the period of Akkadian rule until the Isin-Larsa period (say 2300 to 1800 BC). [34] This was when Sumerian gradually died out. The evidence for the continuity of spoken Sumerian is strong, including the frequency of Sumerian personal names, the enlargement of Sumerian vocabulary, and private letters using phrases characteristic of spoken language. Among the evidence Woods cites for bilingualism are personal letters using both languages (code switching) and also official documents in Early Akkadian loaded with Sumerograms but with Akkadian pronouns and particles – thus to be read out in Akkadia**n.** Moreover, the SOV (or "verb final") syntax of Akkadian is unusual for a Semitic language [HUEHNERGARD says[35] the Proto-Semitic word order was VSO] and could have come from Sumerian.[36] Akkadian was, incidentally, written from left to right, unlike Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, and other Semitic languages. Let us not forget either that a few persons with Semitic personal names wrote some of the Early Dynastic Sumerian literary tablets at Abu Salabikh and that there is a tablet at that site actually in early East Semitic or Old Akkadi**an.**

According to WOODS, replacement occurred after 2000 BC in the Nippur region when the "interference" of Sumerian in Akkadian is evident (loanwords, and a reduction of guttural consonants so characteristic of Semitic languages, in Akkadian) – Semites had settled and become integrated into the agrarian society by then.

Bilingualism, however, cannot have been a cause of language replacement: it is only the necessary condition of it. Why, then, did early Mesopotamia switch from Sumerian to Akkadian as the written language?[37] A language of tribal immigrants and then of the rulers of

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32 A. GEORGE 2007 39-41.

33 ROBSON 2001: 60.

34 WOODS 2006: 93-94.

35 HUEHNERGARD 2006.

36 See also MICHALOWSKI 2006: 164.

37 As SERI shows, this was no automatic or simple transformation: Sumerian is

a powerful dynasty, Old Akkadian became the imperial language of law, power displays, official correspondence, and creative literature. Written on exceptionally neat and ruled tablets, Akkadian became also the language of an administrative uniformity imposed on defeated city-states. A standardized metrology and accounting system replaced the old multiple Sumerian forms[38]. Yet this dynasty was followed by the Sumerian rulers of Ur (2100–2000 BC) who consolidated *their* extensive rule through state institutions and used Sumerian as the administrative language! Sumerian continued to be used as the language of instruction in the scribal schools even after it ceased to be spoken, scribes sometimes assuming the Sumerian versions of their names.[39]

WOODS suggests[40] that by 1800 language replacement may have been a question of sheer numbers: Akkadian had become the spoken language of the majority. POSTGATE[41] too gives importance to the numbers of native Akkadian speakers. Two historical traditions support this argument. The first, extant in a late Assryian text, records that "5,400 men ate with Sargon in the palace" every day: this points strongly to his being the head of an intrusive tribe still organized as some kind of militia. Second, inscriptions attest to the sale of land in places around Akkad to rulers of the Dynasty of Akkad by local descent groups. Obviously the kings of Akkad were settling their own followers in compact areas in the vicinity of the new capital.

2. A transition occurred when Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian) in its turn gave place to **Aramaic** over the period 1000 to 600 BC. West Semitic Aramaic became the lingua franca of the entire region between the Levant–North Syria in the west and Iran in the east. It appears that Aramaean tribes were new arrivals on the Syrian grasslands flanking the middle Euphrates river and the Jebel Bishri[42] around 1500 BC. As the bronze-age polities weakened, the presence within their frontiers of the Aramaean pastoralists of the steppe increased as did their

an agglutinative language with verbal roots that are monosyllabic and fixed, whereas Akkadian is a typical Semitic language with triconsonantal roots which acquire meaning according to the vowels inserted between the consonants. In consequence, Sumerian logograms began to function as phonetic syllables.

[38] J.N. POSTGATE 1994: 9-10.

[39] A. GEORGE 2005.

[40] C. WOODS 2006: 106.

[41] J. N. POSTGATE 1992: 36.

[42] DION 1997: 1281.

influence.[43] The tribal organization of these sheep (and goat) herders is clear. Assyrian sources list their 36 tribes, call some of them bandits, and refer to Aramaean "kings" being supported by circles of "brothers" and "sisters".

Gradually the Aramaeans spread out across Babylonia and Assyria and Syria. The Assyrian empire of the iron age had had confrontations with Aramaeans in the dry steppe: Tiglath Pileser I (c. 1150 BC) says he drove the Ahlamu-Aramaeans back across the Euphrates more than twenty times. Between 900 and 800 BC there were Syro-Hittite states controlled by Aramaeans, but no Aramaean empire as such ever came into being. The Aramaean rulers on the Jezireh and Syrian plateau built fortified strongholds for themselves and their militias, while most of their pastoralist followers lived in open villages.[44] (Needless to say, the old languages were not completely obliterated in Syria.) Because of incursions and the policy of mass deportations of subject peoples, the Assyrian empire, as it grew, saw a demographic change[45] – this although Assyrian (Akkadian) flourished as a literary language 900 to 600 BC. At the same time there was a massive acculturation of the immigrants. They had to adapt to Assyrian weights and calendars, to Assyrian laws and religious festivals; and as the children of Assyrian parents were given Aramaean names, the reverse also happened.[46]

Aramaean personal names appear on cuneiform tablets and in royal inscriptions so that, around 800 BC, **bilingualism** is clearly evident. Employing Aramaean specialists, scribes included, the state itself had "become bilingual".[47] On Assyrian palace reliefs are depicted Assyrian scribes with tablet and stylus next to Aramaeans with scroll and pen. Aramaic intrusions (loanwords and epigraphs) into written Akkadian (Assyrian) are evident. (AKKERMANS and SCHWARTZ 2003: 377). There is a bilingual statue inscription of the ninth century BC near the headwaters of the Habur, inscribed in Akkadian and Aramaic by a local chief. At the court of Esarhaddon (7th century BC) a high-ranking scribe called Aba-enlil-dari, Aramaean by birth, was the author of a version of the *Proverbs of Ahiqar*, the quintessential Aramaic literary text. While Aramaic was a vernacular and a language of oral narrative, Akkadian (Assyrian) continued for a while as the prestigious vehicle of

[43] See SCHNIEDWING 2006, BEAULIEU 2006, DION 1997.
[44] AKKERMANS and SCHWARTZ 2003: 360-67.
[45] GEORGE 2007: 56.
[46] S. PARPOLA 2004.
[47] BEAULIEU 2006: 192.

court poetry and ritual texts, alongside the spoken or vernacular form of Assyrian (BEAULIEU 2006: 195).

Originating as herders of the steppe, the Aramaeans had interactions of various sorts with the agrarian heartland. We cannot say that all Aramaeans of the second millennium were only pastoral, many dwelt in fortified settlements. In this case of **language replacement,** numbers are again of central importance. Says FALES (2007: 291-92), there was extensive abandonment of western Asiatic settlements in the early second millennium; Aramaeans, he further suggests (ibid.: 297) "blended silently into the general population". POSTGATE (1994: 8) for his part says that after 1000 BC Aramaization was so extensive[48] that linguistic homogeneity crossed political frontiers. DION too[49] believes that in the Upper Country at least, the Aramaeans "changed the demographic balance". Yet, the language that Aramaic displaced was an old one with a more-than-fifteen-centuries old literary tradition, the vehicle of a Great Tradition that was emulated across ancient western Asia! Written Akkadian appears to have survived so long as Mesopotamian religious life, in the old tradition, continued in the temples of Nippur, Uruk, and Babylon.

3. There was a comparable language replacement in Anatolia. Early Indo-European-speaking **Hittites** entered Anatolia in the early third millennium BC when there appears to have been a desertion of some towns[50] and Hattic gave way, ultimately, to *Nasili* or Hittite. A Hittite prayer asks that a dead king may have, in the afterlife, bulls, sheep, horses and mules on his pasture.[51] During Hittite rule (say, 1750 to 1180 BC), the elite and official language, Hittite, was written in cuneiform after c. 1650 BC while **Luwian** (a closely related language and like Hittite, an early offshoot of Indo-European) was intrusive in Hittite texts[52] (as Luwian passages as well as loan words) and was, when independently written, mainly in hieroglyphic script. There was either

[48] Many pre-Aramaic linguistic elements remained (DION 1997: 1284-85). North and central Syria had had a long Hurrian occupation and Hurrian elements remained, as did the older Semitic linguistic features. There was also a Hittite substratum.

[49] DION 1997: 1284.

[50] MALLORY 1989: 28.

[51] BUYANER 2010: 162.

[52] In the archives of Boghazkoy the capital, are texts in Hittite, Hittite marked with Luwian, a Hurrian-Hittite bilingual, Hittie with Mitannian terminology, and also literary texts in Sumerian and Akkadian.

intensive contact between the two languages or else many scribes in the capital were native Luwian speakers. The Hittite elite were apparently bilingual in Hittite and Luwian.[53] Luwian was spoken in the heart of the Hittite empire, spreading in tandem with Hittite as the empire expanded, and there was no geographic boundary between the two languages.

With the fall of the Hittites c. 1180 BC, Luwian prevailed as the language of the Neo-Hittite rulers (there are about 80 inscriptions *c.* 1200–1100 BC). This transition is not visible as interruptions in the archaeological record across Anatolia–Syria. Although Mitannian had been spoken to the south-east of the Hittite empire, it was Luwian that was the successor language. Why? YAKUBOVICH found that Luwian speakers had been numerically dominant in [parts of] the Hittite realm. At some time after 1400 BC, Luwian had become the vernacular, co-existing with Hittite, the socially prestigious language. (Luwian never boasted much high literature.) Hence the **bilingualism** evident in code-switching and loan words mentioned above that YAKUBOVICH documents. The fact that many of the Hittite rulers after 1400 BC had Luwian names[54] shows that there would have been intermarriages, and that the elite was bilingual.

Incidentally the earlier lingua franca of the two, Hittite, also the earliest known Indo-European language (with the most archaic features[55]), was the language of a chariot-warrior elite. The age of chariot warfare in western Asia was 1700 to 1200 BC. The Hittite chariot, with 6 or 8 spokes to each wheel and a platform that could take two warriors, was different from that of the Eurasian nomads. One such chariot is depicted on a seal from Kanesh/Kultepe, c.1900 BC. The Hittite army had a huge chariot force and many Anatolian sites have yielded bone/antler cheek pieces used in the control of chariot horses.[56] But from where had Luwian (*Luwili*) come? It is very close to Hittite and they probably branched off from a common ancestor around 3000 BC.[57] As we have seen, Luwian probably spread in Anatolia after Hittite had, and according to YAKUBOVICH the Hittite-Luwian split could well have occurred within Anatolia. [58]

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[53] Hittite has loanwords from Luwian, Hattic, and Hurrian.
[54] YAKUBOVICH 2008: 377.
[55] Either a sister of Proto-Indo-European or the oldest split out of it.
[56] DREWS 2004: 50, 70.
[57] YAKUBOVICH 2008: 3, 9.
[58] Ibid.: 14.

Implications

In the search for the social and cultural conditions in which bilingualism came about in western Asia we have located thus far several factors.

(A) First, Akkadians, Hittites, Luwians, and Aramaeans had all been **pastoral nomads** before or as they settled in the towns in the agrarian heartland. Within the regions concerned, agriculture and animal herding were juxtaposed and closely inter-dependent.[59] The **tribal roots** of Akkadians and Aramaeans too are adequately established.

We may recall the path-breaking work of M.B. ROWTON (1974) on pastoralist-sedentary symbiosis in ancient western Asia, with repeated exchanges and sheep-goat flocks coming into the agrarian zone during summer or to the edge of the cultivated belt, remaining there for some months. Thus pastoralists evolved a peculiar kind of interaction with cultivators, now living with/near them, now moving away and reinforcing their own tribal identity and solidarity. Often there was an overlap of grazing area and cultivation. There was repeated sedentarization of nomads, the poor becoming detribalized, the rich continuing to wield influence among the mobile herders. Many pastoral tribes had members who moved with flocks, members who stayed in villages during summer, and members who had given up the migratory life. Such "osmosis" surely reinforced tendencies to bilingualism.[60]

(B) Although the Hittites had the advantage of chariot warfare, it is not proved that they entered Anatolia as conquerors. Yet, the Hittite language appears to have been predominant so long as Hittite imperial rule prevailed, and later it was replaced, in the Syro-Luwian or "Neo-Hittite" states of Syria, by Luwian – it has been suggested that the Luwian aristocracy had been closely associated, in times past, with the Hittite elite. *On the other hand,* Akkadian and Aramaic, we have seen, had no simple correlation with ruling elites. After the

[59] In Central Asia west and east of the high mountains, too, established Iranian languages (e.g. Tajik) gave place, in the medieval period, to the Turkic languages of the pastoral nomads of the steppe to the north. While Iranian languages endured in Samarkand, etc., in other places Kazakh and Kirghiz became the current languages. After 1500 the Uzbeg took control of the agrarian region(s) and part of the steppe, but their language did NOT spread: the Uzbeg were NOT a nomadic tribe — they were the ruling lineage of the towns of the agrarian zone.

[60] There is fascinating data on the Mari state and its pastoralist subjects — I do not go into it here because in the Rg Vedic context we are not dealing with states and kingdoms.

dynasty of Sargon, Akkadian remained the language of administration and literature in Mesopotamia even though the rulers of Babylon and Assyria spoke other, West Semitic, dialects (Amorite and Assyrian). So language replacement in western Asia was not only or simply a question of conquest. **Political domination** does not appear to have been a necessary condition for language replacement.

(C) Also evident in Mesopotamia is the correlation of language replacement with the force of **numbers** (pastoralist settlement and cultural absorption in the agrarian zones and the towns). The same may be said for the adoption of Luwian in Anatolia and north-western Syria.[61]

(D) Before sealing the connection between pastoralist immigration, bilingualism, and language replacement, let us pause for another view. SCHWARTZ suggests that the ethnonym "Aramaean" was just a new designation for the animal herders of the Jezireh in the second millennium. He argues that our data are skewed, emanating from non-Aramaeans, and archaeological evidence too is confined to a few fortified places, with no visible differences in material culture between Neo-Hittite and Aramaean occupations in Syria. Schwartz admits that Aramaeans come into interaction with Assyrians *as* pastoralists, people of the steppe, archers wearing belts and headbands in Assyrian reliefs. Akkermans and SCHWARTZ[62] note that in the time of Tiglath Pileser I (c 1100 BC), the drying up of grazing land could have compelled Aramaean pastoralists to intrude into the sedentary area, thus provoking military confrontations. (There was also, from 1200 BC onwards, a decline of sedentary society.) But such nomads moved into the agrarian lands and also out of them. They lived in towns as well as in camps on the steppe – Tiglath Pileser I destroyed six of their "towns". SCHWARTZ suggests that the settled people of various Mesopotamian states had earlier called the pastoralists Amorites, then Sutaeans, later Ahlamu, and only subsequently, Aramaean. If we compare text references, the pastoral range of the Aramaeans coincides with that of the Amorites. SCHWARTZ's other main point is that "pastoralist" and "Aramaean"

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[61] Take the extreme case of the Celtic minority in Anatolia. Indo-European Celtic spread across western Europe, but in north-central Anatolia a small group of Celts arrived as bandits in search of land in or before the 3rd century BC. They settled in the forest and were ruled by their Druids and warrior chiefs. In this isolation, the Celtic language survived for centuries, but never spread across Anatolia. See POWELL 1980.

[62] AKKERMANS and SCHWARTZ 2003: 367.

never coincided neatly. To give this greater emphasis I would add that Mesopotamian states incorporated pastoralist populations and pastures and that the relationships between the two were balanced according to mutual benefit – there was no sharp frontier. Almost inevitably, then, there is **no archaeological dichotomy, no stratigraphic break** marking the "advent" of either Akkadians, Aramaeans, or Luwians in their respective lands. This is relevant for the vexed controversy over the evidence for Indo-Aryan immigration in India.

(E) Also relevant for South Asian comparisons is the fact that the immigrant Akkadian language was influenced in many ways by the autochthonous language, Sumerian. Simultaneously, Akkadian too gave loanwoards to Sumerian.

We thus begin to doubt that pastoral nomad incursions or invasions can be the sole factor in language displacement[63].

B. Bilingualism in South Asia

In South Asia it appears that the numbers of Vedic-speaking immigrants were small, and that infiltrations occurred sporadically and over diverse routes. The locally spoken languages would not have been *swamped* by new groups. SCHAFFER and LICHTENSTEIN worked out the region-wise changes in settlement patterns after the demise of the Indus civilization and found that after c. 1900–1800 BC the total settled population fell drastically in Cholistan and Sind; it rose substantially in eastern Punjab and Haryana, east of the zone represented in the Rgvedic poetry. It is possible that, with the drying of the Hakra stretch of the Drsadvati-Ghaggar drainage east of the Sutlej, the indigenous population migrated up the Sutlej-Jumna Divide (north-eastward) in search of arable land. Conquests too are not in question.[64] The influx of small and disparate groups of pastoralists from the hills would not have left an archaeological trail of either settlement destructions or new settlements. Yet we have referred above to the great diversity of

[63] After AD 1000, in eastern Central Asia, the Turkic languages of pastoral nomads spread (especially on the Kazakh grasslands), but these immigrant languages remained heavily influenced by Persian. In fact, Persian remained dominant in Samarkand and in Tajikistan. Interestingly, however, after 1500 the sedentary Uzbeg began to gain control of the steppe and stretches of arable but their Turkic language did not spread in tandem with political control.

[64] See RATNAGAR 1999.

mortuary rituals in the post-Harappan period, all the way from Swat to northern Sind.

Evidence for **bilingualism** is embedded in the extant text of the *RgVeda,* as KUIPER pointed out. There were few social barriers in the world of the *RgVeda*, so that, for instance, a priest could receive a hundred camels from a man identified as a Dasa, and non-Aryan magical practices too may be detected in the text..[65] There are loan words for potter, plough, and peacock, for instance, KUIPER says. Some clans and tribes too had non-Indo-Aryan names. Significantly, KUIPER suggested that it would have been the peasants and artisans who were bilingual. LUBOTSKY (2001) for his part teases out words that had been borrowed by the undivided Indo-Iranians when they arrived in Central Asia in the second millennium BC (e.g. words for ploughshare, tortoise, hedgehog, tuft of hair), as against words attested only in Sanskrit, or borrowed after the split (e.g. lentil, tiger, peacock, linen, flower), in northwestern India. LUBOTSKY says this confirms the theory of the arrival of Indo-Iranian speakers from the Eurasian steppe via Central Asia. It also indicates that the Indo-Aryans were the first among the Indo-Iranians to arrive in Central Asia.

WITZEL finds[66] that a non-Vedic personal name can occur in a list of Aryans making offerings. The sentence order, SOV, could have been derived from Dravidian, as it does not exist in other Indo-European languages. The retroflexion of certain consonants, in words such as *maṇḍuka*, indicates close contact between Dravidian and Vedic speakers. There is also the use of *iti*, for marking a quotation, plus non-finite verb forms such as “by the falling of the rain”, both absent in the Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian.[67]

Historical linguists think that it was the autochthonous population which was, on the whole, the bilingual one. As pointed out by EMENEAU years ago, the purest Dravidian language, Tamil (with the least Sanskritic influence), is spoken in the far south of the country, and the frontier between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian lies in central India. DESHPANDE[68] argues that retroflexion was absorbed in the course of the oral transmission of the *RgVeda* by people who were learning

[65] KUIPER 1991: 5-6; 15-19.

[66] M. WITZEL 1995: 325-26.

[67] Over the long term Sanskrit absorbed Dravidian influences more than the other way round. Dravidian languages took loan words but not grammatical or phonological elements from Sanskrit.

[68] M.M. DESHPANDE 1995: 75-76.

Sanskrit as a second language. (Some degree of bilingualism was already in place before the recension of Sakalya.) DESHPANDE also refers[69] to an "increasingly Dravidianized oral transmission" of the *RgVeda*, i.e. to elements not necessarily part of the "original" poetry creeping in.

Clearly, a multi-strand oral tradition could have been the background and the *RgVeda* text cannot be the sum total of this variegated whole. [70] But the question is, what was the attraction of this intrusive language for the indigenous people? We have ruled out conquest and invasion, so too demographic replacement. Neither is pastoral nomadism, in itself, the sole factor.

The Question of Culture

MASSON said[71] that the steppe culture of horse-mounted pastoralists spread quickly over prehistoric Central Asia as a result not just of migration but perhaps also "hostilities": "local tribes defeated by an invader took over the cultural complex brought by their conquerors." Sometimes, languages spread because of the assimilation of people to cultures associated with prestige or attraction or elevated social function. In his 2008 paper MALLORY suggests that the geographic range of early cultures across Eurasia represents the dispersal of a cultural package centred perhaps on a cult ("mortuary practice packages" – burial, barrow, horse myths), and that this was a "vector for language shift".[72] That is to say, new ideas carried the spread of a new language. Local people gravitated towards those bearing a new socio-political system with chiefships, and in seeking to identify with the latter, MALLORY suggests, they adopted their language as well. (Obviously these were not the movements and migrations of marginalized communities as we encounter in the modern world.)

The clue to language bilingualism and replacement in South Asia, I tentatively suggest, may lie in the fact that the Vedic language was the language of invocations and hymns in praise of gods, of mantras, of narratives and poems in praise of patrons – which would have been

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[69] M.M. DESHPANDE 2006: 137.

[70] MAN asserts (2004) that the Inner Asian tribal culture in which Genghis Khan was born had a huge oral repertoire kept alive in the memory and especially recited during the annual gatherings of the tribes in certain central spaces. They not only entertained, and exorcised evil forces, but also reminded the tribes of their history.

[71] V.M. MASSON 1992: 348.

[72] MALLORY 2008: 20-23.

dramatic, if not inspiring, to those who heard them. There are certain features common to the oral literatures of pre-literate societies[73]: frequency of simile and metaphor, repetition, a stylized language, and stock phrases/words. MCDONALD [74] finds that pre-Islamic Arabic poetry has features not unique to the Arabs as such, but "typical of societies at a certain stage of development". Further, that all the societies he has considered in his paper [cited here] except for one, happen to be pastoralist and preoccupied with warfare. Perhaps we should try to close in on the importance of oral poetry as an art form amongst mobile pastoralists. That said, I take a cue from HOUBEN regarding the subtle difference between orality per se on the one hand, and a 'memory culture' on the other. The *RgVeda* is not, he says, evidence of oral epics or bazaar tales. Instead, repetitions of carefully memorized verses bring about certain desired effects, and this was not shamanic recitation either (personal communication, J.E.M. HOUBEN)

Oral narratives and heroic poetry as performance art are of importance not only among Arabs[75], but also amongst pastoralist Turkic peoples (Kazakh, Kirghiz) of Eurasia, and among the Somali camel-herder tribes of north-eastern Africa, with their clans and blood-compensation obligations.[76] The followers of Ginghiz Khan gathered periodically on their pastures in eastern central Asia, to engage in dramatic oral performances.[77] Amongst all these groups, it appears, oral poetry is the most prestigious art form. REICHL finds that peoples like the Kazakh and Kirghiz clung tenaciously to their ancient nomadic traditions through the medium of oral art.

As a general rule, the genres of verbal art in preliterate societies comprise proverbs, lullabies, riddles, narratives (including epic), fables, wedding songs, etc. MCDONALD finds that pre-literate societies can scarcely do without oral literature, it being an essential part of their social system (reinforcing, as it does, tribal values). Amongst some nomadic pastoralists oral poetry, characterized less by rhyme than by rhythm and intonation or pitch, may be recited in a loud voice or else sung as performance art. It is largely, say MCDONALD and BLOOMFIELD, praise poetry, praise for a chief/ruler [also for RgVedic deities in our

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[73] MCDONALD 1978; ONG 1982; VANSINA 1985.

[74] MCDONALD 1978: 29-30.

[75] See especially REYNOLDS 2010.

[76] SWAYAM (2006: 27-31) shows that even among the now marginalized pastoralists of Gujarat, the martial or heroic component of the culture is evident.

[77] See MAN 2004.

case] and makes frequent references to the ancestors (the use of a loud volume is an attempt to be heard by them) who are believed to have tremendous power. Such poetry draws people's attention to the deities, to heroic acts, to past events, and to culture concepts. Inevitably, the audience participates in this performance art. Oral narratives about past deeds and ancestral figures also help individuals to anchor their belonging in particular clans or descent groups.

Oral verse encapsulated in the *Rg Veda* was spoken/chanted/sung to the accompaniment of elaborate, perhaps awe-inspiring, rituals. The uttered words prompted the gods to act [78] though a wrongly uttered phrase could have disastrous consequences. Warriors were expected to think of certain powerful *Samaveda* chants during enemy attacks. Chants to be sung in the wilderness were particularly powerful.[79] Thus the inference can be made that amongst the various cultural practices of the immigrant Aryans, their verbal art forms were of immense fascination to the local people.

We come to the connection between orality and the dissemination of language/text. The text under orality acquires special contours and is nothing like quotidian village discourse. Only some patterns of syntax will work when a text is memorized – words and intonation are carefully cultivated. They "resonate with meaning", it has been said.[80] Ritual language, besides, has a permanence that spoken forms do not have.[81] Oral poetry embodies the culture of a group rather than the creativity of an individual. Its function is communication and/or education and it affects, says JAMA (1994), people's lives. It unites the people[82]. It is relevant to the social structure of the time and heroic tales touch on the issues that cause stress. An orator can influence a future course of action,[83] project the idea of the ideal man or warrior or chief.

Compositions pass from one settlement to another by word of mouth. Jama refers[84] to a suggestion that a hundred persons can memorize a composition and these memorizers, performing/transmitting the composition to different audiences, can convey it ultimately to thousands of others. Discussing certain narrative elements of early Mesopotamia,

[78] See SCHIFFMAN 2000.
[79] STAAL 2008: 114, 116.
[80] BAUMAN and BRIGGS 1990: 62.
[81] W. ONG 1982: 62-67.
[82] ONG 1982: 74-75.
[83] BAUMAN and BRIGGS 1990: 62.
[84] Z. JANAB 1994:186.

Anatolia, and the eastern Mediterranean, BACHVAROVA (2005) emphasizes the role of orality in the dispersal of epic heroes, gripping tales of their exploits, and mythical elements across the boundaries of space and ethnicity.

Oral narrative is never just words; it is performance art with gestures and mime, in which the audience participates. Skilled singers/narrators are respected in their respective societies, for their skills are perceived and appreciated. In the Vedic tradition utterances themselves have power, bringing about concrete results. Utterances were an end in themselves, a performance ritual. In Iran too, the *Gatha* were orally transmitted way into the second millennium AD. During much of that time, besides, priests and minstrels were employed by the Persian courts. The art of story-telling was prized there, and acclaimed story-tellers were remembered. Thus certain speech forms, employing as they do stylistic and archaizing features, a high degree of coding, and evocative imagery, had special cultural value. Perhaps, then, Vedic, a language of people with efficacious and awe-inspiring rituals, of chiefs with chariot horses, was also the medium of a rich oral art. Was it the oral culture of Indo-Iranians that was, with its richness and its association with ritual, susceptible to a quick and extensive dissemination?

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Habent sua fata libelli: The Dārilabhāṣya and its manuscripts*

JULIETA ROTARU

The Dārilabhāṣhya (DB) is the most important commentary on the Kauśikasūtra (KauśS) which made it to us, besides the Keśavapaddhati (KP) and other works which were lost (the works of Paiṭhīnasi, Rudra, and Bhadra)[1]. Dārila's authority is quite acknowledged, as he is quoted by the later Atharvavedic exegetical literature all through the ages (Keśava, Sāyaṇa, Ātharvanīyapaddhati (ĀthPaddh)[2], Prayogadīpa).

Yet, in a number of instances from Sāyaṇa's commentary, paddhati and prayogas, one can notice that Dārila is quoted via Keśava's commentary. This has been already hinted by Keśava's editors in regard to the authorities cited in the ĀthPaddh (1982: xxvii). By way of illustration I give below the two instances from the ĀthPaddh in which Dārila is precisely quoted:

1. In the chapter on the bṛha[c]chālākarma:

athavā nave gṛhe śyenayāgaḥ karttavyaḥ / (KP on 43.3) iti

* I must thank Natalia Sciarini, librarian in Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library; Rebecca Hatcher, archivist, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library; Graham Sherriff, researcher, Sterling Memorial Library; Richard Richie, curator, South and Southeast Asia Collection, who have gradually helped me to follow my search through the collections of Yale University. I also wish to thank Rodica Paléologue, librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, who has facilitated me the research there. I am grateful to Professor Michael Witzel for drawing my attention upon the relation between the two branches of Gore gotra, from Maharastra and Andhra Pradesh.

[1] See BLOOMFIELD 1899:15-18 for more on this.

[2] See BLOOMFIELD 1889: xiv for this text and mss.

dārilabhāṣyakāraḥ //[3] – Or he should perform the *śyenayāga* in the new house, thus says the commentator Dārila.

2. In the chapter on the śāntyudakavidhi:

samāpte[4] sāvitrī *paścāt* / śaṃ no devī (1.6.1) *karotī*ti (KP on KauśS 9.7) paṃḍitakeśavapaddhatikāravyākhyānaṃ kṛyate[5] / *ubhayataḥ* sāvitrī[6] (ṚgVeda (ṚV) 3.62.10) śan no devī (1.6.1) (DB on KauśS 9.7) karttavyā (*sic!*) iti dārilabhāṣyakārāmataṃ // – As [says] the commentary: "At the beginning he recites ṚV 3.62.10 and ŚaunakaSaṃhitā (ŚS) 1.6.1, and at the end ṚV 3.62.10 and ŚS 1.6.1." (Keśava on KauśS 9.7). Thus says the statement of Keśava, the author of the commentary. He should recite "twice *śan no devī* (1.6.1) together with the *sāvitrī* (RV 3.62.10)", thus is the opinion of Dārila, the commentator (DB on KauśS 9.7)[7].

This is an evidence of the fact that Dārila's technical and difficult text was actually no longer known by first hand after Keśava or probably Sāyaṇa. The paddhati Daśakarmāṇi[8] does not seem to quote any authority, including Dārila. Similarly, the late prayoga Saṃskāraratnamālā[9] does not refer to Dārila, although the prayogakāra is a good connoisseur of the Atharvavedic literature. My search for Dārila's references in the remaining prayogas of Gore collection from Vadika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala proved to be in vain too, as in their tendency to simplify the ritual by selecting those rites from the KauśS which are common to all śākhās, and by omitting the idiosyncratic Atharvavedic rites, there are hardly points of divergence and the few possibly difficult instances may be easily elucidated with the help of the KP. For the very few

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3 v. KP: vikalpa iti bhāṣyakāraḥ /. Thus ĀthPaddh glosses Dārila for the commentator.

4 samāptau KP.

5 *sic!* kriyate.

6 cf. sāvitryā DB.

7 The whole quotation in KP, from where the ĀthPaddh pastiches, is: samāptau sāvitrī paścāccham no devī (1.6.1) karotīti / tathā ca bhāṣyaṃ sasāvitrīkasya gaṇasya ubhayataḥ śaṃnodevī bhavati //.

8 Ms. 153/1879-80, new no. 34/35, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI), dated saṃvat 1867, written by Paṃcolī Rāma Kṛṣṇa in Vārāṇasī.

9 Ms. no. 4290 in Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, Pune. The text has been edited in the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, *A Survey of the Domestic Ritual in the Atharvaveda Tradition according to the unedited text Saṃskāraratnamālā, together with the Critical Edition and Translation with Notes*, defended at the University of Bucharest in 2008.

instances when Dārila is quoted, the source is again the KP. By way of exemplification I give the following quotation from a prayoga[10] compiled by Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa, the son of Śriman Nṛsimha Bhaṭṭa, discussion of whom shall latter on follow.

> punar upanayane godānena vapanaṃ // someyāge godānena vapanaṃ // iti dārilamataṃ //

The portion of the DB to which it refers is missing, but the quotation is traced in the KP ad KauśS 54.19-22, from which Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa certainly has taken it, from the manuscript copied by him in Vārāṇasī in 1828[11].

The supposition stated at the beginning of this paragraph is corroborated with the concrete shortage of the DB mss., and with the amount of corruptness of the transmitted text, which will be further presented.

Devabhadra, a Yājurvedin who probably flourished in the 18th century, the author of the Prayogadīpa[12], a prayoga on the ājyatantra, pākatantra and madhuparka of the KauśS, saw a very illegible manuscript of Dārila's commentary, for he complains:

> dārilabhaṭṭaiḥ bahubhiḥ prakāraiḥ idaṃ sutraṃ vyākṛtam / paraṃ tu aśuddhatam lekhakalikhitaṃ bhāṣyapustakaṃ / ahaṃ tu prayogakāro'taḥ prayoganiṣkarṣārtham ādau darśapūrṇamāsavidhau saparibhāṣikasya pākājyatantravidhisūtrasya prayogopayogi saṅkṣiptavyākhyānaṃ kurve / – This sūtra has been explained by Dārila with great efforts, but the manuscript of the commentary has been awfully illegibly written by the scribe. Thus I, the author of a manual of instruction, for the essence of the prayoga, I have put in the beginning the two rites, that of the full moon and new moon together

[10] Ātharvaṇasūtragodānaprayoga. (Catalogue title: Godānādiprayoga (Kauśikasūtrānusārī)). Ms. no. 4237 in Vadika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, Pune. Devanāgarī. Incomplete. Folios 1-37, 72-80, 118, verso is numbered, first page is blank. Title is written thus on the margins: Ā[tharvaṇa]sū[tra]go[dānaprayoga] on the left, rāma (?) on the right. It begins: śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ // atha godānaṃ // gośabdaḥ keśavācī dānaṃ khaṃḍanaṃ //. It ends: OṀ apo divyā acāyiṣam rasena sam apṛkṣmahi // payasvān agna āgamaṃ taṃ mā saṃ sṛ[ja]. (ŚS 7.89.1)

[11] This is ms. ga in the KP edition of LIMAYE et al. This ms. has the same reading of the so alleged Dārila quotation as above, whereas the other mss. have a longer version.

[12] The unedited text was not available to me, and the reference in this paper is from BAHULKAR 1978:34.

> with the commentary useful for the prayoga on the sūtra [portion] on the rites of pāka and ājya tantra together with the paribhāṣās.

BLOOMFIELD has similar remarks about the two DB mss. which he has actually consulted for his KauśS edition, and about which he thinks, based on the similarity of the "portentous mass of corruptions", that they are copies of the same original. He is aware of the bad transmission of the text in the later ritual sources, fact which supports our hypothesis about the scarcity of the DB mss. at all times:

> The text is very corrupt, and the comment often very obscure: no attempt has been made to restore the manifold corruptions in this text, or in any of the paddhatis to be mentioned below [i.e. ĀthPaddh, Antyeṣṭi, KP, and Daśakarmāṇi – n. J.R.]. (1889: xii)

There used to be at least three tangible manuscripts of Darila's commentary (BLOOMFIELD, 1889: xi-xiii), two of which have been actually seen by BLOOMFIELD:

1) one of 136 pages, 11-12 lines per page, dated śaka 1762 (1840 CE), Sunday, July 12, not mentioning the scribe's name or place, but with a few conspicuous additions in Marāṭhī on the margins[13], in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (ms. nr. 1494 in WEBER's catalogue, p. 85, Ms. Or. Oct. 343d). This ms. has been presented by Julius EGGELING along with other Atharvavedic texts to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (nowadays Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin). The manuscript collections from various libraries of Germany, including the Dārila's codex, were sent during World War II to the Abbey of Beuron, and after the war moved to Tübingen University Library, where they formed the Tübinger Depot der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek. The DB has been edited in 1972 by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth[14] based on this ms. When the Puneit editors dealt with the codex, this was yet at Tübingen, from where it was relocated to Berlin in the late 1970's, when the Oriental Department was established. The editors have thus borrowed the ms. from Tübingen and reproduced it in their edition, so that to enable the readers to compare it with the critical edition.

[13] Rightly attributed by BAHULKAR (1976 & SUMANT forth.) to the scribe, rather than to Dārila himself.

[14] The edition has been well received and critically reviewed by N. TSUJI 1972, Toyo GAHUKO 55:2, 108-10; Klaus MYLIUS 1973, Berlin: Asien, Afrika-Lateinamerika. I: 2, 196-8; M.A. MEHENDALE 1974, Pune: *ABORI* 54, 296-8; H.C. PATYAL 1974, Pune: *BDCRI* 1-4, 134-142.

BLOOMFIELD says he had a copy of this ms. through the custos of the national library, which he had later on compared and corrected while in Berlin. This copy is precisely mentioned by BLOOMFIELD to be given to the American Oriental Society (AOS). I have identified this transcript in the Yale's Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, wherein the AOS manuscripts have been deposited since 1960's, as AOS Ve D24 1-9. This manuscript is listed at p. 183 in the *Catalogue of the Library of the American Oriental Society*, edited by Elizabeth STROUT. This catalogue is not descriptive and does not have call numbers.

2) one of 200 pages, 9 lines per page, dated śaka 1752[15] (1830 CE), borrowed to BLOOMFIELD by S.P. PANDIT, who in his turn has obtained it from Veṅkan Bhaṭjī Gore (alias Veṅku Dājī) from Sāṅglī. This was one of the most famous Atharvavedins in Deccan during S.P. PANDIT, who thus describes his scholarship:

> He was not only an excellent reciter of the Veda, but was also an Agnihotrî of the same, and practiced much of the daily ceremonial as prescribed by the Atharva-Vedins. […] He knew besides the Gṛhyasûtra of Kauśika and was supposed to practice the charms prescribed therein, a reputation that doubtless made him much sought after by those who appreciated him at Sânglî. (1895: 8)

Veṅku Dājī died in 1891 or 1892, at the age of 68 or 69. Gore family is originally from Māhulī and was doing the office of purohita for the king of Sātārā (DESHPANDE 1997: 6). During the British Rāj it has moved to Sāṅglī. The collection of Gore family is now deposited in Vadika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala.

Dārila's editors have ineffectively tried to find this manuscript, in Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala or in S.P. PANDIT's collection.

> It was not known whether Bloomfield had returned the Sangli MSS lent to him by S.P. Pandit. So we made inquiries as to whether Bloomfield's papers were preserved in any of the libraries in the

[15] The colophon (cf. BLOOMFIELD 1889: xiii) śake 1751 bhadrapada śuddhadvitīyāṃ maṃdavāsare samāpto'yaṃ graṃthaḥ / graṃthasaṃkhyā 3790 /. If the year is correct, the calculation does not match with the day, as in the śaka 1751, bhadrapadā nakṣatra and śuddhadvitīyā tithi was on Monday not on Saturday, so it could be only in 1752 śaka when all the information match correctly: Saturday August 21, 1830 CE, śaka 1752 vikrama 1887, bhadrapada śuklapakṣa 2. I thank very much Dr. Saraju Rath for the correct calculation of the Hindu year. POLEMAN (1938: no. 217) provides yet another śaka, 1759 (see further).

> United States or elsewhere, but those inquiries failed to elicit any encouraging response. (idem, p. ix).

As far as I know, some[16] of BLOOMFIELD's materials are nowadays in Beinecke Library, wherein I have found BLOOMFIELD's notes on the KauśS of 110 pages, a KauśS ms.[17], and the Dārilabhāṣyā AOS Ve D24 1-9. However, the second DB ms. used by the great American scholar is not listed in STROUT's catalogue and it is not found among the AOS or non AOS items of the library.[18]

Yet, this second ms. is entered in POLEMAN's *A census of Indic manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 1938, under no. 217:

> Kauśikabhāśya. 197 ff., f.1 being numbered 3 by mistake. On f.91 v. the end of kaṇḍika 9 is mistakenly named the end of 8. 8.25 x 3.9. 9 lines. śaka 1759. See M. Bloomfield's edition of the Kauśikasūtra for this manuscript. Edgerton.

POLEMAN precisely says ms. no. 217 was used by BLOOMFIELD and explains that the first folio is mistakenly numbered as three, hence the ms. probably erroneously counts 200 folios, as BLOOMFIELD knew it.

The ms. no. 217 in POLEMAN's is cited in the "Abbreviations" section under "2. Private Collectors and Dealers" as being in "Franklin Edgerton, Yale University" collection. Franklin EDGERTON was a Salisbury Professor of the Yale University by the time POLEMAN compiled his catalogue, hence it is now known whether the manuscript in his possession has find its way to any of the Yale collections. I have checked the nowadays "Collection of Franklin Edgerton papers" in the Manuscripts and Archives department of Sterling Memorial Library, Yale. In fact the collection contains some of his published

[16] Prof. Witzel has informed me that some of BLOOMFIELD's correspondence is in the Library of Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, the city wherein the latter resided.

[17] Ms. 216 in POLEMAN (1938: 12). Cf. BLOOMFIELD's 4.Ch, a ms. from Chambers collection of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, which was copied by WEBER, and which is now hosted in Cambridge University Library. BLOOMFIELD (1889: x, under 4.Ch) says he has used both, the original and the copy "in the possession of WHITNEY". The same ms., belonging to WHITNEY, who had it from ROTH (v. the notice on the first page) was transliterated by the former. This transliterated copy has served as the basis of the collation done by BLOOMFIELD while in Tübingen upon the mss. E, P and Bi. This transcript is hosted in Beinecke Library as ms. no. 216.

[18] Prof. Insler has informed me that around 1980 a complete check of all items in the library has been conducted, without resulting to new findings.

and unpublished papers, and they have been transferred there from Beinecke Library in 1997.

In conclusion, the ms. hailing from Veṅkan Bhaṭjī Gore of Sāṅglī and lent by S.P. PANDIT to BLOOMFIELD was then given to the latter's pupil, EDGERTON, probably for his reference while dealing with the Atharvavedic texts, the sixth kāṇḍa of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā[19], the ŚS[20], and the KauśS[21]. We have no further record of this ms., and after a thorough search in the main manuscript collections of the Yale University, we may safely say it is lost[22].

3) By the year 1889 BLOOMFIELD (1889: xiii) had knowledge about a third "incomplete" manuscript of the DB hailing from "the same source" as the previous one, and which allegedly was used by S.P. PANDIT for his Atharvaveda with Sāyaṇācāryabhāṣya, which was published in two installments, within 6 and 9 years respectively (vol.I-II, 1895, vols. III-IV, 1898). Dārila's editors have searched of no avail this ms. in Gore's and S.P. Pandit's collections, respectively. At present, the S.P. Pandit collection is hosted by the library of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai. According to a primary list of the manuscripts published by Malhar KULKARNI (2009: 533), there is not any manuscript listed as Kauśikabhāśya or Dārilabhāṣhya[23]. As for Gore collection from Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, this has been thoroughly searched by

[19] V. "The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, book six." In: *JAOS* 34, New Haven, 1915, 374-41.

[20] V. "The Philosophic Materials of the Atharva Veda." In: *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield, by a group of his pupils* (eds.), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920, 117-136.

[21] V. "Kauśika and the Atharva Veda." In: *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Professor F.W. Thomas on his 72nd birthday*, S.M. KATRE and D.K. GODE (eds.), New Indian Antiquary, Extra series no. 1, Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House, 1939, 78-81.

[22] There was, mutatis mutandis, another ms. in Bloomfield's possession which had a similar fate. S.P. PANDIT has copied for BLOOMFIELD (1889: xvi, 15) an incomplete ms. of the KP. Similarly, both, the copy hold by BLOOMFIELD and the original hold by PANDIT are not traceable till present, although Dārila's editors have assumed that a ms. similar to the one used by the former was in the collection of BORI (cf. DIWEKAR et alia, 1972: xii, n. 12), allegation not further supported by Keśava's editors. In fact this KP ms. has been given by BLOOMFIELD to his pupil, G.M. BOLLING (1909: viii).

[23] The published list has 221 entries, although there are 228 mss. which have been admitted to the Asiatic Society of Mumbay. Dr. Malhar Kulkarni has kindly checked the other seven items which were left out and reported to me, with the same result.

Prof. S.S. BAHULKAR who has not reported the finding of this third or any other manuscript of Dārila's commentary.

4) BLOOMFIELD (1889: xii) also refers to a possible DB reported to be seen by Martin HAUG during his 1862 ineffective trip[24] for search of Sanskrit manuscript in Gujarat, being appointed by the Bombay Education Department, for which he submitted a report, that was partially published in *Indische Studien*:

> Of Sanscrit books I saw (in Broach) a very valuable collection of almost all the books belonging to the Atharvaveda more complete than any one I heard of in Europe or saw in the Dekkhan. It not only contained the Saṃhitâ, Pada and Brâhmaṇam, but its Âraṇyka jyotisham (calendar; this little book is quite different from the Atharvaveda Nakshatrakalpa), Anukramaṇî with comm., Kauçika sûtra with comm., some of which have never been heard of in Europe. The owner, an A.V. Brahman, could not be prevailed upon to part with any of them, nor would he allow me to have even copies taken, save under payment of an enormous sum. He was unwilling to show me the books, and it was only owing to the urgent request of the Deputy Collector that I was permitted to have a glance at them. (1865: 174)

Following HAUG's resignation from the position of Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies at Poona College and from the appointment for searching Sanskrit manuscripts, the Bombay Education Department has asked Georg BÜHLER to make a second trip. BÜHLER specifically mentions having been in Bharuch and having taken the help of one Parvatishankar Manishankar, Headmaster of the Bharuch Anglo-Vernacular School for collecting mss. there (1869: 86). He writes a list[25] of all the mss. therein found, on the basis of which a catalogue is being compiled, but due to his urgent leave from India caused by his illness, the latter is sent to press in the spring of 1871. There are five items[26] purchased in Bharuch from one Atharvavedin, Dave

[24] V. JOHNSON 1986 with relevant information from the press of the period. Yet, BÜHLER's charges on the same Indian intellectual (1888: 530) is not therein taken into consideration for dismissing HAUG's accusation of imperialist attitude.

[25] As a response to the increased interest shown by ROTH and other scholars towards Atharvavedic mss. BÜHLER writes a separate list of his finds and sends it to WEBER, who publis it in *Monatsberichte Der Koniglich Preussische Akademie Der Wissenschaften Zu Berlin*, February 1871 (1872): 76-7.

[26] p. 4, nos. 11, the padapāṭha of the ŚS (v. WHITNEY 1905: cxvi, under D.

Narabherām, listed in the 1871 catalogue, but none is a commentary on the KauśS. However BÜHLER saw, during his first trip, the mss. collections reported previously by HAUG in Bharuch, but having obtained them barely in January 1871, he did not have time to revise the catalogue which was awaited for the press, and thus he did not entered those discoveries, which were but reported in his official account for year 1871:

> The most important acquisition is that of a collection of books belonging to the Atharvaveda, enumerated under nos. 1 to 16 to the accompanying list. Prof. Haug saw these books on his tour in Gujarat in 1864, and gave an enthusiastic account of them in his report. They were shewn (*sic!*) to me in 1869; but it was only last January that I succeeded in obtaining them, amongst them, three numbers are, as far as I know, new discoveries[27], the padapāṭha of the 19th book of Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, a small prātiśākhya, and a paddhati on the Kauśikasūtra. (1878: 76)

Thus the commentary on the KauśS reported by HAUG and thought by BLOOMFIELD to possibly be DB, is in fact a ms. of an alleged paddhati, with the following description in BÜHLER's 1871 report: "no.10 saṃhitāvidhivivaraṇa (commentary on the preceding [i.e. no.9, KauśS, n.J.R.]), 48 pages, 8 lines per page, [saṃvat] 1614, Broach."

BÜHLER gave all manuscripts collected in this and the following trips (all between 1868-1881) to the Elphinstone College, Bombay, from where in 1878 were transferred to Deccan College, Pune, and later on to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, wherein the last discussed "paddhati" ms. can be identified as ms. no. 10/1870-1871, Saṃhitāvidhivivaraṇa (a commentary on Kauśikasūtram). The title is however wrong[28], as the text is the ĀthPaddh.

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for the description of this ms.) and 12, the whole ŚS; p. 172 no. 178, KauśS (v. BLOOMFIELD 1889 under 3.Bh for the description of this ms.); p. 190 no. 282, the 8th kaṇḍa of the VaitānaSūtra (v. GARBE 1878: iii under A. for the description of this ms.), and p. 210 no.77, Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā (v. WHITNEY 1880: 156 and also DESHPANDE 1997:5 for the description of this ms.).

[27] v. also 1871: viii. "The collection of Atharvan books under this head [i.e. Section D, sūtras, pariśiṣṭas, kārikās, etc n.J.R.] is comparatively large and contains several new works."

[28] BÜHLER (1871: i) complains of the poor knowledge, especially in the field of the Vedas, of the agents employed for cataloguing the found mss., which resulted in the incomplete data as regarding the author, date, etc.

5) There is another ms. of the Dārilabhāṣya listed in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in North-Western Provinces, part* VI, p. 2, Veda section, no. 1:

> Kauśikasūtrabhāṣyam, a commentary on Kauśikasūtra, by Battari Bhaṭṭa, 167 leaves, 9 lines per page, on paper, in devanāgarī, [in the possession of] Pandit Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa, Atharvaṇa Veda, in Gwalior. Adhyāyas 1 to 6. Old, incomplete, and correct. Writen saṃvat 1884. Not procurable for copying.

Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa is the same as Vedamūrtiguru Ganeśa Bhaṭajī Dādā Gore, who has been identified by prof. WITZEL as Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa Dādā, the celebrated Atharvavedin who has discovered in the 1880s the commentary of pseudo-Sāyaṇa to the Atharvaveda Saṃhitā in the Śri Śaṅkarācārya Maṭha at Śriṅgeri. Based on his understanding of the commentary, Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa revised the Saṃhitā while teaching it to his pupils. Apparently he has conducted teaching from his paṭhaśālā in Gwalior[29]. In 1962 H.R. DIWEKAR[30] has visited this house of Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa's family and discovered a ms. of Keśavapaddhati, ms. ga of the LIMAYE et al. edition, which contains in its colophon data regarding Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa.[31] The latter is the cousin of Veṅku Dājī mentioned before in connection with the second DB ms.

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29 S.P. PANDIT (1895: 1) says about Bāpujī that he has learned the Saṃhitā revised by Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa Dādā "by rote at Gwalior".

30 S.S. BAHULKAR in this volume, fn. 2, mentions the fact that certain mss. borrowed from Gore family of Gwalior have been returned to the owner, following the scholar's death.

31 This ms. has been thus described and commented by Prof. WITZEL (personal communication): "1828-(ga) A Kauśikasūtra Ms. with Keśava-Paddhati (ed. Limaye et al.), 1828 CE: rāma saṃvat 1885 // śrīkṣetra kā // śyām nā // gara-brāhma// ṇena Vedamūrtiguru Ganeśa Bhaṭajī Dādā Gore atharvavedi tasya caraṇa-sevā me a° // arpaṇaṃ aśvina śu[klapakṣe] 5 gu[ruvāre] saṃ 1875 (sic). This Ms. belongs to the Gore family of Gwalior, but it was written at Śrīkṣetra in Kāśī (Benares) by the Nāgara Brahmin Vedamūrti Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa Dādā Gore in 1828 CE, for the support of his Atharvaveda–caraṇa. Note that the current title vedamūrti occurs here for the first time in an AV colophon. This Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa apparently is identical with the Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa Dādā who visited Śṛṅgeri in the early 1800s, and found there a commentary on the Atharvaveda composed by "Sāyaṇa". As this was written in Nandināgarī character he misread quite few passages but incorporated these misreadings into his Ms. and into his recitation, which he then taught to students in Maharastra (see ŚPP, AV ed., p. 15)." My opinion is that the first saṃvat year is that when one Rāma (whose signature might be identified on the margins of many prayoga mss. of Gore collection) has copied the manuscript copied in its turned by Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa around ten years earlier, 1818 CE.

Although S.P. PANDIT thoroughly speaks of Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa, and not in the best words, his silence over a DB ms. mentioned by BLOOMFIELD to be in the former's possession, having been given by Gore, is so conspicuous to conduce us to the following assumption: S.P. PANDIT has been entrusted by Veṅku Dājī a DB ms. on the condition of being returned, which did not happened, as I have shown before. BLOOMFIELD published in 1889 his KauśS edition using this ms., by the time its owner has died. However, without Veṅku Dājī's assistance, within next six years, S.P. PANDIT did not manage to secure the second ms. of DB "from the same source", that is from Gore family, this time from the Vedic school in Gwalior, as the codex was, as the cataloguist in 1881 writes, "not procurable for copying" and thus not to be borrowed.

In conclusion, Dārila was a learned commentator and a connoisseur of the Atharvaveda of certain repute. His technical and erudite work was, if not hermetical, at least not read any longer by later exegetes, who were paying merely lip service by referring to him. By the late 18th century his commentary was no longer understood by the scribes, as we learn from Devabhadra who had an illegible manuscript of the same. Similarly, hard to decipher, are the three DB mss. written in the 19th century: one 1) dated śaka 1762 (1840 CE) obtained by Julius EGGELING and given to National Library of Berlin, and two in private collections and which are lost till date, 2) dated śaka 1752 (1830 CE) in the possession of Gore family of Māhulī, and 3) dated saṃvat 1884 (1829 CE) in the possession of Gore family of Gwalior. If we are to trust BLOOMFIELD (1889: iii) that ms. 1) and ms. 2) are "very faithful copies of the same original"[32], it may stand to reason ms. 3) as their source, which is "old", allegedly "incomplete" as the other two, and "correct" (i.e. not having corrections on the margins?) unlike the first two which might have been corrected and added glosses in Marāṭhī under Paṇḍit Ganeśa Bhaṭṭa's teaching.

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[32] BLOOMFIELD bases his assumption on the fact that they both have the same corruptions and identical colophons, least for the year.

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Diplomatica Indica DataBase (DIDB): Introduction

ALEXANDER STOLYAROV

The aim of this paper is to give a brief description of the Diplomatica Indica Database or DIDB - the database of North Indian early mediaeval land grants (4^{th}–13^{th} centuries CE). This database is under preparation for more than 30 years since 1980. At present, the whole amount of the set of entries collected in the DIDB approaches to 1300, including more than 1050 charters mainly on copperplates and considerably less on stones that were written in Sanskrit and published in different journals, periodicals, compendiums and monographs for more than two centuries of Indian Studies.

The importance of studying the phenomenon of land grants or charters could be determined by their place in the history of mankind. Land grants are a universal phenomena that inheres in every agricultural civilization of the Old World at a certain stage of its development. Land grants are the documents of special kind distinguished by their certain content and inner structure. This structure is more or less permanent for all traditional agricultural societies.

At the same time the distinctiveness of all surviving early mediaeval land grants of South and South-East Asia lies in the duality of their nature. On one side they are the public acts and hence the objects of study of the diplomatics or the "science of diplomas, or of ancient writings, literary and public documents, letters, decrees, charters, codicils, etc., which has for its object to decipher old writings, to ascertain their authenticity, their date, signatures, etc."[1] On the other side these documents were fixed on "eternal" material, mainly on stone and metal, hence they are the objects of epigraphy and archaeology.

[1] Webster, 1828, quoted in *Oxford English Dictionary* (2^{nd} ed.), cit. from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diplomatics.

The sources for the DIDB are the well-known lists, compendiums and collections of sources on Indian epigraphy:

- **SI –** SIRCAR D.C. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*. – **Vol. 1:** From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D. — Delhi, 1992. – xliii, 552 p., LXII Pt. (1st ed. – Calcutta, 1942) **Vol. 2:** From the Sixth to the Eighteenth Century A.D. — Delhi, 1983. — xxv, 827 p., 57 p.pl.
- **BLINI –** BHANDARKAR D.R. “A List of Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brahmi and its Derivative Scripts from about A.C. 200.” // *Epigraphia Indica. – Calcutta, 1928. – Vol. 19. – App.* – pp. 1-42*; 1930. – Vol. 20. – App.* – pp. 43-266*; 1932. – Vol. 21. – App.* – pp. 265-296*; Index to App.* – pp. 297-310*; 1934. – Vol. 22. – App. (Index to App.).* – pp. 311-62*; 1936. – Vol. 23. – App.* – pp. 363-406.
- **PCCREB –** MORRISON B.M. Political Centers and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal, – Tucson, 1970.
- **HGD –** NIYOGI, Roma. The History of Gahadavala Dynasty. – Calcutta, 1959. – Appendix B. (Section II: A descriptive List of the Gahadavala Inscriptions).
- **IB –** MAJUMDAR N.G. (ed., tr., notes) Inscriptions of Bengal. Vol. 3. Containing Inscriptions of the Chandras, the Varmans and the Senas, and of Isvaraghosha and Damodara. – Rajshahi, 1929. – x, 200 p.
- **IA –** *Indian Antiquary*. – Vols. 1 – 62 (1872-1933).
- **EI –** *Epigraphia Indica*. – Vols. 1 – 42. (1892-1977/78).
- **CII –** *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* – Vol. 3. — FLEET J.F. (ed.) *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*. – Calcutta, 1888. – vi, 194, 350 p.; Revised ed. by BHANDARKAR D.R. – New Delhi, 1981. – xvi, 399 p.: ill; Vol. 4. MIRASHI V.V. (ed.), *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era*. – Ootamchund, 1955; Vol. 5. MIRASHI V.V. (ed.), *Inscriptions of the Vakatakas*. – Ootamchund, 1963. – Vol. 7. – TRIVEDI H.V. (ed.), *Inscriptions of the Paramaras, Chandellas, Kachchhapaghatas and two minor dynasties*. – New Delhi, 1975-91.
- **IHQ –** *Indian Historical Quarterly*.
- **JBORS –** *J. of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.
- **BPP [SIE] –** *Bharatiya Purabhilekha Patrika* [Studies in Indian Epigraphy]. – Vols. 1 – 33.

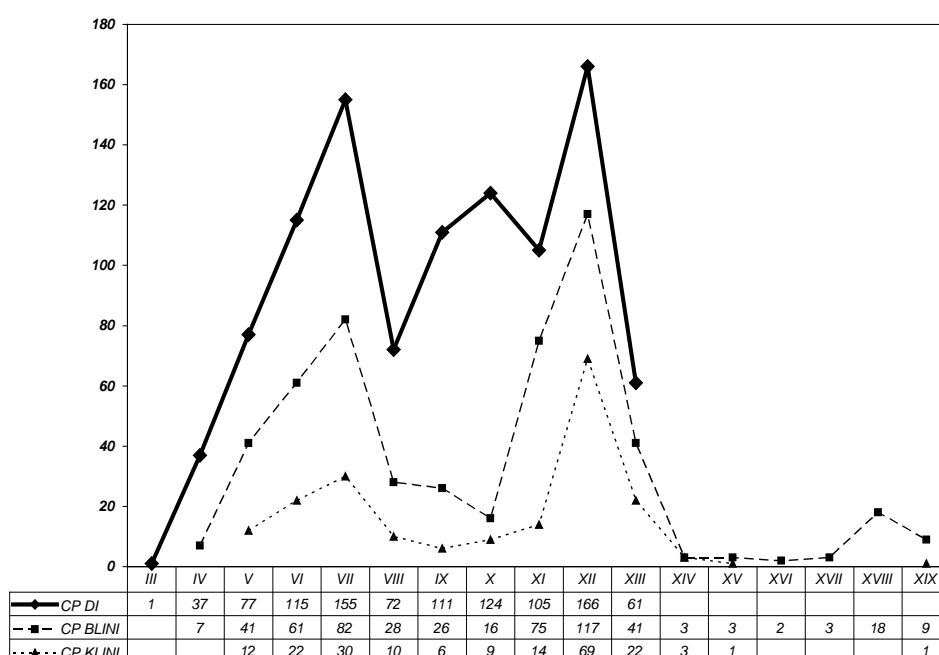
Altogether the bibliographical index comprises more than 130 edition names.

Each charter contained a large amount of information. However the main purport of each land grant was as a rule to grant either a piece of land or some of the land profits, done actually or nominally by the

sovereign ruler in favour of some religious person or group of persons or some religious institution like temple or monastery.

As it was stated above the number of charters collected in DIDB exceeds 1050. Their chronological dynamics can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1:
Chronological distribution of CP grants of Diplomatica Indica Database, Kielhorn[2] and Bhandarkar[3] Lists

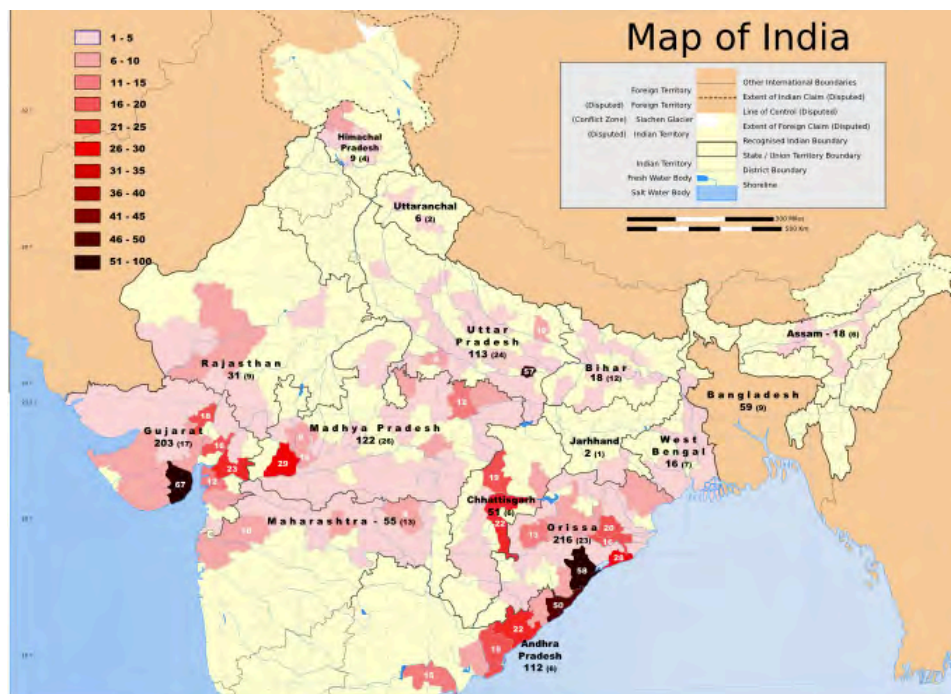
	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
CP DI	1	37	77	115	155	72	111	124	105	166	61						
CP BLINI		7	41	61	82	28	26	16	75	117	41	3	3	2	3	18	9
CP KLINI			12	22	30	10	6	9	14	69	22	3	1				1

The solid line in this graph is used to designate the chronological dynamics of DIDB. The dashed line is used to designate the chronological dynamics of CP grants of the BHANDARKAR's List. The dotted line is used to designate the chronological dynamics of CP grants of the

[2] KIELHORN, F., "A List of Inscriptions of Northern India from about A.D. 400." In: *Epigraphia Indica*. – Calcutta, 1899. – Vol. 5. – App. – pp. 1-121; 1906. – Vol. 8. – App. 1: Suppl. to the List of Inscriptions of Northern India. – pp. 1-19.

[3] BHANDARKAR, D.R., "A List of Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brahmi and its Derivative Scripts from about A.C. 200." In: *Epigraphia Indica*. – Calcutta, 1928. – Vol. 19. – App. – pp. 1-42; 1930. – Vol. 20. – App. – pp. 43-266; 1932. – Vol. 21. – App. – pp. 265-296; Index to App. – pp. 297-310; 1934. – Vol. 22. – App. (Index to App.). – pp. 311-62; 1936. – Vol. 23. – App. – pp. 363-406.

KIELHORN's List. It could be seen in the Figure 1 that the number of CPs published for more than seven decades passed since the BLINI publication, increased disproportionately by centuries. Nevertheless the level of the isomorphism of all three sets shown in this Graph is very remarkable.[4]

The spatial distribution of the charters collected in DIDB can be observed in Figure 2.

Figure 2:
Spatial distribution of North Indian early mediaeval land grants

It is seen from this map that there were two main regions of the general concentration of land grants: on the east and on the west of the Hindustan. The eastern region comprised Odissa state, neighbouring coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh and two central districts of Chhattisgarh state while the western one comprised Gujarat state and several neighbouring districts of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra states.

[4] see STOLYAROV, A.A., "Chronological aspects of functioning of the set of early mediaeval north Indian epigraphic sources." In: *Space, Time, Place: Third International Conference on Remote Sensing in Archaeology*, 17th-21st August 2009, Tiruchirappalli, Tamil Nadu, India. – Oxford: Archaeopres Ltd., 2010. – pp. 339-42.

The DIDB consists of a series of interrelated tables; the main of them are two: **1) "Copperplate"** and **2) "Publications"**.

There are several dozen fields (or properties) for filling out the **1) "Copperplate"** table such as Code (or Number), Name (of inscription), State (modern division and name), District (modern division and name), Century (Christian era), Year (Christian era), (name of the) Dynasty, (name of the) Ruler, (number of) Plates (with the designation of the sides on which the text was incised), Size (of plates, in inches), (number of) Lines, ArSanct/Grant (correlation between arenga or preamble + sanction or prohibition parts and grant or business part of inscription – in lines), Script (of the inscription), Persons00 (number of persons mentioned in "Persons01" field), Persons01 (list of persons – officials or titles mentioned as witnesses of the transaction), Persons02 (list of inhabitants of the granted villages or territories), Taxes00 (number of taxes granted to the doneé), Taxes01 (list of taxes granted to the doneé), etc. There are also eight fields for filling out the **2) "Publications"** table, namely: Code (or Number), Name (name of inscription of the table "List"), Edition Name, Author's Name, Year (of edition), Volume, Number (of the publication), Pages.

The uniqueness of every entry is the principle lying in the basement of the DIDB. One entry (or line) corresponds to one document (in our case it would be the charter). The name of the charter is the unique or key identifier of the DIDB. The "Name" field is organised in a traditional way like it has been done in the most of previous publications and usually consists of three components: 1) provenance or the place of ascription – often it is a findspot, rarely a deposit place; 2) name of the donor/ruler and 3) the date – mainly a year, in case the years coincide – also a month and a day.

At the moment the table **1)** "**Copperplate**" consists of more than 1260 entries and the table **2)** "**Publications**" consists of about 3260 entries. At the same time the actual number of copperplate charters exceeds 1050. 200 additional entries were filled out for comparison purposes. There are about 130 inscriptions made on stone that mainly have information about land transactions (only about one dozen of them are the real land grants), about 60 copperplate charters of the later periods (14^{th}–19^{th} centuries C.E.) and about 20 copperplate charters belonging to Southern India (Deccan area). The study of these inscriptions in comparison with the charters included in the main body of the DIDB allows the scholar to trace the directions of development

of the land grants, to differ the Northern charters from the Southern ones both in form and in essence, to describe them more precise as a special kind of documents and so on.

From the very beginning the DIDB has been compiled for research purposes. This means that it's any feature or field, both material and textual, should be studied from all its sides, both formal and pithy ones. All these documents can be considered as a certain metatext within which it could be possible to look for a lot of ties, relations and co-relations. On the first stages of the research the common dependencies should be studied that presuppose to find some tendencies within this or that local part of the document like the dates designations, rulers and donors titles and genealogies, brahmanas attributes, sequence of terms used in so called lists of subjects or lists of immunities, spatial-temporal distributions and so on. Also the verses forming the genealogical or praśasti and imprecatory parts of the charters should be thoroughly studied in all their aspects. Gradually tasks could become more and more complicated.

It is worthy to note that one of the papers of this panel - "Vedic Education in early mediaeval India according to North Indian Charters" presented by Saraju Rath is based on the material taken from the DIDB.

Being research-directed, the DIDB is an open system. This means that all amount of the statistical data included in the Figures 1 and 2 of the present paper is subject to changes due to constant processes of testing, amending, adding, etc.

The detailed features of the spatial-temporal dynamics of the DIDB charters and the ways of the further development of the system in whole are to be discussed in the forthcoming papers.

Saṃhitā Mantras in the Written and Oral Traditions of the Paippalādins*

SHILPA SUMANT

Introduction

Mantras[1] form an integral part in any Vedic or Hindu ritual performance.[2] The ritual application of mantras can be investigated from a number of perspectives such as the technique of mantra-citation in ritual guidebooks, sources of the mantras, method of recitation, appropriateness of the mantras to the ritual context and so on.

In this paper, I wish to concentrate on the employment of the mantras belonging to the Paippalādasaṃhitā (PS) in the domestic rituals of that school. An attempt is made to bring forth relevant aspects regarding the

* I thank Arlo Griffiths for his useful comments on the earlier drafts of this paper.

[1] GONDA (1963: 247), after giving an extensive survey of connotations and translations of the term 'mantra', provisionally defines it as ''a general name for the formulas, verses or sequences of words in prose which contain praise and prayer, references to myths, conjurations, ritual injunctions, religious statements etc. etc., are believed to have magical, religious or spiritual efficiency, are recited, muttered or sung in the Vedic ritual and which are collected in the methodically arranged corpora of Vedic texts called Saṃhitās or, contained in other special collections" saying with reference to its scope that "we must, however, add that the same name is applied to 'comparable formulas' of different origin used in the post- Vedic cults". This appears to be an exhaustive definition.

[2] GONDA (1972: 1) states with regard to the presence and purpose of ritual-application of mantras: "As is well known mantras were almost everywhere and continually required in performing ritual acts and exerting influence upon the Unseen to express the officiant's will, desire or intentions, to indicate the character of the acts, to name the divine power or powers addressed and, last but not least, to consecrate the ritual acts themselves".

application of the PS mantras in a *paddhati*-text of the Paippalādins, the Karmapañjikā (KP).

The observations made here are based on a sample study of mantras occurring in the first ten chapters of the text. Nine chapters deal with the general paradigms of ritual and the tenth chapter comprises Vivāha, i.e. Nuptial ritual. Thus, the examples quoted almost exclusively pertain to these sections.

1 The *Paribhāṣā*s for Application of Mantras in Rituals

Śrīdhara, the author of this *paddhati*, cites a few *paribhāṣā*s regarding the ritual application and recitation of the mantras. He occasionally quotes verses from identifiable as well as unidentifiable sources with the names of the works. On the other hand, sometimes it appears that he himself has composed some verses providing indications for the application of mantras in ritual performances.

Two verses that Śrīdhara quotes, with attribution to Paiṭhīnasi, which express the requirement of four priests in rituals, one of whom is exclusively appointed for the ascertainment of mantras that are needed in the rituals.[3]

1. For the efficacy of the ritual act under performance, it is expected that a reciter should know the seer, meter, deity and ritual application of the mantras to be recited while performing that act. A verse quoted in the first chapter of the KP by Śrīdhara from Pātañjalayogasūtra, unfortunately neither traced in the famous text of that name nor elsewhere, stresses the same point in the following manner:

> *brāhmaṇaṃ viniyogaṃ ca chandāṃsy ārṣeyadevatāḥ /*
> *ajñātvā yaś caren mantrair na sa tatphalam aśnute //*
> "One, who deals with mantras without knowing the brahmanical explanation, employment, meter, seer and deity, will not enjoy its desired result."

[3] These verses appearing at the beginning of chapter three of the KP are as follows: *catvāro brāhmaṇā nityā ṛtvijaḥ karmavāhakāḥ / caturbhiḥ saṃprayuktas tu yajamāno na muhyati // ekaḥ karmaṇi yuktaḥ syād eko dravyopakalpane / ekaḥ pṛṣṭaḥ pratibrūyād eko mantrasya niścaye //* "Always [in all ritual performances], four priests are the performers of the rituals. The sacrificer, joined with these four, never becomes confused. One is appointed in [the performance of] ritual acts, one in the obtainment of material. One should respond when questioned, one [is appointed] for the ascertainment of mantras."

Further, another *paribhāṣā* verse insists on the proclamation of the seer, meter and deity of a mantra preceding its ritual application. The verse rightly quoted at the outset in the KP, appears as follows:

> *ārṣaṃ vai daivataṃ chandas tv avijñāya bhṛgūttama /*
> *mantrasya tena mantreṇa japahomau na kārayet //*
> "O foremost of the Bhṛgus, without knowing the seer, meter and deity of a mantra, one should not perform muttering and libation with that mantra."

This verse is found in the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa chapter 'Atharvavidhikathana'.[4] The precise reference is 2.127.45. The verse clearly belongs to a relatively old general Atharvavedic tradition.

Thus, in the KP, we find the triad of *ṛṣi*, *chandas* and *devatā* along with the proclamation of its ritual application, before the mantra-*pratīka* itself appears. If we closely follow the text, it becomes clear that not each and every mantra is preceded by *ṛṣi*, *chandas*, *devatā* and *viniyoga*. It seems that in most of the cases where these do precede, the mantra-*pratīka*s refer to hymns or specific groups of mantras, rather than to an individual mantra. Further, one may observe that where the *ṛṣi* etc. are mentioned, those mantras – be it a group of mantras or otherwise – are employed in the ritual acts of consecration, invocation and oblation.

I add a few more comments by analyzing the available data about such proclamation of *ṛṣi* etc. About the mantras shared commonly between both the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās, one may see that in almost all the cases, the names of the seers and even the deities mentioned in the KP do not match with the names ascribed by Bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī. In the KP, we find mention of *anuṣṭubh* in almost all the cases, even though not all the verses are so. It seems that the Paippalādins think *anuṣṭubh* to be a default meter of each hymn.[5] However, there are a few exceptions of mentioning *gāyatrī*, which is thus rightly identified due

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[4] Cf. BHATTACHARYYA, Durgamohan. ''Lights on the Paippalāda Recension of the Atharvaveda". *Our Heritage,* Vol. 3 part 1 (1955): 1–14. In this article, the author presents an edition of this chapter by comparing a similar chapter of the Agnipurāṇa (Atharvavidhānam 2.261).

[5] WHITNEY (1905: cxxvi) has already commented on the predominance of *anuṣṭubh* meter in the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās. KUBISCH (2007: 14-15), by presenting the metrical analysis of the first seven *kāṇḍa*s of the ŚS confirms WHITNEY's sentence in the following manner: "Obviously, WHITNEY's supposition as to the Anuṣṭubh being the predominant Atharvavedic stanza is verified. Whereas in the ṚV its frequency is about one fifth that of the Triṣṭhubh, in the ŚS I-VII it is twice as common as the Triṣṭubh, representing about 43% of the total number of stanzas."

to its familiar form. Besides this, some of the *triṣṭubh* verses have been recognized correctly.

2. The second very important instruction about ritual application of mantras is that the mantras are to be recited first and then the ritual act is to be performed. This means that the recitation and the performance are not simultaneous actions. The occasion for introducing this rule is the bath with the PS hymn 1.25, *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ*. The author says: *hirṇyavarṇeti sūktānte etat snānam /... mantrānte karmādi sandhātavyam iti.* "This bath is at the end of the hymn *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ*. The act is to be joined at the end of the mantra." The *paribhāṣā*-verses belonging to the first chapter of the KP are as follows:

> *uttarasya gaṇasyādiḥ pūrvasyānte bhaved iha /*
> *sarvatraivaṃ vijānīyān mantrakarmagaṇeṣu ca //*
> *pūrvo mantragaṇo jñeyaḥ karma caivottaro gaṇaḥ /*
> *tasmān mantragaṇasyānte karma kuryād yathāvidhi //*
> *uktvā karma tataḥ paścān mantraṃ tatra vinirdiśet /*
> *tatrāpi mantraḥ pūrvaḥ syāt karmaṇaḥ sādhako yataḥ //*
> "As regards the classes of mantras and ritual acts one has to understand everywhere in this way: here (i.e. in the ritual performance) the commencement of the subsequent class takes place at the end of the prior one.
> The prior one is to be understood as the mantra class and the latter class as ritual acts. Therefore, at the end of the [recitation of] a class of mantras one has to perform the ritual act as per injunction.
> After pronouncing the ritual act one should indicate the mantra employed [therein]. In that case also (i.e. in proper performance) the mantra should be [recited] prior [to the act] as it is the accomplisher of the ritual act."

3. Now we turn to another important issue, viz. the accents of the mantras employed in the ritual acts. It appears from the *paribhāṣā*-verse quoted by Śrīdhara that *saṃpreṣaṇa-mantra*s etc. are to be recited with only one accent, while the mantras employed in *japa* and *homa* are to be recited with all the three accents. The *paribhāṣā* is as follows:

> *mantrān eksvareṇaiva*[6] *saṃpreṣyājñānavācane /*

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[6] *Ekasvara* or *ekaśruti* means *udātta* accent. The *paribhāṣā*-verse explaining this rule is as follows: *paṭhyate yatra caikena svareṇodāttakena vai / tad ekaśrutipāṭhaḥ syād yujyate vācanādiṣu* // "Where [a mantra] is recited with one accent, which is *udātta*, that is [regarded as] *ekaśrutipāṭha* (i.e. recitation with one accent) and is appropriate in *vācana* etc. (i.e. in declaration etc.)."

> *traisvareṇa prayuñjīta japahomādi karmasu //*
> "In declaration of commands by summoning one should employ the mantras with one accent (i.e. *udātta*), while in the acts of *japa* and *homa*, (i.e. muttering prayers and oblation-mantras) [the mantras are recited] with the three accents."

I cite one example of *saṃpreṣaṇa-mantra*s where we see the use of this *paribhāṣā*. The mantras *stṛṇīta barhiḥ* etc. in the ritual act of preparation of *vedi* are to be recited with only one accent, i.e. *udātta*. The instruction here is *etān kevalodāttasvareṇa paṭhitān saṃpreṣaṇa-mantrān japed ṛtvik*. "The priest should mutter these *saṃpreṣaṇa-mantra*s only with acute accent."

Elsewhere in his text in chapter four of the text, Śrīdhara himself paraphrases the second instruction in the verse in the following manner:

> *yatra japed iti vacanāt tatra tatra traisvareṇa mantroccāraṇaṃ bhavati*.
> "Wherever, there is an instruction [with the employment of the word] 'japet', in all those cases the recitation of the mantras is with three accents."

In this manner, the author prescribes the recitation of the muttering mantras with all the three accents.

All this discussion about the accent, however, remains rather theoretical because the Paippalādins do not preserve the accent of their own Saṃhitā, neither in written nor in oral tradition, except possibly for a few cases in Kashmir.[7] The accents of some of the mantras were lost already in Śrīdhara's time. In chapter 3 of the KP, he himself admits this fact with the words *idānīṃ tadavyavahārāt asya mantrasya svarā na nirṇīyante*. "The accents of this mantra cannot be ascertained because of their having gone out of practice."[8]

4. Some verses instructing the method of offering contain interesting guidelines. Recitation of oblation mantras is done with *kumbhaka*, i.e. retaining the breath for the duration of the recitation. The verse says:

> *pūrakaṃ grahaṇe kuryān mantroccāre tu kumbhakam /*
> *recakaṃ havane caiva svāhānte haviṣaḥ sadā //*
> "One should exercise *pūraka* (i.e. breathe in) while taking [the oblation]. While uttering the mantra, should perform *kumbhaka*

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[7] On the marking of the accents and its reliability in the Kashmir manuscript, cf. GRIFFITHS (2009: xxv).

[8] The mantra in question is VaitS 1.18, *ahaṃ bhūpatiḥ* etc.

(i.e. retain the breath). And while offering the oblation at the end of [uttering] *svāhā* he should always do *recaka* (i.e. breathe out).”

5. In its fifth chapter, the KP offers an interesting three-fold classification of Vedic sentences, viz. mantra, kalpa and brāhamaṇa. Mantra is classified into *ṛc* and *yajus*. *Ṛc* is characterized as a mantra having specific meter employed in the acts while *yajus* has no specific meter. It accomplishes the meaning of the act.[9] The author cites a verse which he mentions to be from Gopathabrāhmaṇa, but not traceable there or elsewhere. The verse defines *yajus* as the type of mantra which consecrates the offering material.[10] The KP further prescribes to recite *yajur-mantra* in a whispering voice. We can see the use of this rule in the act of preparation of *caru* where the mantras being of a *yajus* type are recited in low voice. The injunction that appears here is:

> *agne carur ityādīnāṃ tejaḥ paya ity antānāṃ mantrāṇāṃ haviḥsaṃskārakatvena yajuṣṭvāt upāṃśunā vaktavyam iti avagamyate.*
> “It is understood that the mantras beginning with *agne caruḥ* up to *tejaḥ payaḥ*, being of the nature of *yajus* by way of consecrating the sacrificial offerings are to be recited in a whispering voice.”

2 Style of Quoting Mantras

2.1 *Pratīka* and *Sakalapāṭha*

It is well-known that the mantras from the own Saṃhitā are cited by their *pratīka* in the ritual texts of the respective *śākhā*, while the mantras of other *śākhā*s are often rendered in full, i.e. with their *sakalapāṭha*. The reason is that the followers of the *śākhā* are supposed to know their own Saṃhitā by heart. The KP, ritual text of the Paippalāda school, is

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[9] *yaḥ kaścit pādvān mantro yuktaś cākṣarasampadā / viniyuktavidhānaś ca tām ṛcaṃ pratijānate // yas tv anyachandasā yukto na ca pādākṣarair yutaḥ / arthakarmāvasānaś ca tad yajuḥ pratijānate //* “A mantra which is having [metrical] quarters, is bound with the [fixed] number of letters and is employed in the ritual act that is known as *ṛc.* On the hand, [a mantra] which is bound with [a form] different [from a] meter and not having [specific number of] quarters or letters, culminating in [the explaining of] the meaning of the action that is known as *yajus.*”

[10] *kriyāpraśaṃsā brāhmaṇaṃ haviḥsaṃskārakaṃ yajuḥ / stutipradānaṃ mantro vai vidhānaṃ kalpa ucyate //* “Explanation of the act is *brāhmaṇa.* The one which is consecrating the sacrificial offerings is *yajus.* Offering of praise is *mantra* and the procedure [of ritual act] is called *kalpa*.”

no exception to this general rule, because mantras from the PS appear in their *pratīka* form.

However, it is curious that the KP not only cites the PS mantras with *pratīka*, but also those verses, technically called *kalpajā*, which are not attested in any known Saṃhitā. We may translate the term *kalpajā* as '[verses] of ritualistic origin'. One encounters myriad examples of such verses in ritual acts, where they are employed instead of or in combination with PS verses. The source of these *kalpajā* stanzas, however, is not known for the time being. But their mention with *pratīka* suggests that they were supposed to be well-known in this school from some ritualistic texts that were as familiar as their own Saṃhitā to the Paippalādins. We can trace the *sakalapāṭha* of these *kalpajā* verses in an anonymous *prayoga*-treatise named Karmasamuccaya and a printed *paddhati,* Paippalādavivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati, composed by Umākānta PAṆḌĀ on the basis of the former. Of course, the *kalpajā* mantras remain outside the scope of present paper.

2.2 Devices for Identification of the Exact Mantras Intended with the *Pratīka*

2.2.1 Extent Phrases: Indication for the Scope of *Pratika*s

The ritual sūtras normally establish certain metarules denoting the extent of the *pratīka*s.[11] In the KP, we do not find any such metarules which might prove helpful in finding the extent of the mantras. Instead, phrases marking the extent of the *pratīka* are frequently utilized in the text. Such phrases are:

ity ardharcam to denote a half verse,
ity ṛk, *ity ṛcā* or simply the *pratīka* with *iti* to signify a verse,
iti dvābhyām ṛgbhyām / *iti dvābhyam* to mention two verses and similar phrases with desired numbers to denote that much amount of verses.
ity avasānena to denote a part of mantra up to that pausa
iti kaṇḍikā / *iti sūktam* to denote a hymn.

2.2.2 Mention of the *Kāṇḍa*s to Specify the Intended Mantras

A device to distinguish one mantra from other mantras having identical incipits is to mention its *pratīka* along with the *kāṇḍa* in which it is included.

For example, to distinguish a mantra PS 16.70.1 from PS 5.40.1 or PS 20.57.13, each having the same beginning *devasya tvā*, the author

[11] For instance, cf. ĀśvaGS 1.1.17–19; KauśS 8.21.

specifies that a mantra belongs to the *kṣudrakāṇḍa*, i.e. the 16th *kāṇḍa* of the Saṃhitā.

To distinguish a verse PS 20.32.9 from a verse in the wedding hymn, PS 18.14.6, both beginning with *vi te muñcāmi*, the author specifically says that it is *ekarcikī*, i.e. a verse belonging to the *ekarcakāṇḍa*, the 20th *kāṇḍa* of the Saṃhitā. It is one of the verses recited in expiatory offerings to Varuṇa and Agni.

Another example is from the Vivāha ritual where two verses belonging to the fourth *kāṇḍa* 4.10.7–8 with the *pratīka yad giriṣu*, accompany the bridal bath. To distinguish them from the verses 2.35.2–3 or 16.33.6–7, the author uses the phrase '*yad giriṣv iti sāptarcikībhyām*' "two verses beginning with *yad giriṣu* belonging to the *saptarcakāṇḍa*, i.e. the 4th *kāṇḍa* ".

This implies that Śrīdhara, the author of the KP had intimate knowledge of the divisions of the PS and the technical designations of the *kāṇḍa*s and, more importantly, that he presupposed his readers had such knowledge too. The titles of the *kāṇḍa*s in the PS represent an old tradition not restricted to Orissa.[12]

The KP certainly follows the *kāṇḍa*-division of the Saṃhitā. But as regards the grouping of mantras into hymns, the KP sometimes follows a different division of hymns, rather than the actual division currently found in the Saṃhitā.

An example is that of the three offerings to Viṣṇu with three accompanying mantras, viz. 20.15.10 and 20.16.1–2. In this case as well, we encounter a different split than the one actually found in the Saṃhitā.

I would like to present one more case as regards the current division of the hymns and a strange reference to *kaṇḍikā* in the KP. In the fourth chapter of the text, we read *śaṃ no devīḥ śaṃ na indrāgnī iti dve kaṇḍike*. It is interesting to know that the ritual tradition takes here with the two *pratīka*s two hymns each, i.e. 1.1–2 with *śaṃ no devīḥ* and 12.16–17 with *śaṃ na indrāgnī*. The problem is how to interpret the term *kaṇḍikā*. Should we treat it as a synonym of *sūkta*? According to GRIFFITHS (2003b: 26), the terms are not entirely interchangeable. GRIFFITHS gives two examples from the KP, where both the terms are used. *sahasrākṣam iti dvikaṇḍikaṃ sūktam,* which refers to PS 9.25–26 and *ā rātri iṣirā yoṣā iti dve kaṇḍike sūkte* referring to PS

[12] For detailed discussion and list of the titles of PS *kāṇḍa*s, cf. WITZEL (1985: 269) and GRIFFITHS 2003b.

6.20–21 and 14.8–9 respectively.[13] If we try to analyze all such cases, it becomes clear that here are verses spread over two separate hymns consisting of homogeneous content. It is possible that the author uses the word '*kaṇḍikā*' to mean 'a hymn' and the word '*sūkta*' to mean '*arthasūkta*'[14] when both the terms are used. In all other cases they appear interchangeable. Just as in case of *ā rātri* and *iṣirā yoṣā*, we find *iti dve kaṇḍike sūkte*, in case of *śaṃ no devīḥ* and *śaṃ na indrāgnī* also it would have been better to say *iti dve kaṇḍike sūkte*.

2.2.3 Amplification of *Pratīka*s

The author sometimes employs longer *pratīka*s to indicate proper mantras to be understood by those mantra- *pratīka*s.[15] An example of this method of making the *pratīka*s can be shown as follows:

Agnir mā pātu prathamam is an amplified *pratīka* for PS 20.16.8 to distinguish it from *agnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ*, PS 7.16. The latter is mentioned in a group of hymns named Devapurāgaṇa, while the prior one is a verse belonging to the Pavitragaṇa, employed in Puruṣasaṃskāra, the consecration of the sacrificer.

The second case is of the *pratīka*, *etās te agne*. In chapter 6, first we find a longer *pratīka, etās te agne*, abbreviated later in chapter 8 as *etās te*. This *pratīka* denotes a variant upon ŚS 19.64.4. There are two PS mantras with the incipit *etās te*, viz. 3.37.9 and 18.79.3, that are not to be understood with this *pratīka*. Thus, a longer *pratīka*, *etās te agne* is used in this case, which is abbreviated later in chapter 8. It is not clear why the text does not identify this as a *kalpajā* verse.

On the other hand, there are cases where longer *pratīka* would have been a better option to avoid confusion between two mantras with the identical incipits. For example, *pratīka, aryamaṇam* is mentioned in the Kanyādarśanavidhi. Two mantras with this incipit, viz. 3.34.5 and 18.2.7 are found in the Saṃhitā. Making of a longer *pratīka aryamaṇaṃ yajāmahe* to denote a verse from wedding hymns 18.2.7, which is appropriate in this context would have been better.

Sometimes, Śrīdhara makes amplifications of *pratīka*s by inserting *iti* after the identical incipit and a particular word or two from the mantra

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[13] While referring to these *sūkta*s, the folio numbers in the KP Ku manuscript are erroneously interchanged in GRIFFITHS 2003b.

[14] For the use and explanation of this term, cf. WHITNEY (1905: cxxvii, cxxxi, cxxxiii).

[15] For examples of amplified *pratīka*s in the Vedavrata section of the KP, cf. GRIFFITHS (2003b: fn. 79, 85, 87, 93, 133).

followed by *iti* to distinguish it from the mantras with the identical incipits. GRIFFITHS (2003b: fn. 30, 85, 138, 166) reports the use of this device in *pratīka*s belonging to the Vedavrata section. We come across a similar case in chapter 6. The performer has to apply the ash from the sacrificial fire on his forehead with the mantra *tyrāyuṣam*. The instruction is *tryāyuṣam ity ṛcā yad devānāṃ tryāyuṣaṃ tan me astu śatāyuṣam iti etāvat purovartivahnibhasmanā lalāṭe grīvāyāṃ ca tilakaṃ kuryāt*. "With a verse *tryāyuṣam* [containing the *pāda*s] *yad devānāṃ tyrāyuṣaṃ tan me astu śatāyuṣam,* he should apply on the forehead and throat with the ash of the fire in front [of him]." Though it appears to be an unusual way of making *pratīka*, actually it is not different from the way of making *pratīka*s by inserting *iti* and adding a specific word of the mantra. The only change we find here is that *ity ṛcā* is inserted to interrupt the identical incipit and not just one or two words but the whole *pāda*s c and d are included in the *pratīka* as a means to distinguish this mantra from PS 2.59.5. *Pāda*s a and b of both the verses are identical and the mantras differ only in *pāda*s c and d.[16]

3 Śrīdhara's Unusual Style of Quoting *Pratīka*s

Here, I present a few observations regarding the author's style of citing the mantra-*pratīka*s in the KP:

3.1 Deletion of the Final Components of the *Pratīka*

There are some cases of the *pratīka*s where the last word is cut abruptly. E.g. the *pratīka* for PS 20.23.5 appears as *agnir mā viśvā iti* where the last word *viśvāt* is found as *viśvā*. The *pratīka* for PS 1.33 appears as *āpo adyāṃ*. Here the actual words of the mantras are *āpo adyānu* and the final 'nu' is cut to 'n', further represented with *anusvāra* in the manuscripts, followed by another *pratīka yad adaḥ saṃ*.

3.2 Cutting the First Member of Compound

Sometimes, Śrīdhara makes the *pratīka*s by cutting the first member of a compound. GRIFFITHS (2003b fn. 96, 186) notes the occurrence of such *pratīka*s in the Vedavrata section. Some examples are *yad devā deva* for PS 16.49.1, where the last word is actually a compound

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[16] The *sakalapāṭha* of the verse in concern can be found in PAṆḌĀ's *paddhati* at p. 112. I present here corrected version of the same. *tryāyuṣaṃ jamadagneḥ kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam / yad devānāṃ tryāyuṣaṃ tan me astu śatāyuṣam //.* The PS verse 2.59.5 is as follows: *tryāyuṣaṃ jamadagneḥ kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam / tredhāṃrtasya cakṣaṇaṃ trīṇy āyūṃṣi nas kṛdhi //*

devaheḍanam. The second example is *hatas tirści* for PS 16.16.3, where the last compound word is *tiraścirājyaḥ*.

3.3 Another Case of Unusual *Pratīka*

In chapter 4, the author cites a highly unusual *pratīka*, *yā oṣadhayaḥ somarājñīr ity eketi tṛcaṃ sūktam*. A triplet hymn PS 19.12.4–6 is to be understood with this *pratīka*. If we trace this place in the Saṃhitā manuscripts, at 19.12.4 we actually read *yā oṣadhayaḥ somarājñīr ity ekā*. The PS manuscripts use a phrase '*ity ekā*' after *pratīka*s for verses which are completely identical with a verse occurring in the earlier *kāṇḍa*s of the Saṃhitā and which, therefore, need not be written again. The verse *yā oṣadhayaḥ somarājñīḥ* occurs earlier as PS 13.13.9. GRIFFITHS (2003a: 342) comments on the use of this abbreviation-technique as "this must be an old part of the tradition because it is used also – and at exactly the same places – in the Kashmir ms."[17] In the present case Śrīdhara's style of referring to this triplet in this manner suggests that he and his readers were very much acquainted with such abbreviation tendencies in the written Saṃhitā manuscripts, which were prevalent in the Atharvavedic tradition since centuries back.

4 Appropriateness of Mantras

The use of mantras in rituals gives rise to another interesting aspect, viz. the suitability or appropriateness to the acts which they accompany. I refrain from discussing the appropriateness of each and every case of ritual application of the PS mantras in the KP and offer only two references which clearly suggest the author's care for the appropriateness of mantras.

There has to be an association between the mantra and the ritual action for the efficacy of the ritual. One of the rules of association in the application of mantras is *yathāliṅgam*, i.e. the application based on the characteristics contained in the mantras, such as the deity etc.[18] The makers of the ritual guidebooks of the Paippalāda school are very much aware of this rule and that is why Śrīdhara initiates a discussion about *viliṅga* mantras in the preparation of *caru*. There are two types of *caru* viz., the *kṣīraudana*, rice prepared with milk and the *udaudana*, rice prepared with water. While preparing *udaudana*, the accompanying

[17] Not only in the PS but also in the ŚS manuscripts we find same tendencies. Already, WHITNEY (1905: cxix), BARRET (1912: 344), BARRET (1915: 43), WITZEL (1985: 262) have commented upon this phenomenon.

[18] Cf. PATTON (2005: 64ff).

mantras naturally have waters as the deity. These mantras are *devīr āpaḥ* (PS 16.70.11) and *śuddhā āpaḥ* (PS 16.90.70). According to Śrīdhara, in the preparation of *kṣīraudana*, some people wish to recite same mantras used in the preparation of *udaudana*. Śrīdhara strongly objects to this view with following words:

> *kecit kṣīrasyāṣṭum abhipretya āhuḥ / pūrvoktābhyāṃ viliṅgābhyāṃ mantrābhyāṃ sthālyāṃ kṣīram āsiñcatīti / tad asat / kṣīrasya pārthivatvāt tatra jalāsecana-mantrasyāsāmarthyāt /*
> "Some people intending to consume milk say one should pour milk into the pot with the two mantras prescribed before, possessing different characteristics. That [view] is not correct. Because of the milk being of the nature of an earthy substance [i.e. characterised by the element earth], there is inappropriateness of the mantra related to the pouring of water [as that is invoked to waters and not to the earth]."

Śrīdhara cites a sūtra,[19] *tūṣṇīṃ kṣīraṃ carusthālyām āpūrayati* and understands that this adjustment of pouring of milk without recitation of mantra is done by the Sūtrakāra because there is non-availability of such appropriate mantra.

Another important topic as regards the ritual use of suitable mantras introduced by the author of the KP is the process of *ūha*. The case is the modification of the mantra *devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṃ prasūto brāhmaṇebhyo nir vapāmi* (PS 16.70.1), where in the place of *brāhmaṇebhyaḥ* [dative], one has to insert the name of the deity with the fourth case ending. A *paribhāṣā*-verse indicates that a mantra gets destroyed when it is modified. Śrīdhara refutes this view saying that it is absolutely fine to make modifications in the mantra to make it suitable for ritual application.

> *Yady apy ukto bhaved vāpi ārṣasyoho na sūribhiḥ /*
> *tathāpy āmnāya uktatvāt kuryād ūham atandritaḥ //*
> *tathā brāhmaṇasthāne yathādaivataṃ prayujyate /*
> *devasya tvety avasāne mantram ullaṅghya caive hi /*
> *ukto yene prakāreṇa mantro yāti svakarmaṇaḥ /*
> *aṅgībhāvaṃ tathā kuryād udarkān nātra saṃśayaḥ //*
> "Even thought the predecessors instructed that there should not be modification of the *Ārṣa* (i.e. an original mantra as seen by the seer),

[19] This might be one of the sūtras from Paithīnasisūtra, a text Śrīdhara claims to follow.

one should make modification without hesitation as it is instructed by the traditional texts.
Thus, in place of 'brāhmaṇa' the [name of desired] deity is employed, having a pausa at *devasya tvā* by modifying the mantra.
The manner by which a mantra achieves its ability to suit the act, those modifications are to be made."

5 Vedic Recitation

This topic is not related to the application of mantras in rituals but is concerned about recitation of mantras as such. Therefore, I feel it necessary to draw readers' attention on this issue.

In the Brahmacārivedādhyāyavidhi,[20] while prescribing some rules for a brahmacārin, the KP presents interesting information regarding Vedic recitation practice in vogue. Śrīdhara quotes two verses attributed to Dakṣa[21] along with his own gloss on them. The verses prescribe Vedic recitation during the second hour of the day. They also speak about five aspects of recitation practice, viz. Vedasvīkaraṇa (acquiring the Veda), Vicāra (pondering over Veda); Abhyasana (practice); Japa (murmuring) and Dāna (giving away of Veda to students).[22] The author also mentions that Vedic recitation should be performed by paying attention to tones and letters and should be performed at the places such as confluence of rivers, in cowherds, at the curved banks of the rivers, at pleasant landscapes, in the grass-fields, in well-painted houses and in the temples of Viṣṇu and Sūrya.[23] Finally, I present a verse establishing the guidelines for the recitation of *ṛc*s.[24]

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[20] The ritual is described through folio 99v-100r in Gu1, 110r-110v in Gu2, 96r in Ku and 86r in Ni manuscripts of the KP. For the preliminary information of the manuscripts, cf. GRIFFITHS (2003b: 8) and GRIFFITHS (2007: 144)

[21] The verses can be traced in Dakṣasmṛti at 2.32ab and 2.33 with minor variants. Cf. APTE (1929: 74).

[22] I present here the passage edited provisionally. I skip reporting the readings from manuscripts. *dvitīye ca tathā bhāge vedābhyāso vidhīyate / vedasvīkaraṇaṃ pūrvaṃ vicāro 'bhyasanaṃ japaḥ / taddānaṃ caiva śiṣyebhyo vedābyāso hi pañcadhā // pūrvaṃ vedasvīkaraṇaṃ brahmacāritvam eva ca / gurumukhād grahaṇam iti / vicāro mīmāṃsanam / adhyayanaṃ gṛhītasyaiva guṇanaṃ / japas tu brahmayajñādīnām āvartanam /*

[23] The verses with minor corrections are as follows: *nadīsaṅgamagoṣṭheṣu vivikteṣu taṭeṣu ca/ vicitrabhūmideśe tu darbhadūrvātaṭeṣu ca // gṛheṣu śubhalipteṣu viṣṇusūryagṛheṣu ca / paṭhitavyo sadā vedaḥ svaravarṇopalakṣitaḥ //*

[24] The verse is reproduced here with minor corrections without reporting original readings.

plutadīrghakramāṃ hrasvāṃ sānusvārāṃ sulakṣitām /
ṛcam uccārayet prājño na drutaṃ na vilambitam //
"A wise person should recite a verse by taking into consideration the [proper pronunciation] method of prolated and long [vowels], short [vowels] with keen attention to nasals. The recitation should be neither fast nor slow."

6 Present Day Oral Tradition

Here are a few comments on the present day practices of ritual recitation of mantras and oral tradition of the Paippalādins.

The first and foremost observation is that the followers of the Paippalāda school are not insistent in hiring a Paippalādin priest for carrying out their domestic rituals. The reason to avoid a priest of their own śākhā does not seem to be a scarcity of priests. It rather appears to be apprehension on the part of the followers for lengthy rituals possessing uncommon acts.

In the ritual practices, the priests generally follow notebooks which they call *khātā*, copied from the Karmasamuccaya manuscripts and actually recite the mantras by referring to these books and very rarely by relying only on their memory.

In the ritual performances, the priests recite only mantra-*pratīka*s rather than full mantras. The reasons they give for this practice is impatience of their clients, want of time and scarcity of expensive offering material such as ghee to be offered with the recitation of each verse.[25]

Some of the Paippalādin priests still believe that they can recite the Saṃhitā with its accent. Ultimately, it turns out to be untrue.

I must also note a few attempts amongst the Paippalādins for the preservation of their oral tradition. In 2005, I visited two such *pāṭhaśālā*s, where the pupils learn to recite their Saṃhitā from their Paippalādin Gurus. One school is in the village Guhiapāḷa, East Singhbhum District of Jharkhand, which is run by Aśoka Miśra. In January 2011, nearly 10 students were legitimately learning in this school.[26]

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[25] This information was gathered from Sudhākara Paṇḍā, a Paippalādin priest from Guhiapal village in East Singhbhum district of Jharkhand during my June 2005 and January 2011 field work.

[26] Unfortunately, the second school run by A.K. Praharaj in Baripada, Mayurbhanj district of Orissa, was closed due to his ill-health and his shifting to Cuttack.

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Gandhāra and the formation of the Vedic and Zoroastrian canons

MICHAEL WITZEL

Summary

After[1] several hundred years of text composition and accumulation, from the RV down to the Upaniṣads and the oldest Sūtras, the actual process of canonization remains unclear, just as the time and place where this took place for many individual texts. While the texts of the grammarians Pāṇini and Patañjali provide some inkling of the end of the canonization process, Pāṇini's date remains uncertain and Patañjali's (150 BCE) is too late. However, looking at the problem both from a macro-Indian and a comparative Southwest Asian point of view provides indications of when and how canonization took place in Vedic India, and in Zoroastrian Iran. A key factor in this development was the little understood role of Gandhāra, a Persian province from c. 530-326 BCE. The known Persian insistence on collection and formation and writing down of local canons, from Egypt to Israel and Ionia, allows assuming that Gandhāra and neighboring Arachosia played a similar role for the formation of the Vedic and Avestan canons, along with the concurrent normative description of Vedic and Sanskrit grammar by Pāṇini. Mutual interaction and various forms of reactions, such as the stress on oral preservation, between Gandhāra, Arachosia (Zoroastrian canon) and Kosala-Videha area (Śākalya Ṛgveda, Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra) are indicated, and the various local responses to Persian cultural policies discussed.

[1] An early version of this paper was given at Brown University in the autumn of 2003, and again in the present conference.

§ 1 Canon formation in India: stress on extremely correct pronunciation

After hundreds of years of text composition and accumulation, from the RV down to the Upaniṣads and the oldest Sūtras (c. 1200-500 BCE), the actual process of canonization remains somewhat unclear, just as the exact time and place where this took place. While the texts of the grammarians Pāṇini (350 BCE?)[2] and Patañjali (150 BCE) provide some inkling of the end of the canonization process, Pāṇini's date remains uncertain and Patañjali's (c. 150 BCE) is too late.

As is well known, all these texts, Pāṇini's included, were *oral* texts. In fact, script did not exist nor was it used[3] in India proper before Asoka. Apart from the so-called Indus script, which rather seems a system of signs not directly tied to spoken language(s),[4] writing in India proper begins with the rock and pillar inscriptions of great Emperor Asoka, in mid-third century BCE.[5] It emerges with a fully developed quasi-alphabetical Brahmī script that can be traced back, by and large, to the Kharoṣṭhī and Aramaic scripts,[6] as used in the Persian empire. A new script, such as Kharoṣṭhī or Brahmī do not necessarily derive from a long period of development, which is clearly seen in the contemporaneous effort of King Darius (or his court, in 519 BCE) of creating an "Aryan" script[7] that is vaguely based on Akkadian/Elamite cuneiform, but much simplified. The emergence of Kharoṣṭhī follows a similar track, as will be discussed later.

Be that as it may, we have *no* evidence of writing, either in archaeology or in texts before Asoka. The Persian province of Gandhāra of course represents a different proposition, to which we will return in great detail. By contrast, we find in India, apparently unique in

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[2] See the approximate determination of his date in CARDONA (1976) 1997:16, 19.

[3] More on the use of imperial Persian Aramaic further below.

[4] FARMER, SPROAT and WITZEL 2004: 19-57.

[5] Earlier dates have been proposed, such as the archaeologically based ones allegedly from the 8th cent. BCE onward for Sri Lanka; however, as FALK 1993 and HINÜBER 1989 indicate, script is not found in texts before Asoka.

[6] See discussion in SALOMON 1998: 42 sqq. – The origin of the strange name *kharoṣṭhī* 'donkey lip' remains unclear; it may have been a nickname, for the northwestern people/script, see Mbh 8.30.11 *pañcānāṃ sindhuṣaṣṭhānāṃ nadīnāṃ ye 'ntar āśritāḥ* ... 17. ... *mattāvagītair vividhaiḥ kharoṣṭraninadopamaiḥ*; cf. SALOMON 1998: 53.

[7] See below n. 43.

the world, an extra-ordinary stress of learning texts by heart, and on extremely correct recitation.[8] Not that this has been without exception, especially in the earliest period. We know that the transmission of the Ṛgveda has undergone some small phonetic changes[9] down to the time of its compilation under the Kuru kings (c. 1000), however, they do not impinge on the actual wording.

However, when Ṛgveda mantras were appropriated by priests of the other three incipient Vedas, there were more serious changes in sounds, wording and even whole stanzas.[10] After the establishment of the four Vedas and their schools (*śākhā*) in Kuru time, the texts of the *śākhā*s have preserved their own individualistic, *prati-śākhā* pronunciation.[11]

Even after the first Kuru collection, small phonetic changes still occurred, down to the time Pānini (c. 350 BCE), who records some of them[12] and quotes from several Vedic texts.[13] The final redaction of the Vedic texts took place a little earlier than his time (though some remaining different school opinions could still be quoted by him). In sum, ever since the earliest Vedic texts the stress has been on perfect reproduction, as per school.[14]

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[8] A well-known feature of Vedic recitation, just as in R. BRADBURY's book and the film, *Fahrenheit 420*, that in Indian consciousness goes back all the way, perhaps, to RV *akhkhalī kṛ*, and certainly back to the post-Ṛgvedic myth of Tvaṣṭṛ's son Viśvarūpa and his fatal encounter with India: as he mispronounced the Bahuvrīhi compound *índraśatru,* he was killed by Indra (TS 2.4.12.1, MS 2.4.3, KS 12.3).

[9] Such as the change from consonant + *uv* > cons. + *v* (*súvar* > *svàr*), or the shift from *pavāka* to *pāvaka*, (see summary in WITZEL 1989: 97-264) that was pushed through in the whole text due to the so-called orthoepic diaskeuasis (OLDENBERG 1888).

[10] The RV Mantras have undergone some remarkable *perseveration* in non-RV texts during the period between their composition and their first collection under the Kuru kings.

[11] For example Śākalya's intervocalic *ḍ* > *ḻ,* etc., *súvar* > *svàr,* while the Taittirīya Yajurvedins have preserved *súvar* (summaries in WITZEL 1989).

[12] Such as three types of Abhinihita Sandhi in 8.3.18-20. On this problem see now BRONKHORST 2007.

[13] *saniṃ sasanivāṃsam* (HOFFMANN 1991: 541- 546) is a quote from MŚS 1.3.4.2/VārŚS 1.3.5.16, and, according to HOFFMANN (1991: 544) one of the many indications for Pāṇini's lifetime (in the late Vedic period); further forms from KS 33.4, 35.10, 25.5, and in Pāṇ. 3.1.122, 4.2.28, 5.2.51 (THIEME 1935: 17), and even from lost texts, for example in case of the periphrastic aorists.

[14] And no longer on composition; however some composition by Brahmins continues, almost disregarded: the speculative hymns of AV 8-12, the *yajñagāthā*s and historical *śloka*s (see HORSCH 1956; WITZEL1997: 257-345.

§ 2 Canonization from a pan-Indian and west Asian point of view

Against the background of oral preservation of the four Vedas with their many schools, and their post-Saṃhitā texts, we can discern some activity of a final redaction of the texts at the two opposite ends of the Vedic area, in the extreme East (*prācya*, Bihar) and in the Northwest (Peshawar area), that is, in the 'colonial' territory of Videha[15] and in the Persian-occupied Gandhāra.

The Northwest,[16] traditionally called Gandhāra or more generally, *udīcya/udīca* "northern", is a traditionally conservative area, where, as the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (7.7.36-39) says, the "best speech" is found,[17] and where one would send one's sons "north" for study, down to the Upaniṣad era.[18] This is said in spite of repeated incursions from beyond the Hindukush of semi- or non-Indo-Aryan or Iranian tribes.[19] In fact, it is precisely in this 'northern' area, where Pāṇini (c. 350 BCE),[20]

[15] This general area is also homeland of the Buddha ("traditionally" 583-483 BCE, rather around 400 BCE, as per BECHERT 1982: 29-36. Buddha rejected the use of Vedic Sanskrit (*chandas*) in his teaching. See now: WITZEL 2009: 287-310.

[16] For a short overview of the evidence about Gandhāra and canonization, see WITZEL 2006: 457-499, §2.1.

[17] Where even today the Kalasha of Chitral retain many archaic traces in their language, and who still offer to *Indra*.

[18] BĀU 3.3, 7. Note that the 'northern' language is regarded as better than that of the dominant central area *(madhyamā diś*) of Kuru-Pañcāla – the later Āryāvarta – not to speak of the despised Eastern language (JB 1.338). Much later, the Jātakas (post-canonical, c.500 *CE*!) even speak of a Taxila university.

[19] Note that Herodotus, *Histories* III 97 sqq. (c. 420 BCE) describes the *Gandaroi* as being very similar in customs (and language!) to people on the northern side of the Hindukush, the eastern Iranians of Bactria.

[20] The exact date for Pāṇini, as conventionally given by Paninean scholars, depending on that of his successors Kātyāyana and Patañjali, both allotted a schematic time difference of c. 100 years. However, Patañjali's date, a contemporary of the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra, is relatively firm. The little discussed items for Pāṇini's dating include: script, the Persians(?), a *bhikṣu-sūtra,* the Kamboja king, and a quote from a mid-level Vedic Śrautasūtra, Mānava Śrautasūtra (HOFFMANN 1991: 541- 546). All of this evidence comes from the post-conquest Persian period: Parśu (Persians? cf. CARDONA 1997: 276; Pāṇ. 5.3.117); *lipi/libi* (3.2.21) 'script' has *East* Iranian forms, instead of O. Persian *dipi,* which would require some time after c. 530 BCE to get adopted to eastern speech habits. The term for the king of the Kambojas, '*kamboja*' (4.1.175) could be assumed to be pre-Persian (note however *Kambyse*s as the official name of a Persian king, 529-22), but may rather be due to the weak structure of Persian rule in Gandhāra (cf. the semi-independence of a Bactrian sub-satrap just before Alexander's conquest, (see SHAKED 2004); thus, a Kamboja

stemming from the village of Śalātura at the confluence of the Kabul and Indus rivers, formulated his grammar that has been the normative description of Sanskrit until today. As we will see later, the formulation of his Aṣṭādhyāyī, consisting of some 4000 algebraic rules (on just some 35 small folios), was composed orally and taught *orally,* without the use of script. His rules (*sūtra*) are extreme short, meant to be learnt by heart.

On the other hand, Pāṇini knows of script, *lipi* or *libi*,[21] and even of books, *grantha* 'bound together', written on birch bark or palm leaves. A dichotomy thus appears: he stresses oral speech, whether of *bhāṣā* (his conservative local Sanskrit dialect)[22], or of the Vedas (Saṃhitā and Pada recitation).[23]

Importantly, he is aware of Śākalya's RV canonization, carried out in the extreme East, in his orally composed and recited *padapāṭha,*[24] the word by word analysis of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā text. This automatically involves grammatical analysis (see below § 6-7). Interestingly, Śākalyas' name indicates that he belonged to the Śakala clan.[25] These Brahmins originally came from the west, from Central Panjab.[26] The Śakalas went east to find their luck in the 'new Vedic territories' of Kosala and

"king" may have existed *under* the satrap of Persian *Gandāra*, and note the splintered situation in Alexander's time with many apparently independent kings in the Panjab (kings Pōros, Abisarēs, Taxilēs, etc.) For the term *bhikṣusūtra* (4.3.110? of Pārāśarya) note Herodotus, c. 420 BCE, who speaks of ascetics in the Panjab. All of this points to pre-Alexander times, however closer to 350 BCE than to 450 BCE.

[21] See discussion by SCHARFE 2009: 29 sq.

[22] But he does not talk about any contemporary Prākṛt, such as his local dialect, a pre-Gāndhārī, except for letting the word *maireya* (6.2.70) slip in; he also does not mention other languages such as Persian, Greek etc.

[23] See WITZEL 2006: 457-499.

[24] Differently, BRONKHORST (1982, reprinted in his book 2007); he argues for a written Padapāṭha. – A Padapāṭha is first attested in AĀ 3.2.6 and perhaps in AB 5.4.3? (see RENOU, quoted in SCHARFE 2009: 74).

[25] It maybe that the Panjabi Śakalas had formulated an early redacted RV text (different from the one still recorded in ŚB 11.5.1.10 about the Purūravas hymn of 15 stanzas), and only under increasing Persian pressure moved to the east (cf. WITZEL 1989).

[26] AB 3.43. (Śakala also is the author of a Sāman, JB 3.93; Śakala Gaupāyana JB §92); the Śakala area is close to or inside Mahāvṛṣa territory (cf. *Saggala,* a Panjab town in Greek sources). Their move may have been be due to increased Persian pressure, perhaps as late as after the persecution of Daiva worhippers by Xerxes (486-65), detailed in his XPh inscription. However note the tribal movements, in the next note.

Videha, where King Janaka spent a lot of capital on Sanskritization and contests held for disputations of Brahmins (e.g., BĀU 3).

The question rises why did the Śakalas and other Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins – as well as some Vedic tribes[27]– move eastward in the late Vedic period? Just because of new opportunities, or due to the conquest of the Panjab by the non-Vedic Persians a few decades before 500 BCE? The Persians are known to have exerted strong bureaucratic pressure on subjugated peoples with regard to local text collection, something not appreciated by Brahmins, who so far had enjoyed a monopoly on sacred texts (see further, below).

By contrast, Pāṇini composed his grammar right *inside* the Persian province of *Gandāra*. He lived in a culture that was aware of and used writing and books. One may therefore ask: why did he not use the readily available script to take notes or to write down his grammar? Kharoṣṭhī[28] or even in the somewhat impractical, vowelless Aramaic scripts were available to write down a manual*, even* a longer book (*grantha*), as Patañjali did indeed some two hundred years later, at c. 150 BCE.

As mentioned, the give-away in his own grammar is the very word for script: it is Persian, from Elamite *tippi* 'tablet') > Old Persian *dipi [δipi,* with spirant pronunciation as in English *the*] > East Iranian *lipi/ libi*[29] > Pāṇini *lipi/libi* (3.2.21. Writing clearly, was something new and foreign to the Brahmins of Gandhāra, even if they may have seen Akkadian and Elamite documents during the Persian expansion into the Indus area. Furthermore, script was used for the Persian administration (in Aramaic), for business and letters – something the land holding and cattle holding Brahmins of that period had no use for. Strong Persain influence is also seen in other early loan words from Persian: *pustaka*

[27] Such as the Malla (in Alexander's time in Rajasthan, according to JB, too, from a desert area, see WITZEL: 1989, 236), and the Vṛji, still known to Pāṇini in the Panjab but appearing as Vajji in northern Bihar in the Pāli canon. (For these tribes see WITZEL 1987:173-213). To be added are the Śākya, obviously of ultimately Iranian origins (cf. the Saka/Śāka tribes) but of unknown location before the Pali attestation in northern Bihar/southern Nepal.

[28] If an early form of Kharoṣṭhī was available, as is likely given the fact that it first appears in Asoka's inscriptions (c. 250 BCE) in a fully developed form (cf. SALOMON 1998: 47). However, Kharoṣṭhī is not precise enough – there are no long vowels – and Aramaic is not even precise both for Indian consonants and vowels. Nevertheless such transcriptions were possible, just as there now are Veda texts in Urdu script in Kashmir. Cf. also Andreas' theory of an Arsacide Avesta text written in contemporary characters see KELLENS (1998: 451-519), p. 484.

[29] WITZEL1980: 86-128.

'book, manuscript' *divira* 'writer', *mudrā* 'seal, coin', *karṣa* 'a weight', *bandī* 'female slave' (MP *banda-g*), even *pīlu* 'elephant' (OP *pīru,* NP *pīl*).

At the other end of the Vedic area, in Kosala-Videha, we notice a late Vedic, pre-Pāṇinean striving to fix both the Vedic canon and ritual.[30] The first closure and canonization of the RV is by Śākalya in his Padapāṭha that clearly delimited the inclusion and exclusion of certain hymns and stanzas in the 'standard' text.[31] In addition to the standardization of the RV, that of the solemn ritual was carried out in the East through the first Śrautasūtra, of Kāṇva Bodhāyana.[32] This took place well before Pānini's date of c. 350, more likely around 500 BCE, when the first great eastern kingdoms such as Kosala and Videha emerged. Śākalya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11 and 14), in the context of a Brahmanic disputation at the court of King Janaka of Videha. Along with some other eastern grammarians, he was already known to Pāṇini.

While Śākalya was an inhabitant of the East,[33] Pāṇini was, both according to Chinese tradition and according to a geographical analysis of his text and of the Veda schools he knows and quotes, a Gandhāra person.[34] It is remarkable that both are separated by a distance of some 1500 km, as the crow flies, which is testimony to widespread cultural and economic exchange in the late Vedic period after c. 500 BCE.[35]

In sum, we notice two types of reaction to foreign domination:

The Śakalas and other Panjab Brahmins (such as the composers

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[30] WITZEL1997: 257-345.

[31] See discussion in WITZEL 1997, and note, again, that the eastern text, the ŚB, still knows of a Purūravas hymn of 15, not 18 stanzas.

[32] See now FUSHIMI 2007, for the then ongoing process of Sūtra formation.

[33] His Padapāṭha has eastern grammatical forms (see WITZEL 1989).

[34] See THIEME 1935; DESHPANDE 1983:111; SCHARFE 2009.

[35] As is in evidence by the wide-spread commerce connections of the archaeologically attested Northern Black Polished Ware and an early Upaniṣadic simile speaking of someone who is blindfolded, brought to Gandhāra and the gradually asks his ways back to his eastern homeland. – Also note the surprising knowledge of western items in Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra that was composed in Kosala: such as of camels, the countries of Araṭṭa, Parśu – and Gāndhāri (18.44). Bodhayana would have heard about the countries beyond the Indus and Sulaiman Range from people who had recently moved into his area, while he was composing his standard text, following prestigious neighboring Pañcāla Taittirīya tradition. Thus, another connection between eastern canon formation and northwestern tradition emerges.

of AB 6-8) moved eastward[36], while others, such as Pāṇini, continued to work on their texts and grammar in their traditional homeland. We may assume that the impetus towards fixing traditional texts (and ritual), toward canonization, was one of sustaining traditional Vedic orality – as well as standardization of the famous northwestern educated speech, *bhāṣā* – and a countermove against the introduction of script by the Persians, around c. 530 BCE. (This will be investigated further, below § 6).

§ 3 Zoroastrian Iran

Importantly, a movement towards canonization of Zoroastrian texts took place in a neighboring Persian province, that of Arachosia. The close relatives of the Vedic texts, Zoroaster's Gāϑās and the post-Zoroastrian Young Avestan texts[37] have undergone a similar development of their traditions, from purely oral transmission to initial collection of such materials in various parts of Greater Iran.[38] Details are more difficult to gather than for the Vedic case, as the Zoroastrian oral tradition was severely damaged during the first few hundred years of Islamic rule (650-900 CE). The earliest MSS (1205, 1323-4, 1352 CE) reflect a somewhat deteriorated pronunciation, as well as selection and restoration efforts that took place around 900 CE.[39]

Nevertheless, it is clear, that the same kind of texts existed in both traditions,[40] from Saṃhitā-like text collections to early interpretation and textual analysis.[41] This is reflected in our *current* Avesta text, where individual words, separated by pause in recitation, are divided in writing by placing a dot between them – in short, a Padapāṭha of the Avesta, and this alone has been transmitted.[42] In the present context, it

[36] Along with tribes such as the Mallas, Vṛji (Vajji) and Śākya.

[37] See now the initial section of SKJÆRVØ 2011: 55-91 for a summary.

[38] See KELLENS 1998. – Note the Ašəm Vohū prayer in Sogdian script of the 9th-10th cent CE (KELLENS 1998: 485 n. 58) and the quote in a Sogdian text of *Aryān Vēžan* (HENNING 1943: 68sq). Note also K. HOFFMANN's and KELLENS' concept of a Median vs. an Arachosian "Avesta" (KELLENS 1998: 513 sq.).

[39] KELLENS 1998: 472 sq; 478, 483.

[40] That is: Gāϑās ~ RV hymns; Brāhmaṇa type texts in Y. 19.9-21; the Vīdēvdād as a Sūtra type text. See WITZEL1997: 323; cf. now SCHARFE 2009: 74.

[41] The Farhang-ī ōim can be compared to the Nighaṇṭus and also to Yāska's Nirukta interpretations.

[42] This clearly is a school text, with all the quirks of this type of text: such as, Sandhi-prone suffixes (*-biio*, etc. are divided from the word by a dot, just as in Śākalya (by pause, later by *daṇḍa* stroke), and sometimes wrongly so: Y 29.2 *drəguuō.dəbīš,* Y. 30.11 (etc.) *drəguuō.dəbiiō,* from *dbiš/ṭbiš* 'to hate', (KELLENS and PIRART

is important to note that Darius's newly invited Persian script[43] also was aware of such analysis and used word dividers (a backslash: \). [44]

The question arises whether the congruence in both traditions could reflect an old Indo-Iranian tradition of learning the traditional texts by heart and teaching them to students with some analysis.[45] Or is this due to mutual influence of both traditions via the Gandhāra-Arachosia 'highway'? Or is it due to late congruence, as late as the early 7th c. CE, and not inconceivably under Indian grammatical influence?[46] This question will be further discussed below.

1988: 50, cf. now SCHARFE 2009: 83). Or, preverbs occurring at the beginning of a line are again represented (against the meter) just before the verb they belong to (KELLENS and PIRART 1988: 45 sq.). These procedures are similar to the insistence of the Prātiśākhyas (and subsequently the grammarians and Pandits) that the Vedic Saṃhitā texts have to be construed from the Padapāṭha. Note also that original Sandhi has sometimes maintained, such as in *–sca-* ... for *–s ca- (*KELLENS and PIRART 1988: 47; cf. now SCHARFE 2009: 77, 80).

[43] Shortly after 519 BCE: the old Persian version was added only subsequently to the Elamite/Akkadian text of the Behistun inscription. Darius himself says (in Elamite, DB IV 3) that he was the first to write in "Ariya", and the Elamite version clearly says that *Ariya* script was not available before "neither in clay nor on leather". Similarly, in the O. Persian version (DB IV 88) he says that his edict was written down on clay and parchment, read out to him, and sent to all his provinces. See now BAE, Chul-Bun 2001.

[44] Like the contemporary Akkadian (V), Elamite (\) versions and also in Urartian inscriptions (cf. SCHARFE 2009: 84 n. 103.) – SCHARFE, in his works (2002 and 2009: 74. 84), has discussed the Iranian Padapāṭha, concluding that it is due to Indian grammatical influences. – In later Indian scripts breaks are indicated by *daṇḍa* / . (Asoka however does not use *daṇḍa*s but gaps, not between words but between small groups of words/phrases, in Middle Indian "*sandhi*" so to speak; see JANERT 1972 (cf. SCHARFE 2009: 74 n. 48).

[45] Hymns composed, according to traditional poetics, by bards/poets (of various classes, for this see GOTŌ 2000: 147-161), just as the classes of poets in Ireland. The teaching of their compositions is perhaps indicated in the *Frog Hymn*, as per THIEME *akhkhalī kṛ* for **akṣarī-kṛ* 'speaking in syllables'. (1964: 63); note also that a RV poet should proclaim for the future (*yugá- úpara-*) 7.87.4.

[46] See now the detailed discussion by SCHARFE 2009: 77 sqq. – Note that the Arabic grammatical tradition appears ready-made in the 8th cent., influenced by Sasanide-Indian models, and the suspiciously Indian-like order of the Avesta alphabet. (See now the discussion by SCHARFE 2009: 84: SCHARFE comes to the conclusion that the current writing (with dots) of the Padapāṭha version of the Avesta was due to a combination of the strong traditional recitation and Indian grammatical influences, between the 4th and 6th cent. CE).

The parallel case of the Avesta corpus

We cannot be entirely sure about the exact form of the Avestan texts[47] in Darius' time as we depend on their Sasanide archetype[48] or rather, with J. KELLENS, on the re-constitution after the end of the 9th century.[49] Nevertheless, it should be noted that Old Persian uses a form of the name of the supreme deity, Ahura Mazda, which already has become a nominal compound (*a[h]uramazdā*) while it still was *mazdå ahura* in Gathic Avestan > Late Avestan *ahura mazdå,* which provides some indication of the timeframe involved between the Gāϑās, the Late Avestan texts and O. Persian.

If we combine this observation with K. HOFFMANN's Arachosian theory,[50] some interesting points can be made. According to this theory, Darius imported the Arachosian version[51] of the Avestan texts into the Persis as a counterweight to the predominance of a Median Maguš version and as a political move against the usurpation of Gaumāta and Vahyazdāta. Indeed, a *mazdayašna* –the O. Persian form[52] of the Avestan word *mazdayasna*– from Arachosia is frequently mentioned in his Persepolis Treasury Tablets, once next to a *maku* [*magu*].[53] After this import, certain O. Persian peculiarities (such as consonant + *uu* for cons. + *v*) were introduced into the Avestan texts.[54] Then, taking into account Darius' penchant in his inscriptions for word division by markers, we may assume some influence on contemporary oral Avestan *pada* consciousness.

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[47] For the process of collection and canonization see KELLENS 1998: 490 sqq. – I leave aside here KELLENS' conclusion about two traditions of Avesta transmission (1998: 478, 515 sq), one ritual-bound, as we do not have indications in our extant MSS and their Sasanian antecedents for the ritual praxis in the Persis of the 6th cent. BCE.

[48] See HOFFMANN 1991: 64, 710; HOFFMANN and NARTEN 1989. – Dated by KELLENS (1998: 488) around 620 CE.

[49] KELLENS 1998: 472.

[50] See HOFFMANN and NARTEN, 1998: 472 sqq. and KELLENS' summary of the arguments.

[51] Canonized, according to KELLENS (1998: 513) at the beginning of the 6th cent. BCE in Eastern Iran. – Cf. also WITZEL 2000: 283-338: "it is of interest that a Sogdian text locates *Airiianəm Vaējah* at the foot of the central mountain of Indian mythology, the *Sumeru*," see HENNING 1943: 68 sq. for Aryān Vēžan.

[52] See HOFFMANN 1991: 740.

[53] See WITZEL 2000. – As mentioned, interestingly, the Arachosian treasurer (*mazdayašna*) is once mentioned next to a Maku (*maguš*).

[54] See HOFFMANN 1991: 736-740.

Yet, Darius or his court did not invent a script for Avestan, or perhaps rather did not think it necessary to do so as there was a strong oral tradition. His own new Persian script still is not an alphabet but only a halfway syllabary[55] and as such was badly attuned to represent the more complex sounds of Avestan recitation.

Be that as it may, it is clear that we do not have a written Achaemenid Avesta text.[56] Nevertheless the very *idea* of a script for the "*arya*" languages could have been talked about by travelers, merchants and officials who had seen, and then got explained to them, some of Darius' inscriptions that were distributed by him to all provinces. As such, both hearsay knowledge, and then the actual use of Aramaic script, could have been brought to Gandhāra. This would include the use of oral and written word dividers for Old Persian. The latter idea could have been transported both into the recitation of Avestan and, across the Gandhāra-Indus border, into Vedic (for example to Śākalya's ancestors, the Śakalas of E. Panjab).

In sum, Avestan text collection and its selection and redaction by the Persians overlap with those of the Veda in Gandhāra and Videha. The relationship between Arachosia and the Persis, that between Avestan Arachosia and Vedic Gandhāra via the easy Kandahar-Kabul road, and that between Gandhāra and Kosala/Videha need to be explored in more detail, which will be undertaken now.

§ 4 Gandhāra and Persian thrust for canonization

How much influence traveled, mutually, between Arachosia and Gandhāra (script, text collection, grammatical analysis, Persian religious policy, etc.), and what were the reactions on both sides of the Iranian/Indo-Aryan divide?

Script and orality

Extensive evidence from other parts of the Persian Empire indicates that Aramaic language and script – as the official administrative language – was introduced in northwestern India in the last half of the 6th century BCE, after the conquest of Gandhāra by the Persians.[57]

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[55] Somewhat like the Japanese Kana syllabary (O.Persian: *da, di, du, ma, mi, mu;* but *pa, pa-i* [pi], *pa-u* [pu]…), but also like the later Indian system in that *ma, mi, mu* etc. are treated separately from the word initial vowels *a-, i-, u-*.

[56] Note KELLENS (1998: 490, 513 sqq.) on the (dialect) difference between O. Persian and (Arachosian, Median) Avestan.

[57] We do not yet have Aramaic documents of the Persian period from Gandhāra

We also know that the simple Aramaic alphabet was soon[58] transformed into the Kharoṣṭhī script, which was used in the Northwest for many centuries to come. This was a script that was much better suited to represent the sounds of Indian languages than Aramaic, though it still lacked long vowels. In any case, it was a real, innovative alphabet, unlike the Old Persian one (which was more of a syllabary), – something that only the Greeks had achieved by that time, far distant, in the extreme west of the empire.[59] Whether its creation involved Gandhāra Brahmins, knowledge of sophisticated late Vedic treatises on proper pronunciation and phonetics[60] or even early grammarians is moot, though commonly found in the literature.[61]

There is an obvious lack in the sign inventories of early Kharoṣṭhī of the extent of phonological ordering that is seen Pāṇini's work (or rather, the appendix to it, the Śivasūtras). Instead, we have the non-phonemic ordering of the A-ra-pa-ca-na–(la-da-ba) system, which is derived from Aramaic.[62] A. GLASS stresses[63] that the most likely Kharoṣṭhī script developed in stages, in which increasingly sophisticated phonetic devices were added.

On the other hand, detailed phonetic discussions appear in the late Vedic texts Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, along with the names of the early grammarians Śākalya, Gārgya, Gālava – probably all easteners –

(however from Arachosia in Asoka's time); however, many Aramaic letters have been discovered in neighboring Bactria, see SHAKED 2004; his book on these documents unfortunately is still held up by the owner of the documents.

[58] Unfortunately we do not know exactly how and when the Kharoṣṭhī script was invented: certainly some time before its use in Asoka's Arachosian inscriptions (250 BCE); see SALOMON 1998: 47.

[59] However, note that some Greeks were in the service of Darius, etc. and as far as Gandhāra and Sindh: according to Herodotus (4.44) his admiral Scylax actually made the trip down the Indus and back to Mesopotamia. Was there a cultural influence on Gandhāra stemming from such Greeks? Or simple traders' talk, like Herodotus' story of the gold digging ants... The Greeks are also known to Pāṇini as **yavana* 'Greek', as seen in *yavanikā.*

[60] See now the detailed discussion of early Vedic grammatical analysis in SCHARFE 2009: 87sq.

[61] BÜHLER 1896; FALK 1993 (section 8.3.4), and SALOMON 1998: 30, assert that the creation of both Kharoṣṭhī and Brahmī involved Vedic/Brahmanic influences. – So also SCHARFE 2009: 72 sq.

[62] STAAL 2005 notes that the order of word-commencing vowels in the *Arapacana* order is Aramaic, not Indic: *aeiou,* not *aiueo*; the same is found with the vowel diacritics attached to consonants from top to bottom.

[63] A. GLASS, in his studies of Kharoṣṭhī paleography.

or Cākravarmana, Śākaṭāyana, etc.[64] These texts were traditionally roughly dated around the beginning of the Achaemenid era. However, if we take into account the redating of the lifetime of the Buddha,[65] and therefore a redating of late Vedic texts,[66] some of these persons will have lived in the mid-Persian period.

The lack of phonetic sophistication in Kharoṣṭhī, taken together with the comparatively late theoretical Brahmanical treatises, do not support strong Brahmanical influence on the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script; rather, common sense observations will have resulted in the same phonemic setup.[67]

However, on the Iranian side, nothing approaching the Kharoṣṭhī precision is found in scripts that evolved out of Aramaic.

The Brahmins and orality

The introduction of the Aramaic and the invention of the Kharoṣṭhī script, both innovations under the powerful Persian empire seriously impinged on the status and, theoretically, the practice of the traditional Brahmanical learning – of their texts so far transmitted only by rote repetition.

We can well imagine what kind of reaction the sudden possibility of written Veda texts – even in imperfect form[68] – might have had: certainly, a sort of democratization that meant, loss of status and, at a minimum, a loss of income for the ritualistic Brahmins. That threat may have inspired some Brahmins to resist attempts to encode texts in writing,[69] and to intensify mnemonic canonization, – something that indeed has occurred in the extreme east, in Videha, and is reflected in

[64] There are some earlier phonetic discussions in the Vedas, though rather incidental and not systematic: MS 1.7.3 (*vibhakti*)*;* the word initial accent of *índraśatru* MS 2.4.3, etc. SCHARFE, 2009: *passim* and p. 87 sqq. lists: THIEME's understanding of RV *akhkhalī -kṛ* as "uttering syllables", the thrice seven (sounds) referred to in Atharvaveda 1.6.1 (actually, both quite uncertain cases), the many 'etymological' homologies of the Brāhmaṇas, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

[65] See BECHERT 1982, 29-36, cf. OLIVELLE 1996; note also Herodotus' description of Indian ascetics (Histories, *Histories* 3.97), c. 420 BCE.

[66] Cf. WITZEL 2009: 287-31.

[67] Compare cases of various independent inventions of scripts for the Cherokee and other Amerindians.

[68] Note that some Vedic ritual handbooks are now printed in Kashmir now both in Urdu and Nāgarī in the same book.

[69] Indeed, written Vedic texts appear only after c. 1000 CE (note Albiruni's testimony about Vasukra in Kashmir, and the earliest Veda MSS in Nepal).

Pāṇini's knowledge and in the compilation of his grammar in Gandhāra. Evidence for such resistance is visible in early Dharmaśāstra texts and in the contemporary Mbh 13.24.70 "those who write the Vedas, these surely go to hell".[70] Whatever the exact dates of these texts may be: it was forbidden to write down and copy the Veda.

The Persian thrust for written religious and law texts

Another factor that impinged on the traditional Brahmanical role as guardians of oral Vedic tradition was the conscious and concerted Persian policy to collect written versions of the sacred and law texts of their wide-spread subject populations. From Darius' era (522-486 BCE) onward the Persians tried to collect regional legal and religious traditions in written form, which obviously did not always succeed. Canon collection occurred everywhere from Egypt to Palestine, and even in the Greek speaking areas, where Homer was canonized around this period.[71] More importantly in the present context, it was also felt at home in Persia, by importing a new (version of) the Avestan texts from Arachosia and by the standardization of the very own Iranian (*ariya*) sacred text.

Similar developments occurred in Gandhāra. It is therefore difficult to think that this was all of a coincidence. We will investigate the role of India below.

From the post-Darius period, there is the evidence in the Hebrew Bible (Ezra 7:25), that reports the edict of Artaxerxes (464-435 BCE)[72] about canonization processes in Israel; it is in this period, as we know from other sources, that key parts of the Torah were finalized – supposedly under Ezra's direction, who served as a kind of minister of Jewish affairs at the Persian court:

> And you, Ezra... are to appoint scribes and judges to administer justice for the whole people of Transeuphrates, that is, for all who know the Law of your God. You must teach those who do not know it. If anyone does not obey the Law of your God – which is the

[70] Cf. Mahābhārata 1.1.208: "weighs more than the four Vedas"; HILTEBEITEL 2001: 100.

[71] See NAGY 1996: 113 sqq. on the development of the Homeric texts in several stages, with texts variations until c. 550 BCE, followed by some 200 years of a 'static period'.

[72] Or, as some argue, only under Artaxerxes II (405-359) in 398 BCE, see BRIANT 2002: 976 (French version, 1996).

> law of the King – let judgment be strictly executed on him: death, banishment, confiscation or imprisonment.

As mentioned, the codification of Homer's epics also made significant progress, in Persian times,[73] while the 'final' text was fixed only by Alexandrian scholars in the 2nd cent BCE. Given the importance that these epics had since at least c. 700 BCE, they may very well have been used as *the codex* of the Greek provinces of the empire.

It may be deliberated whether the insistence of the Persian court on collecting law and religious texts of their peoples could be due to the fact that, at the time of Darius, their own Avesta texts were still in a state of flux: that is, with Karl HOFFMANN, the opposition between the *Magu* priests of Media vs. the Zoroastrian ones (*mazdayašna*) of Arachosia. It was to be decided, thus, what was "truly Zoroastrian," and incidentally also what was *ariya* (and Pārsa) vs. "foreign" (*dahyu*).[74]

The exact nature of the prevalent situation in Persia around 500 BCE is not well known. We know from an Assyrian inscription of c. 1000[75] about the Zoroastrian deity Assara Mazaš, while the date of Zarathustra and his eastern Iranian homeland is elusive.[76] As mentioned, the Old Persian court inscriptions have the later, univerbal form A[h] uramazdā, and show, later on, also some other Zoroastrian deities such as Miϑra and Anāhitā, as well as the Haoma cult, of which beakers have been found in Persepolis.[77] For Avestan text use in the Persis, we do not have any direct account, except for the much later (1st mill. CE) legendary Pahlavi accounts that speak of a destruction of the text by Alexander, while a copy on some 12,000 skins was supposed to have been preserved at Balkh.

However, as mentioned, K. HOFFMANN has indicated that an Arachosian version of the text was introduced into the Persis during Darius' reign[78] that was subsequently transmitted there – just *orally* –

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[73] Gregory NAGY argues that the Greek epics became fixed *around* 550 BCE (i.e. slightly *before* Darius), see NAGY 2001: 109-119; 1996: 110.

[74] Cf. BRIANT 1996.

[75] HINTZE 1998.

[76] Probably somewhere between Media and Eastern Iran (on the Kashaf river according to HUMBACH 1991.

[77] With inscriptions of the Arachosian treasurer (HOFFMANN 1991: 739). Note also the officials at the Persepolis court, as depicted in its reliefs, and the 'theological' name of officials (in HALLOCK 1969).

[78] For the close link of the Persepolis court with Zoroastrians from Arachosia, see HOFFMANN 1991: 736-740; note again the treasurer "who is in Arachosia". Cf. also HOFFMANN and NARTEN 1989: 80 sq.

for centuries, in form of a school text.[79] It clearly shows some influences of Old Persian pronunciation. This introduction brought about the concomitant import of Arachosian priests and officials. A certain *Masdayašna* is frequently mentioned in the treasury tablets. The O. Persian form °*yašna,* instead of correct Avestan °*yasna* is notable:[80] it means that the designation *masdayašna* was already Persianized shortly after 500 BCE. Taken together with the univerbal form A[h]uramazdā (instead of Late Avestan *Ahura Mazdå*), a strong Zoroastrian tradition is seen,[81] even before and concomitant with the import of Arachosian Avesta texts. However, this text was an *oral* one and not written down for another millennium.[82] Clearly, we have the following coincidence:

IRAN

(1) well attested word dividers in O. Persian inscriptions (c. 519 BCE sqq.),
(2) word division and *pada* analysis in the *school* text of the Avesta (apparently in the Persis, c. 500 BCE).

INDIA

(3) word division (orally, by pause)[83] along with underlying word analysis in Śākalya's Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda text[84] (imported back to Gandhāra)
(4) theory and praxis of word division and of analysis in Pāṇini's grammar (c. 350 BCE)

In this scenario the intermediate, neighboring provinces of Arachosia and Gandhāra seem to have played a pivotal role that is in need of some elaboration.

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[79] See above n. 42.

[80] Yt 13. 121 *Mazdaiiasna*, see HOFFMANN and NARTEN 1989: 86, cf. MAYRHOFER, *EWAi*a II 378).

[81] Also visible in the name of Darius father, *Vištāspa* (from Gāthic *Vīštāspa*).

[82] If an Avesta text in Aramaic script, in an extended Aramaic, or even in O. Persian script ever existed, it has been lost to us. However, if so, it may very well have had the feature of word division and –in most cases- Sandhi dissolution.

[83] Differently than BRONKHORST states (1982 reprinted in his book 2007).

[84] In this light, one may also turn the Gandhāra thesis around and assume that the Persian move to import the "correct" Avesta from Arachosia (by a *mazdayašna*) was neatly mirrored, in neighboring Gandhāra, with the import of the newly developed RV *pada* text of Śākalya from Videha.

§ 5 The Gandhāra thesis (jointly, with Steve FARMER)

My friend Steve FARMER and I have corresponded and talked about this, our "Gandhāra thesis" for about a decade now, and have mutually influenced each other's views to such an extent that it is difficult to separate our individual input now. This section, therefore, can be regarded as joint work, however, a work that is still in (slow) progress. We see Gandhāra as a critical "syncretic node" – which in the early Persian era triggered massive changes in Vedic traditions and Indian linguistic thinking. Importantly, this node can also be used as a novel dating tool to divide early from later Vedic sources.

In brief, our thesis entails that the canonization of the Vedas (e.g., involving the first formation of *pada* texts and the underlying grammatical analysis), abstract developments in Vedic thought seen in late layers of the Brāhmaṇas, and critical developments in Pāṇini-style linguistics can all be pictured as *secondary effects* of the initial introduction of literacy into India via Gandhāra during the early Persian era.

One of the critical sides of the thesis is that it gives us the first solid chronological peg on which to date a lot of the well stratified Vedic sources, since the expectation on the model is that shifts to more abstract concepts and precise discussion of linguistic issues (seen esp. in formal phonetic discussions) that appeared in late Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka texts, and also *pada* versions of Vedic texts, are assumed to belong to the middle and late Persian era. There are other parts of the thesis, but the indirect influences of the Persians on "high" Vedic traditions in Gandhāra are critical to all of them.

Part of the thesis is based on what we know of Persian policies in this period towards other cultures in the Middle East and Central Asia, and conflicts in Avestan/Vedic traditions in the borderlands.

It is our current working thesis that writing had at least an indirect impact on Vedic traditions in the century or so following the Persian conquests in Gandhāra in the last half of the sixth century BCE, reflecting the introduction in the region of written Aramaic by Persian officials, as is indeed attested for neighboring Bactria.[85]

Significantly, Gandhāra was a region of strong Vedic tradition – notably of the Ṛgveda and the Black Yajurveda[86] – the area in

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[85] See forthcoming edition by Shaul SHAKED; presently see SHAKED 2004; and note Darius order to send his Behistun edict to all provinces, on parchment and clay.

[86] See THIEME 1935; note that Pāṇini 7.4.38 has a direct quote from (the

which Pāṇinian grammar began to evolve, from earlier little attested origins, sometime in the later Persian era, and where the interpreter and etymologist Yāska probably lived.[87] Northwestern and western Indo-Aryan dialects[88] also figured prominently in the texts of the canonized Vedas that have been orally redacted and "fixed" in pronunciation around this time,[89] though at the extreme opposite (northeastern) side of the Indian subcontinent.

In a future article we plan to discuss in detail evidence that the evolution of the *extreme* Indian mnemonics used to canonize the Vedas developed in the northwest as a "counter literacy" of sorts, grounded in older and less extreme mnemonic techniques, but then (by the 5th cent. BCE) introduced by Brahmins to protect their ritual traditions from the threats of literacy emanating from the Persian conquests. As mentioned earlier, evidence exists that this development was concomitant or followed by migrations of Vedic scholars from the eastern Panjab and the Kuru-Pañcāla areas to the newly forming Indian kingdoms in the northeast (Bihar), where the Vedas found their final canonized form, for example by Śākalya.[90]

If the evidence so far collected on this thesis can be confirmed, puzzling near *simultaneities in the canonization* of traditions stretching from the Middle East through India from the sixth through fourth centuries BCE[91] may have a remarkably simple explanation – linked directly or indirectly to literate forces spread by the vast Persian empire with their use of light-weight writing materials.

Against this context, a few additional points need to be discussed: The Daiva inscription of Xerxes in a Gandhāra context, possible writing of Gandhāra (and other Indian) texts, the Brahmanical reactions against writing, and the role of Pāṇini.

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originally East Panjab text) KS: *devasumnayor yajuṣi Kāṭhake*. (Haradatta Miśra adds in his Padamañjari on Pāṇ. 7.4.38 that there is a Kaṭhaśākhā of the RV).

[87] The Yāska were called 'hill dwellers' (*gairikṣit*a) several centuries earlier, in KS 10.12. For Yāska's relation to Pāṇini see CARDONA 1976 : 270-273.

[88] Such as the late Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa (and the Prācya Kaṭha, attested later on) and the introduction of the western AB (1-5); the originally western PB with eastern *bhāṣika* accents; the extraction of mantras from ŚB to form the VS, the latter, however, not with *bhāṣika* accents but with western, 3-tone accentuation.

[89] Based on the import by Panjab and Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins of their texts and pronunciation, including the 'northern' and western pitch accent.

[90] For a detailed treatment of the complex issues involved in the formation of Vedic traditions, see WITZEL 1997: 257-345.

[91] And eventually involving also China.

The Daiva inscription of Xerxes

While Darius (521-486) praised his god A[h]uramazdā in most of his inscriptions, and merely mentioned how he put down uprisings by various local leaders, including the Magu Gaumāta and the usurper Vahyazdāta (DB III 21-28), his son Xerxes (486-465) took more stringent measures against non-Zoroastrians.

The Persians probably have directly involved themselves in religious conflicts along the Indo-Iranian borders (in Arachosia and Gandhāra), as is seen in edicts for other parts of the Empire (such as Ezra's report). Here belong the following facts. Darius stresses the close personal relationship with his god A[h]uramazdā ("the greatest of the gods" DSf 8-9),[92] and that he rebuild the sanctuaries (*āyadana*) that his rival, the usurper Gaumāta, a Magu, had destroyed (DB I 63-64).[93] There are indications, first pointed out by K. HOFFMANN (1979), that Darius had Zoroastrian traditions imported into Persepolis from Arachosia for political reasons, against Median Magu opposition.

There also is the contemporaneous (continuing) Vedic rejection of the Asuras and the continued worship of the Devas. As is well known, later Vedic *asura* 'demon' linguistically corresponds to Old Persian/Avestan *ahura* 'lord', as in the name of A[h]uramazdā, while Vedic *deva* 'god' corresponds to Old Persian *daiva*/Avestan *daēuua* 'demon' – some of whom are mentioned by name and turn out to be prominent Vedic deities such as Indra.[94] Also, there are suggestions in later Vedic and Avestan texts of Vedic/Zoroastrian conflict along the Indo-Iranian borderlands. The Indian texts denounce the Iranian border people, the Kamboja, and the Avesta texts denounce the Indians of the Greater Panjab as Daiva (*daēuua*) worshipping and their land of the "Seven Rivers" as too hot (see below, n. 154).

Finally, there is the strident tone of Xerxes' Daiva inscription (XPh 35 sqq[95]) that exceeds the mere mentioning by his father Darius

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[92] Next to: "and the other gods (*baga-*)" DB IV 61, a Median expression; cf. KELLENS 1998: 514.

[93] He also mentions that the Elamians who rose up against him did not worship A[h]uramazdā (DB V 14-17).

[94] Demonized by the Zoroastrians in Vīdēvdād 19.43, mentioning the *daeuua*s Indara, Sauruua, Nåŋhaiϑiia = Vedic Indra, Śarva (Rudra), Nāsatya (an Aśvin).

[95] For the Daiva inscription, see also: http://www.livius.org/aa-ac/achaemenians/XPh.html; and the word-by-word analysis at: http://www.utexas.edu/cola/depts/lrc/eieol/aveol-10-R.html; BRIANT 2002 (1996), *passim*, for some recent interpretations of the Daiva inscription.

of rebuilding destroyed sanctuaries (*āyadana*). The Elamite text (III 76-78) of Darius' Behistun inscription (DB IV 61), A[h]uramazdā is labeled ᵈ*nap* ᵐ*hariyanam* "the god of the Aryans", and Darius merely says that the Elamites did not worship A[h]uramazdā (DB V 14-17). In contrast, Xerxes (485-465 BCE, XPh 29-41) is exceedingly fierce against areas that were Daiva worshipping.

> When I became king, there is among those provinces inscribed above [Media … Kush, (including Gandāra)] (one which) was in commotion. Then Ahuramazdā brought me aid; by the will of Ahuramazdā I defeated that province and put it in its place. And among those provinces there was a (one) where previously Daivas were worshipped. Afterwards, by the will of Ahuramazdā I destroyed that *daivadāna*[96] and made a proclamation, 'the Daivas are not to be worshipped.' Where previously Daivas were worshipped, there I worshipped Ahuramazdā with *arta* and *brazmaniya*.[97]

Whatever the Persians would have found in Gandhāra, it was not the "Mazdā-worshipping Zoroastrian anti-daēuuic Ahura-teaching religion," as the Avesta has it, but the hated Daiva-worshippers themselves. The province where this took place is not specified by Xerxes, however, *daiva-dāna* as the "place, palace of the Daiva" does not easily refer to Indian "*deva*" worshippers as they did not yet have temples of their deities: there was no **devadāna* in Vedic and early Hindu religion, until much later.[98] Other areas in the Zoroastrian/Vedic east of the empire do not exactly fit Xerxes' description either: Vīdēvdād 2.12-14, 16-17 has Arachosia (Hara vaitī) as burying the dead and Caxra as cremating the dead, this being perhaps the best candidates[99]

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96 Do we have to read: **daivāyadana?* 'a [place of] offering to the Daivas' as is seen in the parallel, Darius' *āyadana* (from O. Iran. *ā-yaz* 'to offer'); in this way, one would avoid comparison with *-dāna* in *apa-dāna* 'palace' (*dāna* seems to be a kind of building), and open the possibility that **daivayadāna* would merely refer to any *temporary* place, not a building where Vedic *deva*s were worshipped, and thus, also in Gandhāra along Vedic fashion, in Śrauta rituals.

97 *artā-cā brazmaniya.* The word *brazmanya* (*sic*, according to MAYRHOFER, due to Elamite *pir-ra-iz-man-nu-ya*) is problematic, see discussion and literature MAYRHOFER, *EWAia* II 237, who takes it as a derivative from **brazman* = Vedic *bráhman,* not as a grass bundle (Ved. *barhiṣ*).

98 Temple building took off in earnest only under the Gupta dynasty, 320 CE sqq. However one may also think of tree worship, as found in the Buddhist sources in Pali.

99 12. Hara vaitī: burying the dead: *aγa. anāpərəϑa. š́iiaoϑna. yā. nasuspaiia*;

as a "Daivic" burial mound or stūpa[100] would not be in accordance with strict Zoroastrian customs.[101] The location of the province mentioned by Xerxes nevertheless remains a matter of speculation.

At any rate, it seems that the Persian kings furthered their own brand of Zoroastrian religion[102] – just as Asoka would do later with his version of Buddhism – but fought against "heretical" aberrations of Zoroastrianism or older Iranian/Indian *daiva/deva* worship in parts of their empire.

All of this is important in the context of canon formation and writing down the canon(s) of the peoples of their realm. Whether the Daiva inscription of Xerxes may refer to Gandhāra or not the feature of script will become important when weighing the question whether the Persians also fomented writing down of the "Indian" canon in their province of Gandhāra (and presumably a little later, also of Sindh).

§ 6 Gandhāra and canon formation

Gandhāra writing?

In the Gandhāra area, the Persians used, as mentioned earlier, the western Semitic language, Aramaic, and its strictly alphabetic script, for administrative purposes. It is easily argued that the direct descendant of this system of writing, Kharoṣṭhī script, was locally developed as to allow writing down messages and the like in the local language, i.e. in a conservative northwestern Indo-Aryan language, pre-Gāndhārī. It is also observable that the developer(s) of the script paid close attention to the Indian sounds not found in Aramaic, such as the aspirates and retroflexes.[103] However, while they added vowel marks

13. Haētumant: having sorcerers, great sorcerers: *aγa. yātauua*. 14:… *yātuməṇtəm… yātumastəma*. 14 Caxra: as 'cooking' of parts of dead bodies: *aγa. anāpərəϑa. šiiaoϑna.yā. nasuspaciia*. 17. Varəna: as having non-Aryan lords: *anairiiāca. daiŋhuš. aiβištāra*.

[100] As attested in ŚB for the Śākya-influenced eastern Vedic territories (see now WITZEL 2009: 287-310; the Xerxes inscription, in mid-5th cent. BCE, is too early to apply to Buddhist *stūpa*s, even if one would use the traditional date of the Buddha (563-483 BCE).

[101] On the other hand burying the Achaemenid kings in graves cut from rock is not, either.

[102] Note that Darius mentions A[h]uramazdā as the "greatest god" next to "the other gods", but that his successors also invoke Miϑra and Anāhitā.

[103] The Indo-Aramaic (or Irano-Aramaic) sections of Asoka's Aramaic inscriptions (c. 250 BCE) suggest that, long before Asoka, one had found ways to

to the consonant signs, they did *not* yet mark the crucial long vowels of Middle Indo-Aryan. While the new script may have been useful for business and letter writing, it will have been one of strictly local use only. In contrast, the imperial administration (and some businessmen) used the international Koine, Aramaic.[104]

Writing is referred to in late/post-Vedic grammatical texts ascribed to Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali (c. 350-150 BCE) but Pāṇini definitely still produced an oral text (see below).[105] Most likely, writing was not considered appropriate for intellectual undertakings of his kind.[106] However, *indirect* influence of writing on linguistic and phonological developments in northwestern India after c. 500 BCE looms large: here, Aramaic was used, the earliest truly Indian script, Kharoṣṭhī, was invented, and the most sophisticated Indian linguistic tradition (Pāṇini) evolved.

Whether there ever was a body of writing in pre-Gandhārī (or other Indian languages), will remain uncertain, unless some lucky archaeological finds will be made. So far, no *written* remnants of the Persian occupation have been found.

Writing of other Indian texts ?

Around 519 BCE, the first time Gandhāra is mentioned in a Persian inscription (DB), the religion of this area was Late Vedic (as still seen in Pāṇini, and retained, in a pre-Vedic form, with the Kalasha). Later, at some undetermined time, around 450-400 BCE, the area could have witnessed the forerunners or very early forms of Buddhism, of Jainism and of other ascetic religions (as reported by Herodotus, c. 420 BCE). In any case, the initial religious texts that could have been reduced to writing by the contemporaries of Darius (~500 BCE) and Xerxes (~475 BCE) would have been Vedic texts that so far had only been transmitted orally by learning them by heart.

It is rather questionable – in fact counter-intuitive and unexpected – that the Kharoṣṭhī script was originally invented to encode Vedic materials: they require an even more advanced phonetic medium than

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write local languages in a heterogeneous form of Aramaic. These transitional Aramaic texts can provide hints how early Indic writing evolved.

[104] As mentioned, evidence from Bactria, in: SHAKED 2004.

[105] SALOMON 1995: 271-279 suggests while works like 'Pāṇini's' were oral, it does not indicate that he was 'illiterate'.

[106] Cf. UTZ 1991 on the complex interaction so for oral and written traditions in Central Asian Iranian cultures.

available in Kharoṣṭhī, where one still cannot distinguish between the important difference of *a: ā* , such as *tata* 'father' and *tāta* 'son'. Further, Kharoṣṭhī (and even the later script, Brahmī[107] of Asoka's time), lack the typical Sanskrit vowel ṛ (and ḷ) and the signs for ḻ, ṃ, ḥ (RV 1.1.1 *agnim īḻe*...), and many other details such as the important Vedic tonal (pitch) accent.

If the Persians would have ordered someone to get the RV (and other important Vedic texts, such as the 'law' of the Dharmaśāstras) written down, certainly the Aramaic and even the Kharoṣṭhī script were not suitable. However, all of this may just be an artifact of historically available materials: we only have the Persian inscriptions farther west, and then only much later written texts in Gandhāra, around the beginning of our era, and they are not in Sanskrit but in Middle Indic languages that did not need the vowels *ṛ, ḷ,* etc. Our first Sanskrit inscriptions come from Ayodhya, Mathura, and the Deccan, starting just before beginning of our era, for example under the Saka king Śoḍāśa at Mathura.[108]

However, the case of the earliest Tamil inscription around c. 200 BCE, published by Iravatham MAHADEVAN, shows that people could easily add a few diacritics to existing characters as to represent sounds not found in the original alphabet. All of which certainly does not prove, but also does not entirely disallow, that someone did in fact use Aramaic or Kharoṣṭhī for writing down Vedic texts or Pāṇinean grammar – if so, has not been preserved. Such writings could only give functioned as a shortcut, as a memory aide (like the recent use of Urdu script in Vedic handbooks in Kashmir). Vedic ritual makes use of some similar devices.[109]

If the RV – as the most celebrated Vedic text – had been targeted to be written: which RV (and other Vedic text) would have been used? BRONKHORST[110] has argued , several decades ago, that one of the first written texts in India may have been the *pada* text of the RV of Śākalya – and that in Eastern India, far away from Aramaic (and later on, Kharoṣṭhī) using areas! However, the RV *pada* text was rather created by using speech: by longer (and brief) pauses,[111] plus some

[107] Cf. SCHARFE 2009: 44; also about lack of accent marks.

[108] See SALOMON 1998: 86.

[109] There still exist such aids in Sāmavedic ritual, the use and arrangement of small sticks to keep track of recitations, as see at the 1975 and 2011 Atirātra Agnicayana at Panjal, Kerala, 1975 and 2011.

[110] BRONKHORST 1982, reprinted in his book 2007.

[111] See now the detailed discussion of the *avagraha* pause (of one or two *mātra*s) in the Prātiśākhyas (SCHARFE 2009:75). – I have the copy of a short Kashmiri RV

other, more complex usages for long compound words, where mere pauses would not suffice (such as the use, or lack of it, of retroflexes in analysis).[112] All of which points to speech, not writing.

Thus, *direct* influence of writing practices (oral or written word dividers) in the distant Persian heartland on Śākalya's procedure of analyzing and separating words in his version of the RV is unlikely. At best, the Arachosian school text of the Avesta, if indeed already divided by oral pauses like the RV *pada* text, could have served as a model, if this idea had been transmitted to Gandhāra. However, that has to remain entirely speculative for the moment. For, as discussed earlier, we cannot be sure about the exact form of the Arachosian Avesta text at Darius' time. We depend on the Sasanide archetype, and can only be sure about certain Persian influences on oral transmission after c. 500 BCE, seen in such items as *Cv* > *Cuu*, etc.

Remnants of written Veda texts

It can be observed that some people in the *following* centuries must have tried to write down the Vedas, as we see the reactions to this: it is explicitly forbidden in the early Dharma texts to write down the Veda (cf. Mahābhāṣya, c. 150 BCE). A parallel move was, as per tradition, the writing of Buddhist texts at c. 50 BCE in Sri Lanka, and about a century later than we have the earliest preserved Buddhist manuscripts on birch bark in Gandhāra. Necessarily, they go back to earlier copies, which in some cases is remarked by the copyists. Actually, there is some indirect proof for writing down the Vedas in the Kāṇva version of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā. The text reflects some strange sound changes from voiced to unvoiced consonants[113] that go against the development of Middle Indic[114] but that are attested in Paiśācī.[115] They are only explainable if someone under the Brahmanical Kāṇva dynasty of Bihar (c. 50 BCE) had attempted to write down the Kāṇva Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā

pada text that does not make use of any word dividers (which look *z*-like in Śāradā script), nor of the *daṇḍa* stroke of Nāgarī: / , nor of the Avagraha seen in the Padapāṭha, first found only in the 9th cent. (cf. SCHARFE 2009: 75).

[112] Cf. now SCHARFE 2009: 75 n. 54.

[113] See WITZEL 1989, n. 19: on the Kāṇva version of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā: *tanakmi* VSK *yunagmi* VSK, *tanacmi* VSM *yunajmi* VSM; cf. RENOU 1948: 38, CALAND, ed. ŚBK, p. 37.

[114] Whose effects are sometimes seen in Vedic texts (*tvaṣṭumatī* in ĀpŚS 10.23.8, etc.)

[115] See HINÜBER 1981.

in Brahmī script and that this version was erroneously re-introduced into Kāṇva school recitation. Some such cases are indeed found in later Veda tradition.[116]

All of these cases point to the same time period, of c. 50 BCE: the VSK of the Kāṇvas in the east, the predecessors of the Buddhist Gāndhārī texts in the northwest, and the Pali canon in Sri Lanka. It must be asked, again: why to forbid write down the Vedas, if nobody would do so and the Vedas are only learned and transmitted by heart? It must be stressed, however, that these developments took place several centuries after the introduction of script in Gandhāra and are not of direct relevance for the Gandhāra thesis. Nevertheless, they show a belated movement to written tradition, and the Brahmanical reactions to this in Dharma texts. One can expect the same for the period under review here, the early and middle Persian period.

It is clear from Pāṇini (and later, from Patañjali as well) that great stress is paid to *correct* pronunciation, including Saṃhitā style Sandhi.[117] This is exactly the opposite of what would expect with the introduction of a rough, phonematic script (Aramaic) as opposed to a strictly phonetic script (such as for Avestan). The Persian pressure to write down the local religious texts would have resulted in many problems because absolutely correct pronunciation, including pitch accents, and some Sandhis could not be represented in writing.

The question therefore rises again whether avoidance of writing and stress on strict oral transmission is not a Brahmanical reaction to Persian pressure. Local Brahmins would have argued: “we know of script, it may be useful for administration and business letters, but – other than desired by the Persian administration – it is not sufficient for the representation our sacred texts, and therefore not to be allowed. We stress correct recitation instead.” At any rate, reaction to foreign, Persian canonization pressure on Vedic Brahmins in Gandhāra and the neighboring Panjab is expected to have taken place.

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[116] Such as the derivation of the Paippalāda AV in Kashmir/Orissa from a written archetype of c. 800-1000 CE (see WITZEL 1985: 256-271); or Gaṇeś din Bhaṭṭ's misreading of the Nandināgaṛī ms. of “Sāyaṇa's” commentary of AVŚ, which he introduced into his own ms. and which he taught to his students in the early 19th century, see Shankar Pândurang PANDIT 1895-98 (introduction); further the case of the re-introduction of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā into Kashmir around 1400 CE, with deteriorated (Kashmiri based) pronunciation (WITZEL 1985).

[117] With some deviating rules (3.3.18-20) for Abhinihita Sandhi quoting the Easterner Śākalya, Gārgya as well as Śākaṭāyana.

In this light, one may question, again,[118] whether the predecessors of Pāṇini, such as Śākalya, were already following this train of thought. After all, the Śakalas came from the Persian occupied Panjab and therefore(?) moved east to Bihar, perhaps with some sections of their respective tribes,[119] at the time of incipient state formation (Kosala/ Videha kingdoms. Or were they merely attracted by favorable local conditions in the East, an area of intense Sanskritization?[120] In the end, this movement produced canonization in the east, which then was reflected back to the Northwest: indeed, Pāṇini knew of the Eastern (*prācya*) grammarians,[121] notably of Śākalya and his RV Padapāṭha.

Pāṇini

As mentioned, during the late Brāhmaṇa period the best speech was found in the Northwest (*udīc(y)a*), and this is the area where one would send one's sons to learn.[122] The lasting effects of this are clearly seen in Pāṇini, whose educated Sanskrit speech (*bhāṣā*) still was very conservative: it still had the Vedic pitch accents, and forms such as the subjunctive. He also was well versed in Vedic tradition, even quoting rare forms (5 periphrastic aorists, out of which only 3 are actually attested).

As noted earlier, his style is oral, his rules refer to oral speech and to oral texts, but never to problems of writing or writing correctly, to pens, lines, paragraphs, etc., though he knows the words *lipi/libi* 'script' and *grantha* 'book'.[123] Clear indications of his oral procedure include the following.

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[118] See above, n. 25 sqq.

[119] The 'Rajasthāni' Malla, the 'Panjabi' Vṛji (Pali *Vajji*), the Śākya of unknown ultimately Iranian geographic origin, and perhaps also the Kṣatriya clans of the Ikṣvāku and Videgha. Note also the Eastern Kaṭha. Did all or part of this take place only at time of Xerxes' Daiva persecution?

[120] WITZEL 1989, and 1997, where the point of exact dating had been left open, c. 500 BCE, and the reason was seen in the decline of the Kuru realm, due to the Salva invasion (attested in JB and ŚŚS).

[121] The *Prasii* of the Romans. However, he does not directly quote their Veda texts (with the single exception of the Padapāṭha), not even the central area's Taittirīya prose texts.

[122] See above: as the much later Buddhist Jātakas hold that there was a "university" at Taxila.

[123] Note that there are two eastern Iranian words for "script", derived from O. Persia*n dipi* (< Elam. *tippi*); the word "book" *grantha*, is derived from "to bind, tie a knot", that is of the string threaded through the holes of the palm leaf pages (or of stitching birch bark leaves together); this is a point usually not even stressed, as it is too "normal" for our own current, medieval-like ideas of India thinking.

(1) the use of tonal (pitch) accents in his teaching, such as the use of svarita to indicate a new 'heading'.[124]

(2) The *a a* [ə a] rule at the end of his grammar, indicating that the *a*s in all of his preceding rules are not open [ʌ] as in long *ā* [ʌ:] but closed [ə]:[125] "the *a* I taught you is = schwa [ə]". This rule was only possible in recitation, not in the then existing scripts that neither had signs for ə nor for long *ā* but just the general vowel *a.*[126] Both *a* and *ā* frequently occur in ablaut relationship in the formation of nouns and verbs. Thus, it was much easier to treat both just as he could do for *i/ī* or *u/ū*, though *a/ā* differ in not just in length but also in quality (in the actual production involving the tongue and opening of the mouth). This is obvious from his rule about short, long and Pluti *u*: the *u-ū -ū3* rule (1.2.*27 ūkālo'jjhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*).[127]

(3) If he had indeed used writing he could have avoided to give roots such as *pad, vad,* etc. in guṇa form and not, as usual, in zero grade as with *budh, bhū* etc. Using script it would not have been a problem to write roots such as *pd, vd*, or even *s* (for *as*).[128]

In addition, as mentioned earlier, while composing his complex grammar without the use of script, he could have used the 'tape recording' memory of his students, a sand box, arrangements of stones, shells or twigs (as used in SV singing) to indicate the many nested, recurrent frames[129] of his grammar.

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[124] See now SCHARFE 2009: 30, 32.

[125] Cf. the discussion in Mahābhāṣya I 16, 8 sqq.

[126] Incidentally, there is a slight possibility that Pāṇini may have got his idea of lumping *a* and schwa (ə) together, from the Kharoṣṭhī script, where *a* and *ā* are not distinguished. (He may seen and learned from the local administrator). Otherwise, this idea could just as well have originated from grammatical analysis, from the interchanges between *a/ā* in word formation.

[127] Thus my teacher Paul THIEME in his classes 1966/67, when he attributed this to an imitation of the cry of the rooster. See now the discussion by SCHARFE 2009: 31, 66.

[128] Note also H. SCHARFE's idea (1971: 7-9, see now SCHARFE 2009: 71) that Pāṇini had to insert a schwa-like sound (ə), later written as *i, u,* or *a,* in some terms to ease pronunciation of his rules. This, too, is important for an originally recited text, not a written one.

[129] The idea of nested frames is preceded by the same, very structure of Vedic ritual (WITZEL 1987b: 380-414; MINKOWSKI 1989: 401-20). Nesting is also clearly seen in the term *avāntara-dīkṣā* 'intermediate consecration', literally "down-inside consecration", which is inserted, as the intermediate consecration, into the general *dīkṣā* of the Soma ritual.

It also is important to note the many steps required before one could formulate Pāṇini's grammar:

> recited Saṃhitā text[130] → word analysis (Padapāṭha)[131] → analysis of the grammatical form of individual, separate words[132] → collection and formation of rules (composed in one's mind/or taken from daily speech) → formalizing these rules by using metalanguage terms (some preceding Pāṇini's, such as *vibhakti* 'case suffix'[133], *ardha-/sarva-dhātuka, nipāta,* names of compounds such as *tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi*, and the non-Pāṇinean use of *auṅ* and *āṅ* 7.1.18, 7.3.102) → ordering all blocks of rules by the nesting device of "boxes inside boxes", with two types of dependency (forward: *anuvṛtti*, more rarely backward) while making use of another feature of Pāṇini's metalanguage, his specialized, unusual employment of cases (locative meaning "instead", etc.)

Pāṇini, thus, is fairly late in this line of development. We know that he had about a dozen predecessors and contemporaries.[134] Pre-Pāṇinean grammarians have to be assumed for Gandhāra, in part due to commercial and religious interaction with the East (Śākalya.) In this scenario, many aspects of his grammar were developed over the c. 200 years from Śākalya to Pāṇini's immediate predecessors[135] – obviously all without the use of script.[136]

Finally, the very idea of *oral* Pada texts (that he knew from Śākalya) was a powerful model of "counter literacy". Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī

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[130] Pāṇini is much concerned with Saṃhitā type pronunciation (*saṃhitāyām,* (6.1.72, 6.3.114, 8.2.108) which can mean "in close pronunciation" (between two morphemes in a word) or "in a [Vedic] Saṃhitā" (6.3.114) as opposed to a *padapāṭha* text (for which see Patañjali, Mhb. I 347.3 sq). – Cf. SCHARFE 2009: 104 (on Yāska, etc,).

[131] See now the discussion by SCHARFE 2009: 77sqq. on the development of the Padapāṭha.

[132] See already Taittirīya Saṃhitā 6.4.7.2-4 on *vy-ā-kṛ* ~ later *vyākaraṇa* 'grammar'.

[133] Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā 1.7.3. – Further: cf. SCHARFE 2009: 108 sqq., on the development of grammatical analysis in the Vedas, and on Pāṇini's predecessors.

[134] Cf. now SCHARFE 2009: 53 for alleged authors of Pāṇini's Vedic rules (JOSHI *et al.*); cf. p. 65 on the assumed addition of other rules.

[135] Cf. SCHARFE 2009: 108 sqq.

[136] If Pāṇini is indeed dated to c.350 BCE, a few generations of Gandhāra grammarians could theoretically have known and used script. We have no evidence for this.

can thus be understood as the *utmost* possible countermove against *writing* down a long grammar.[137] All its 35 *pothi* folios can be learnt by heart easily by a small boy[138] who then will then never forget it. The explanation of these 35 fol. of incomprehensible "childrens' rhymes", certainly, may take many years, or a lifetime (as it does with some specialized scholars).

However, the purely oral tradition, even of Pāṇini's work, was about to change. It is clear from Patañjali's treatment of Pāṇini's technical use of spoken pitch accents (such as svarita to mark the "headline" of a new section) that he could no longer rely on a tradition of recitation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and also not on a manuscript marked with accent marks.[139] From then on, the tradition was a written one (without accents),[140] though it has not yet been tested whether a Brahmī script manuscript was a predecessor of the late Gupta (Siddhamātṛkā) archetype manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya.[141] All of this indicates a general shift to writing for these traditional texts around 50 BCE, or maybe even at the presumed time of Patañjali's predecessor Kātyāyana (c. 250 BCE).

The aversion of Brahmins to writing

It has been pointed out earlier that Brahmins have a tradition of oral poetry, whether it involved Vedic poets, Epic bards or the authors of the neglected stanzas about kings (and ritual) in the Brāhmaṇa texts.[142]

[137] As the Greek Alexandrian grammarians would do a little later on, in the 3rd to 1st cent. BCE.

[138] As one of my Nepalese friends (MRP) has undergone at age 4.

[139] Which are not attested before the earliest surviving Veda MSS at c. 1200 CE (found in Tibet and Nepal but apparently written in northern India). – Note that even following the invention of Kharoṣṭhī and Brahmī, Indian Brahmins still did not like to write Sanskrit: the next centuries only have Prākṛt inscriptions down to the beginning of our era (at Mathurā).

[140] As THIEME stressed in his classes (1966/67), Patañjali apparently did not have access to an accented recitation or to an accented MS of the Aṣṭādhyāyī but had to deduce Pāṇini's use of accent by himself. However, as SCHARFE 2009: 32 notes, THIEME has shown that his predecessor Kātyāyana (c. 250 BCE) was also the author of the Vājaseneyi Prātiśākhya and probably had received Pāṇini's work in written form. Patañjali, however, would have received this written text without accents (SCHARFE 2009: 43). – Accentuation of some Vedic mantras has secondarily been introduced in the KIELHORN edition; note that accent marks first appear in the earliest preserved Vedic MSS, around 1200 (see below).

[141] WITZEL 1986: 249-259.

[142] Starting with the prose sections of the Black Yajurveda MS and KS; see HORSCH 1956.

However, there existed something in India that looks to many like writing before the Vedas: the famous undeciphered Indus signs (2600-1900 BCE), which my colleagues and I do not take to have been signs that encode speech.[143]

Actually, there are a number of civilizations in the same general area that do not show the use of script: the Bactria-Margiana civilization (BMAC),[144] the newly discovered Jiroft civilization in southeastern Iran,[145] the neighboring Mundigak civilization just north of it: we can speak of a no-script zone here,[146] extending from Turkmenistan in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south, and from the Caspian sea and Jiroft in the west to Delhi and Gujarat in the east. (In addition there was one locality in northern Iraq that had taken over the cuneiform script but then rejected it and remained scriptless.) In sum, we must accept that there were (and are) some cultures that did not see the necessity to write down things. (There were, for example, the Incas and Central Mexican people, next to the literate Mayas.)

Against this background it is not surprising that the prehistoric Indo-Iranian bards of central Asia continued their strong oral practices in their new homelands of eastern Iran (Zarathustra) and the Greater Panjab (Vedic Ṛṣis).[147] This continued down to the introduction of

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[143] Why then the rejection of writing and of long texts in the Indus Civilization? Apart from asserting one's difference to the script using civilizations of Mesopotamia, did one simply pay more attention to oral tradition and stories (as did the later Vedic Ṛṣis and epic bards)? Note that the Indus tablets often have depictions of small mythological scenes on one side, which is more effective than an inscription supposedly representing a spoken text that could be read only by a few. – Why then did the tradition of Indus signs disappear? "Studies of cultural breakdown of complex cultural systems show that predictable changes take place in material culture when social and economic systems disintegrate… from ... the Near East to the decline of Roman authority." WELLS 1999: 79 sq.

[144] This culture, too, does not employ script, but many seals with mythological motifs. (The one seal with writing that to the uninitiated observer immediately looks Chinese is not of the 3rd millennium BCE but has a parallel in early 1st millennium CE in Xinjiang. Apparently, it has fallen down, just like the Sri Lankan potsherd fragments in Brahmī, through rat holes to much earlier archaeological layers).

[145] Though its excavator, Youssef MADJIDZADEH, claims script; see Harvard Oriental Series, Opera Minora 7, 2011 (forthc.).

[146] Obviously both civilizations did not *like* writing. (Which it is not necessary to run a realm, as is clear in the Inca realm or in the practice of Charlemagne or UNESCO's recent director M'Bow indicate).

[147] We may even ask whether some of the 'adopted', non-Indo-Aryan Ṛgvedic

"Aryan" writing by Darius (519 BCE) and of Aramaic in the Persis, around the same time (and well beyond it in and the rest of Iran and India).

However, as indicated earlier, the introduction of script had no *direct* effect on Pāṇini's activity as a composer, or perhaps rather, the redactor (a Vyāsa!) of early grammatical traditions in Gandhāra proper and those far away, in the east (Śākalya, *prācya* grammarians), for his proper *ārya* speech in the "North".[148] It still is debated whether the early commentator on the Ṛgveda, Yāska, preceded Pāṇini or not. His homeland not very clear: one Yajurveda Saṃhitā (KS 10.12) quotes "mountain dwelling *Yāska*s", obviously his ancestor clan living in the "hills," the lower Himalayas. Nevertheless, we can observe mutual influence between Gandhāra, Yāska and the East that will also have included an exchange of ideas about Veda interpretation, grammatical analysis and canon formation (e.g., Padapāṭha).

§ 7 Mutual Interaction

In sum, I think we can state the following sequence of events.

Before c. 500 BCE:

The early Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (AB 1-5) of the eastern Panjab knows of the Śakala priestly group (AB 3, cf. the later town of Sangala, Greek Saggala). The late Vedic Easterner Śākalya (ŚB, RV Padapāṭha) is their descendant, living at the eastern fringe of the Vedic area, in Bihar.

By contrast comparatively little is known about neighboring Gandhāra, except that the Gandhāri, as northerners, had good speech (Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa), so that one would send one's sons there for study, which is also reflected in BĀU 3.3, 3.7. – Gandhāra had late Vedic commercial connections with the east (also reflected by the tale of blindfolding someone and then sending him home from Gandhāra to the Upaniṣadic East).

530/519 BCE:

Persian conquest of Gandhāra under Cyrus, with a well-established

"Brahmins" (Kavaṣa, Agastya, Kāṇva etc.) did not reinforce this anti-writing tradition of the Indus area.

[148] However Pāṇini's knowledge of Śākalya and his Padapāṭha does not extend to the Eastern Veda texts; even TS prose is neither liked nor quoted; importantly he knows the northwestern Vedic texts (KS, see already THIEME 1935); Pāṇini quotes from the Vedic texts as we have them today.

satrapy under Darius (519 CE). Aramaic script was introduced; there was use of word dividers in O.Persian inscriptions in the Persis; canon formation (Avesta from neighboring Arachosia) was ordained by Darius.

c. 500/450 BCE:

Early state formation in the East (Kosala, Videha) along with incipient urbanization and 'Sanskritization' of Kosala, and especially of Videha (by invitation of Panjab and Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins like Yājnavalkya) and establishment by them of grand royal rituals[149] for the first great 'king of kings' in the east (Kosala, later Magadha), as seen in certain rituals of the late, Bihar-based Aitareya Brahmana (AB 6-8). Probably some imitation, due to information of traders, of the Persians was involved as well (state organization, taxes, etc.)[150]

Note also the reverse direction of movements: Namin Sāpya (PB 25.10.17) makes a 'pilgrimage' back to the Sarasvatī/Kurukṣetra area, an area well known to Pāṇini and very close to the original home of the Śakala clan. The same is true for Veda students from the East (BĀU 3.3, 3.7) who study in Madra land in northern Panjab, just south of the Kashmir Valley, similar to what KB also reports.

These late Vedic developments proceeded hand in hand with that of canon formation and of incipient codification of ritual. Concurrently, there was final redaction of texts by western Brahmins: Ṛgveda Padapāṭha by Śākalya; and introduction of western style Veda recitation (based on extraction of Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā mantras from the eastern, *bhāṣika*-style Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa). We know about some eastern grammarians, such as Śākalya, Gālava, etc.[151]

*** 530-326 BCE:**

At the other end of India, in Gandhāra, we have much Persian influence, including the use of script, as clearly seen in Pāṇini's work itself. It is rather improbable that Pāṇini actually used (Aramaic or Kharoṣṭhī)[152] script while formulating his grammar, even as a simple memory aid. Rather, we can imagine mnemotechnical devices for structuring his grammar, such as the Sāmavedic use of twigs, or of

[149] Such as Indrābhiṣeka, Mahābhiṣeka.

[150] WITZEL 2003/2010: 60, 72 sqq.

[151] Though, except for Śākalya, we do not have their texts but only what Pāṇini says about them.

[152] See now SCHARFE 2009: 29, 66-69.

pebbles, shells,[153] or simple lines in the sand that reflected his recurrent nesting device of "boxes inside boxes".[154] In addition, he could have used his students as living 'tape recorders', as was done since RV times. Though a northwestern, Gandhāra person, he was well aware of the early *eastern* grammarians, especially Śākalya, though he does not quote their actual Veda texts. All of this is an indication of the exchange of ideas, rituals, students, as well as of trade and other links across the long distance of some 1500 km.

486-65 BCE:

Under Xerxes, Persian pressure on the eastern provinces increased: his Daiva inscription clearly indicates persecution of Daiva/Deva worshippers, and which may have increased emigration of Panjab Brahmins to the emerging eastern kingdoms. (By c. 420 BCE, Herodotus describes northwest Indian ascetics).

c. 350 BCE:

By Pāṇini's time, we find both grammar and canonical texts in Gandhāra, plus initial use of script (Aramaic, Kharoṣṭhī), though only in secular contexts.

* * *

By c. 500 BCE, preceding Pāṇini, there is the striking symmetry of a religious, doctrinal and political development in the two neighboring provinces of the early Persian empire, Arachosia and Gandhāra.

* Arachosian texts (and their specialists) spread westward, intended for the canonization of the Avesta under Darius.

* Gandhāran type Vedic language, early grammar, texts (and their specialists) spread eastward, resulting in canonization for the Vedas (RV Padapāṭha by Śākalya).

Both movements exhibit an impetus of standardization. It is unlikely that the parallel developments have merely been accidental. Instead, the relationship between these two Persian provinces, linked by a direct, easily traveled road, involved not just the movement toward canonization but also other mutual interactions such as religious influences,[155] trade,

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[153] Note traditional, current Kerala use of shells for computing, see YANO 2011.

[154] As earlier in the ritual, such as seen in the *avāntara-dīkṣā,* see above n. 129.

[155] For the attitude of Persians towards Gandhāris/Indians and Avestan attitudes toward the Indian note that the country of the "Seven Rivers" (V. 2.15) is described

direct human relations, and the like[156] – all working both ways.[157] One may even imagine that some Arachosian and Gandhāra priests were engaged in talks about the Persian pressure to record their texts in written form, and a few decades later, about increasing Persian pressure exerted on local beliefs, as seen in Xerxes' Daiva inscription.

Both canon formations were reactions to Persian pressure, reactions, which initially were in opposition to the use of light-weight writing materials and of a simple script to record the respective traditional texts. Both the Zoroastrian and Vedic priests aimed at retaining their monopoly of oral tradition, and they ultimately succeeded in doing so – for another thousand years – or more.[158]

Clearly, more research is needed both on the Iranian and the Indian side of the ancient Arachosia/Gandhāra border.

Table 1.

	VEDA	GRAMMAR	EAST	ARCHEOLOGY	IRAN
1000-	Kuru collection of Vedic texts oral transmission: local versions / Vedic dialects			Painted Gray Ware (PGW); up to west of Kausambi; in the East (Kosala)	Immigration of Medians, Persians

as "too hot". And, vice versa, the attitude of the Vedic people toward the East Iranian Kambojas, regarded as half-barbarians (DESHPANDE 1983); see the following note.

[156] The Indian reaction to their western, Iranian neighbors is clearly seen in the framing of the famous *śavati* discussion of Yāska and Patañjali about the Kamboja verb *śavati* 'to go' (= Late Avestan *š'auuaiti*). More details about the northwest emerge only in the Mahābhārata, such as: Mbh 8.30.11 (see above, n. 6).

[157] The Iranian reaction is visible, as just indicated, in the reaction to the typical Vedic Indian deities; Indra, Nāsatya and Śarva (Rudra) that are declared demons, and the denunciation of the Panjab as being 'too hot' a country, both found in the Vīdēvdād. On the other hand, a more benign relation is seen regarding the Indo-Iranian border land *Muža* (probably high in the Himalayas, cf. Vedic *Mūja*-vant and Tibetan *bru-zh*a 'Burusho, Hunza', where the Zoroastrian Parō.dasma, son of Dāštāγni (Yt 13.125) appears. Clearly the latter has a name reflecting the Vedic deity Agni, a name that does not occur elsewhere in the Avesta. (Note that the name Dāštāgni has not been separated by dot in the text: apparently it was not quite intelligible).

[158] The first Veda Saṃhitā MSS are from 12th cent. CE Nepal.

	VEDA	GRAMMAR	EAST	ARCHEOLOGY	IRAN
	Development of Yajurveda Saṃhitā prose and other Brāhmaṇa style texts (E. Panjab – W. of Allahabad) Sakala clan in E. Panjab (AB 3; predecessors of Śākalya, AĀ 3)	Early, unsystematic Vedic notes on sounds, accents; e.g., discussion of Cuv/Cv cases in RV Brāhmaṇas			Median realm
			Immigration of Ikṣvāku, Pūru to the East		Establishment of Persian rule in Gandhāra under Cyrus (559-29)
530/ 519	Emigration of many western Vedic schools to the East: Kosala, Videha (Aitareya, Kauthuma)		(The Buddha: high chronol.) (564-484)		Persian occupation of Gandhāra; later of Sindh; Darius restoring worship of Ahuramazda where Median Magu had destroyed places of worship Use of Aramaic script; cities: Taxila, Puṣkalavatī (Charsadda). Others cities with Iran. suffixes: -*kantha*- (in Varṇu)

VEDA	GRAMMAR	EAST	ARCHEOLOGY	IRAN
				Herodotus (c. 484-420 BCE): Gandarians, Dadikans, Aparytians, Sattagydians as sixth Persian satrapy
Ait.B. 6-8 composition in the East: Royal rituals; Myths of incorporation of Munda etc. tribes tribes and Vedicization of the East		Immigration of Malla, Vajji (Vṛji), Śākya into N. Bihar (due to Persian pressure? – Or due to Xerxes (486-65): Daiva persecution?)	State formation in the East: Kosala, Videha (later: Magadha)	
Veda canonization: Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra in Kosala (earliest Sūtra, in Brāhm. style; but with clear *western* connections: Parśu (Persians?), camels, Araṭṭa (Sistan/Jiroft?) mentioned				Oral Arachosian Avesta texts, rituals introduced into Persis by Darius (521-486) Beginning of canonization of non-Iranian texts
	Early Prātiśākhyas? Detailed phonetic dicussions in Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads			

	VEDA	GRAMMAR	EAST	ARCHEOLOGY	IRAN
	Śākalya mentioned in late part of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa	Śākalya: Padapāṭha (Pāṇini knows Śākalya's Padapāṭha, counter-literacy?)	Trade and student exchange between East and Northwest		Persian influences in Panjab and beyond
	Para-Vedic language with 2 tonal accents spoken in the East (*bhāṣika* accents)			Pali canon: Vedic (*chandas*) language known, but not preferred by Buddha	
c. 450	No towns in Veda			Urbanization (Sāvatthi, etc.)	
	Invention of Kharoṣṭhī			Vajji confederation (includes Videha) Śākya, Malla etc.	
				Āraṇyaka: Brahmin in Magadha	
				Pali canon: Brahmin villages in Magadha, Aṅga	
				Emergence of Magadha	Continuing canonization by Xerxes (486-65), and Artaxerxes (464-435) of non-Persian canons; anti-Daiva campaign

	VEDA	GRAMMAR	EAST	ARCHEOLOGY	IRAN
			First attested roving ascetic, Yājñavalkya (BĀU) c. 420 ascetics in Northwest (Herodotus) c. 400 The Buddha (c. 460-380) in East (Bhikṣusūṭra: Pāṇini)		
c. 350?	Pāṇini's oral text, know of script, Kamboja king, bhikṣusūtra anti-script attitude: oral texts for grammar and Veda				(Oral Avesta transmission continues in the Persis)
c. 250		Kātyāyana: written text?			
c. 150		Patañjali: written texts			
c. 50		Kāṇva Saṃhitā written; pre-Gāndhārī Buddh. MSS; Pāli canon written in Sri Lanka			

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Section III B

Reconfiguration du divin et de la divinité

❋

Reconfiguring the Divine and Divinity

Introduction

Reconfiguring the Divine and Divinity

RODICA POP

The general theme of the panel 3B, is *Reconfiguring the Divine and Divinity*. Along this general line we seek to explore the changes in the conceptions of the Divine and the Divinity under the impact of geo-political, economical, historical and cultural transformations, and to locate their main actors. Thus, the papers deal with a great variety of fields and cover a broad geographical spectrum: the itinerary is wide, from India, Indonesia and Tibet through, Mongolia, Manchuria, Tatarstan to Israel and Albania.

Papers in this section are organized in three parts. The first and larger one is relevant to the role the religion played not only in its own sphere but also in the artistic and political life, influencing the local concepts of kingship or iconography such as the Śaivism (now commonly named 'Hinduism') focusing on the cult of Śiva as "paramount god" (A. Acri). Legendary and historical accounts of the creation of the Buddhist Canon are presented through the study of several parallel versions (A. Fedotof). Bektashism is introduced as well and the paper analysis its spread and development in new areas; for instance this sect moved and spread in Albania, place of religious tolerance in 1924, after Atatürk's decree outlawed the sect in Turkey (A. Girfanova). In the same part of religious tolerance can be included the paper analysing André Scrima's religious and theological consciousness. It is a profound contemporary theological reflection demonstrating that Christians, Hinduists, Muslims, Buddhits, are "friends" (D. Dumbrava). The reconfiguration from a historical famous character such as Chinggis Khaan into a divinity is testified by the regularly "state sacrifice", a worship dedicated in Mongolia and also abroad by Mongolian immigrants to the former emperor (S. Dulam, M. Petrova, M. Dobrovits). In the same way are worshiped heroes (Skanderbeg, The Fairy or The Muse, *Ora*) or sacred

places (Skanderbeg's Spring, Skanderbeg's Fountain) in Albania (H. Abdiu, S. Kadiu). Another article raises the question of the various significances and interpretations of Hebrew divine names and their role in reconfiguring the 'face of God' within the Jewish tradition; it looks at particular 'contexts' in the *Hebrew Bible* as well as later mystical interpretations developed in *Kabbalah* and *Hasidism* (M. Axinciuc). As for the impact of Buddhism on the universe of the Mongolian steppes it is presented through the substitution of Buddhist deities in place of the outlawed banned shamanistic spirits and the subsequent reconfiguration of the former (R. Pop). There various configurations of the sacred have followed one after the other since Mongolia's independence from the Manchu empire in 1911. In this respect M.D. Even's article looks in particular to the early revolutionary period when a place was still conceivable for Buddhism in a modern, secular Mongolia.

Two papers deal with the Manchus. Although known for their shamanistic beliefs they nevertheless readily adopted Confucian, Buddhist as well as Christian beliefs. Their views on astronomy, and celestial phenomena at the time of the Manchu dynasty, come through a unique manuscript, the interpretation of which is addressed here (H. Walravens). Early Manchu historiography, characterized by very precise and accurate registrations of historical events, was reconfigured and adapted to Confucian historiography which saw the emperor (as "son of heaven") on the top of Chinese world order (G. Stary).

A second group of papers deals with modern translations of the Bible among Mongol populations. Indeed, during the last decades, the political changes in Mongolia, China and Russia offered a new chance for Christian mission in Mongolia as well as Inner Mongolia (China), in Buryatia and Kalmuckia (Russia). As a consequence, new translations of the Bible have been made, mostly of the New Testament. The Bible being full of concepts which are very much foreign to people having a different cultural background, the translators have tried to render the holy texts into modern language, but in doing so they were faced with an old problem: that of terminology (K. Sagaster). Various translations of the Bible in Mongolian, Buryat and Kalmuck are presented in detail (I. Kulganek). To this group of papers belongs too M. Tekcan's article introducing "The Departure of my Lady Mary from this World", an English translation of a 6^{th} century Syriac manuscript. This reading uses a relativist approach of analysis concentrating on its Christian aspects while it has its roots in Islam.

The third group of papers presents religion and its new forms through one of its accessories, such textiles, which serve as cloths, banners, hanging

paintings, monk's' or priest's robes, protective covers of the Holy Writ, mounting of thangkas and scrolls. Indeed, a very particular approach to religion and reconfiguration of divine and divinity is done by Ch. Bell through the study of textile symbols. Focusing on Mahâyâna Buddhism in Tibet the paper provides examples of symbols in modern textiles with religious meaning, specifically those depicting the Buddhist eight auspicious symbols. X. Nandinbeleg devotes her paper to the study of the Mongolian games played by the Mongolian herders which convey a ritual meaning and correspond to a specific form of worship of spirit masters of heaven, earth and water. J. Legrand's article introduces the places and the funerary practices known through archaeology as essential markers of the evolution of a society.

The Harmony of Faiths and Beliefs in Albania and the Coexistence of the Divine and Divinity

XHEMILE ABDIU

A great number of different faiths and beliefs are coexisting in Albania. People live in harmony free to practice their own religions. In all these faiths and beliefs the divine and the divinity concepts are present. During the history maybe the ideology or some facts have changed but people continue to respect and to worship divinity in all their beliefs. Gradually, some of the faith subjects started to be considered as divinities.

Religions in general are considered as one of the historical factors that have played an important role in the ethnic development of nations, in their ethno-culture, and in their ethno-psychological uniformity, or in reverse, have played a disintegration role and split up nationalities. From this point of view, it's important to explain what role has played the religion in the Albanians life, in the history and their ethno-culture. We can say the same thing about religion in other countries of South-Eastern-Europe, in different communities such as: Croatia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria who lived harmoniously. Different communities like Catholic-Muslim and Orthodox-Muslim communities have lived together in perfect peace. To give a correct explanation about religions and their influence in Albanian's ethno-psychology we will refer to the 19th century but for some issues in order to compare and give the right explanation, we will go through the Middle Ages and even further. This, occurs because some of the phenomena such as the ethno-psychology and ethno-culture have their roots deep in those times. They have been fed, and took strength in order to bring alive their history until nowadays. Speaking about religion and how it influenced Albanian ethno-psychology and ethno-culture is a very complicated and sophisticated topic. Albanians lived and developed in harmony, having strong social and spiritual connections, even though they

were part of different beliefs. They belonged to special communities like Muslims including here the Bektashian community or Christian Byzantines ritual and Christian Catholic ritual, mythologies and beliefs with their roots in paganism, but the beliefs were simplified under the influence of the monotheist religions.[1]

Nathalie Clayer, in her book "*Aux Origins du Nationalism Albanais"* (2007) by highlighting the mechanisms, multiplicity and fluidity of the Albanian identities (ethno-linguistic identity, family identity, clan, regional and socio-political identity), lists the religious identities, creating a time and spatial map of these religious identities. But, according to Nathalie Clayer, this is "Albanism" as a national unit, which managed to unite all identity components in the spirit of a nation creation.[2] During centuries it was developed the evolution of one or another religion in the psychology. The historical process can not go through without interference to each-other. Albanian Arbs of Middle Ages have practiced a certain number of rituals, beliefs and myths originated in polytheist pagan religions. Christian religion started to spread up first in the urban and half urban zones and later in rural area. We cannot say that the Christian religion predominated within the Albanian religions before 19th century, but it is difficult to prove that. In some areas predominated earlier and in other areas, much later. For a certain period of time Christian and pagan religions lived coexisted in Albania. In the 15th century Islam began to spread but it did not go through without a crush with Christianity. Islam became massively predominant in 17-18th century in Albania, excluding here some special highlands, some places that were isolated from urban life. There is no doubt that there have been disagreements in the Middle Ages for predominance, between representatives of the Roman Catholic community or in the upper parts of Arborio (formal name of Albania) between the representatives of the Catholic community and the Catholic slave community, in order to impose their influence in different regions.[3] There are still disagreements between east and west churches. But the coexistence between catholic and orthodox communities continues in peoples' life. They have a lot of similarities in costumes and traditions since early times. In the statistics of the second half of the 19th century in Albania 70% of the population was Muslim including here the Bektashian community, 20% of the population was Orthodox and 10% Catholic. Albanians joined together through the strong ethnic feelings, their harmony and consistency, their origin, costumes, traditions.

1 Tirta Mark, *Panteoni e Simbolika* 2007, 334-335.
2 Hamiti Sabri, *Albanizma* 2009, 28.
3 Tirta, Mark, *Panteoni e Simbolika*, 2007, 336.

Albanians, such as other nations have a large number of rituals like myths and ancient beliefs. They have practiced these rituals until 20th century. These rituals have common characteristics. They celebrate for instance rituals named the Summer Day, pagan rituals etc. All rituals inherited elements from Christian or Muslim faith although at their origin they are all pagan ritual. In all these rituals or ancient beliefs we can find all the characteristics of Albanian ground. We can mention the Dragon and the Hydras, unique in their form. They are considered like a divine figure and always represent the force of nature and the life. Other divine figure are the copper head or Vitore the mother of home, the protector of the man – Ora, the figure of Zana (*Fairy*), the mother of sun etc. The rituals, beliefs and mythical figures mixed with the elements of three beliefs. This happens during historical development of Albania. A lot of wars determined the necessity of protection from different invaders. Albanian people kept inside the most characteristic tradition and beliefs. For Albanians the first important thing is the nationality. This was the center of their existence. The religion was not as important as the nation. Albanians of different faiths lived together, got married to each other and lived in harmony. Foreign scholars noted that Albanians are "very cold people in beliefs" (Christian and Muslim) they are much uninformed about Gods Cult, which testifies that it was harmony between different beliefs, without major divergences. As army leader, Ahmet Xhevdet Pasha wrote in 1861 on upper Albania: "Friendship and unity between Muslim and Catholics reached a scale that we cannot see in any other place. The Catholics obey the orders of Muslim chieftain and Muslim to the Catholic ones, but in war they collaborate in a perfect way. The dead people of both sides are honored by them like heroes. For example Shkodra Muslims kept relative connections with highland Catholics and were visiting each other and celebrating together like real families." Since 17th century and until now it is declared that there were a considerable number of families which were partly Muslim and partly Christians. According to Englishman Hughes: "such marriages were not seldom in Albania and since early times was stated the position of man, wife and children. The man kept his belief and the wife hers and for the children was common that: The sons followed their fathers' beliefs, and the daughters the mothers' ones."[4] They have only different religion, but a lot of common characteristics. Albanians respect and honor the place of cult, graves, holy places. They pray for curing the illness, they pray for having long life. The holy places are very important and are worshiped by Muslims, Orthodox and Catholics without distinction. This coexistence

[4] Tirta, Mark, *Panteoni e Simbolika*, 2007, 340-34.

made necessary a good relationship and a well understanding, reciprocal help to each other and the harmony.

There are in Albanian culture some mythical figures deified through myths. One of them is the Albanian national hero Skanderbeg. In their documents historians say that Skanderbeg was born in 1406 and died on January 17th, 1468. Although a lot of time, passed, he is still alive in people's memory and this made him supernatural, immortal. Since the 15th century he was deified for what he did for the Albanian people and the European civilization. Marin Barleti a contemporary of Skanderbeg, in his book *History of Skanderbeg* (1508-1510) gives some mythical narrations on Skanderbeg having their origin in folk tradition. He writes: "It is said that when his mother got pregnant with Skanderbeg, once she dreamd that she gave birth to such a huge dragon, that it covered almost the entire Epirus and his head was towards the Turkish lands."

"Another sign of war pride, much more beautiful and brighter was noticed on the right arm of the child, a sword that looked as if it was made by ones hand…".

"Later on, while growing up, the child started to be attracted by weapons and arrows, and during these initial exercises and in that tender age he gave evidence that anyone could clearly see the signs of his future courage."

Another personality as Frang Bardhi calls Skanderbeg "The Dragon of Arbër", "The Dragon of Epirus". In many articles, Skanderbeg is deified in the narrations and in the names of places. The diffraction of their symbolism includes the ethnological interest in clarifying earlier cultural strata and popular beliefs of ancient forms. There are mythical narrations about historical figures dealing with supernatural activities and with etiological phenomena, beliefs and mentalities, which lead us to very early times. Many mythical legends are related to Skanderbeg, the great leader and warrior of the Albanian anti-Ottoman resistance in the 15th century. The War against the Turks made him immortal. He became the main her in myths, beliefs and legends and became supernatural being compared with giants and deities. The legend describes Skanderbeg having supernatural characteristics. People used to say that "he had tremendous power", he was born "a dragon", with wings under his armpits having the sign of sword on the body", he was born lucky. According to the narrations he fought while riding his horse, he ran from one place to another. Even his horse was supernatural. When surrounded by enemies, together with his master the horse jumped up in the air and landed on the mountains, in a safe place. It is said that on the place he landed, on a mountain, cliff or stone, his horse's traces were found. There are many toponyms such as "Traces from

Skanderbeg's horse" or "Skanderbeg's Spring". In the legends it is said that Skanderbeg could jump in the air from one mountain to another even without his horse. On the rock that he jumped on he left his "footprints". In the mythical stories Skanderbeg comes up as someone who built fountains and water-springs in dry places where the army and people suffered from thirst. In critical situations he hit the stone or rock with his sword, in some cases just with a stick or with a pocket knife and he brought water and both people and the army could drink. These springs are called "Skanderbeg's springs", "Skanderbeg's fountains". Skanderbeg's son fell from his horse from the red stone and fell down in Lura, and this is where "white water" spring erupted. According to traditional beliefs "White water" symbolizes the woman's breast. The white water, the milk used to feed children, has today the shape of a fountain. Skanderbeg emerges as bridge and windmill builder. He flattened rocks so that its army could eat. Which is the origin of these supernatural or divine phenomena attributed to well-known historical personalities? All these legends are related to mythological mentalities of ancient times. It has to do with gigantic power and actions, with gestures of cultural heroes, with gestures of deities of early paganism. Later on, they turned and updated with the heroes of Skanderbeg's history, Leke Dukagjini, Gjergj Elez Alia etc. There is a resemblance with a divine knight's actions. Not only man is supernatural, but even the horse is special and has the ability to make supernatural actions. Not only Skanderbeg, but even the horse was a dragon. Skanderbeg's and others heroes' gestures are similar to dragons' actions and power in the sense of this figure. According to the Albanian mythology in some actions they resemble to the heroes of the epic and historical cycle of *Muji and Halili*. There are toponyms with the names of dragons in different places of Albania like "Dragon's Springs", "Dragon's Trace", "Dragon's Coast". The legends say that the earth trembled when he Skanderbeg walked. The most prominent mountain peaks were his. These myths and legends glorify Skanderbeg by keeping alive Albanians' patriotism, compactness as a special ethnicity, as a nation. He is a historical figure of Albanian nation that deified through myths. Albanian legends talk even about Christian or Islamic saints especially Bektashi with the same attributes like those of the historical characters mentioned above. There are the toponyms and the legends of the Holy Traces in the mountains of Albania. It was believed that they are the footprints of the divinities that have passed through. In these places, traces were found; mausoleums and *tekkes*[5] were set up. There are waters and springs

[5] *Tekkes*, or desvish lodges. For centuries the architecture of the sect's lodges was often dictated by the practices of the sects themselves. The more elaborated

which are said to have erupted due to a Christian or Bektashi divinity. For example we have “The Saint’s Valleys” in Mirdita. It is said that the Christian divinity passed by and when saw that people suffering of thirst, he hit the rock with a sword and the water erupted. In some other places, it is said that a holy man, a Bektashi Dervish made the water erupt through a stick. There is an evolution and stratification inside the mythical narration. The Bektashi divinity Sari Saltik left his footprints in places where he passed when leaving Kruja. They are traces carved in rock by man. The last two centuries the reserchears have paid attention to the Pilgrimage of August during the day of Tomorri’s sacrifices. Various rituals with cultural significance are performed in certain places, beliefs and mythical legends about Tomorri and its deities, about Bektashi saints.

The epicenter of these ritual phenomena is the tomb of the spiritual father of Bektashism, Father Abaz Aliu and the *tekke* of Kulmak with the fathers and dervishes of this doctrine. These rituals aim at a general spiritual purification, they are made to heal the sick, to get pregnant, to have a healthy marriage, welfare etc. Various researchers have observed stratifications in time, different mentalities in these rituals, beliefs, mythical legends on Tomorri and on its pantheon. There is an evolution and a clear syncretism from old times until recent times, where ordination rituals and practices in Tomorri take the vest of the monotheist doctrine of Bektashism, leaded by the fathers and dervishes. Ali Tyrabia, spiritual father of the *tekke,* rightly mentions that in that mountain was “the Peak Sancrified by archers since prehistoric times”. He would call that holy place, “the two thousand year pagans’ Tomori”, which has become, since 300 years, a pilgrimage site of the sacred tomb of a great martyr of Karbala.[6]

During Renaissance people relying on the ancient historical tradition of the cult of mountains, called Tomorri a divine saint of the ancient Albanian pantheon. This is to prove that even Albanian ancestors had had their ancient temples and their gods, just like other people had, that Albanians as an autochthonous nation have inherited their ancient culture, thus this nation is one of the oldest in the Balkans. This destiny was determined by the Albanians’ God itself, whose origin is in Tomorri and observed and protected Albanians for centuries. In these mountains possessed by Bektashis, there is even the sacred symbolic tomb of Sari Saltik. This helps to better explain the old rituals, old and monotheistic beliefs in Mount Tomorri, and even the evolution of this phenomenon in time and space, in

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the *tekke*, the wealthier the people who subscribed to that sect. The main lodge was usually built when the founder of the mystic sect was buried or vice-versa.

[6] Tirtas, Mark, Panteoni *e Simbolika*, 2007, 172.

all Albanian territories. In these mountains there are ruins of sanctuaries too. So, there is an intermediate period between Paganism and Islamism. There have been attempts to Christianize these places of worship. One of the students of Haji Bektashi Veli who spread the Bektashi doctrine in the Balkans was Sari Saltik. In the 14th century he traveled in many countries of the Balkans and in Albania, and everywhere he set up Bektashi centers and their divinities. According to the bibliographers of this missionary, he presented himself as a Christian monk (Orthodox) wearing monks clothes. In appearance, even sanctuaries looked like churches, there he preached and spread Bektashism. It might be possible that the roots of Bektashism are among the Albanian people since the 14th century. Bektashism in the Albanian territories is of an early tradition, it was spread calmly and in its beginnings mixed with some Christianity and Paganism. The cult of Sari Saltik is widely spread in Albania. Interesting mythical legends circulate within the Albanian folk tradition, which speak about Sari Saltik's acts and wonders. He lived in the 14th century and was embodied in these places. These legends and the particular cult of Sari Saltik were spread later than those of the other Bektashi missionaries. But, we should note that there any written evidence of Sari Saltik and his work in the 19th century is missing. That Bektashism was spread in Albania in the 17th century, was proved by Evlija Çelebi in his Book of Travels.

There are historical and social reasons why Bektashism became such a popular order in Albania. The principles of Bektashism were reformed. Tekkes were built in the bosom of nature. Their rituals are simple and include the Albanian tradition. Their doctrine and religious practice is similar to the advanced mentality of the Western world. It is an intermediate religion between Islamism and Christianity. Even nowadays there is in Tirana a *tekke* named "Dervish Hatixhe". People use to go there and pray for having good health, for curing illnesses, for making wishes etc.

We tried to give some information about the harmony of faiths and beliefs in Albania and some examples of divine figures. Albanians use to honor all the traditions in whichever stratum they are. In Albania different faiths and beliefs coexist in harmony. This is one of the most distinctive characteristic that we have. This harmony from the past continues even in modern times.

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Re-configuration of Divinity in Old Javanese Śaiva Texts from the Indonesian Archipelago
(with special reference to *Jñānasiddhānta,* chapter 19)

ANDREA ACRI

Introduction

Śaivism is one of the most important religious traditions of what is now generally termed 'Hinduism', focusing on the cult of Śiva as paramount god. Divided internally in various currents, this religion flourished in India from the beginning of the Common Era through the medieval period, surviving until modern times. Inextricably connected with the phenomenon of Tantrism, Śaivism has influenced a wide variety of cultural expressions in India. Spreading far and wide, it has also exerted a long-lasting influence on many ancient civilizations outside its borders, from Nepal to Southeast Asia.

Śaivism was patronized by the majority of the dynasties of Java and Bali from the 8th to the late 15th century and also adopted by the common people. This religion was once spread over the whole island of Java but is now confined to only a handful of highland enclaves, whereas it has flourished on Bali up to the present day in the guise of a reformed 'Hinduism'. The importance of Śaivism for the history and culture of the ancient and early modern Indonesian Archipelago cannot be stressed enough. Śaiva symbols and ideas played an important role not only in the religious sphere but also in the artistic and political life, influencing the local concepts of kingship and the iconography of many temples.

Significant advancements in the understanding of the historical development of this religion in South Asia have been achieved in the last two decades (see Sanderson 1988, 2001, 2006, 2009).

Of special notice is the documentation of a hitherto little-known corpus of scriptures composed between the 6th and the 12th century CE and preserved in Nepalese and South Indian manuscripts. The majority of these scriptures belong to the Siddhānta stream of Śaivism, a mildly Tantric mainstream form of the religion that was once widespread over the whole Indian Subcontinent and beyond. At present, the historical and textual study of this Śaiva corpus forms an increasingly important branch of Sanskrit studies worldwide. Notwithstanding this state of affairs, the study of Śaivism in Indonesia has remained a neglected field. The hundreds of Śaiva scriptures, locally called Tuturs or Tattvas, written in Old Javanese-cum-Sanskrit and preserved mostly on Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts that forms the textual basis of Śaivism in ancient Java and Bali remain largely unstudied and unpublished. Furthermore, nearly all the recent studies touching upon Śaiva religious traditions in the Indonesian Archipelago remain unaware of the developments recently achieved in the understanding of Śaivism in the medieval Indian Subcontinent.

A salient feature of the Tutur/Tattva literature is the translation and adaptation of Indic elements pertaining to linguistic, soteriological and theological domains into a local context of doctrine and practice. Śaiva cults and beliefs of Indonesia in some cases followed in details their original Sanskrit textual canon, whereas in other instances scriptures were reinterpreted and adapted to the local cultural background, according to a phenomenon called 'localization'.[1] As I have tried to show (Acri 2006), through a comparison of the matters of doctrine contained in Tuturs and Tattvas with specific elements found in some of the earliest Siddhāntatantras it is now possible to establish their specific tradition of origin and distinguish the Indic elements from the local beliefs that characterize the variety of Śaivism widespread in ancient Indonesia, thus moving beyond the misunderstandings and scholarly preconceptions that have hitherto characterized the field, overemphasizing the importance of one element — be it the Indic or the Javanese — over the other.

[1] I use the term 'localized' following Wolters' (1999:55) famous definition: 'Indian materials tended to be fractured and restated and therefore drained of their original significance by a process which I shall refer to as 'localization'. The materials, be they words, sounds of words, books, or artefacts, had to be localized in different ways before they could fit into various local complexes of religious, social, and political systems and belong to new cultural 'wholes'. Only when this had happened would the fragments make sense in their new ambiences'.

This paper investigates the phenomenon of 'reconfiguration' of doctrinal elements — primarily about Divinity and the Divine — stemming from Śaiva Sanskrit scripture from South Asia in Old Javanese texts. It focuses on chapter 19 of Tutur *Jñānasiddhānta,* a section formed by Sanskrit-Old Javanese dyads describing the Lord Śiva, the individual soul and the soteriological means to attain liberation and reach a divine status.

The Names and Qualities of the Lord

The characterization of the Lord, intended as both a paramount, unfathomable reality and immanent, personalized God, is devoted considerable attention in the corpus of Old Javanese Śaiva scriptures. This holds particularly true in the handful of scriptures that I have identified as the earliest textual stratum of the corpus on account of their doctrinal and formal features (see Acri 2006). The texts, written in either Old Javanese prose or Sanskrit verses provided with Old Javanese prose exegesis, which are likely to have been compiled well before the Singhasari-Majapahit period (13th-14th century CE), are the *Bhuvanakośa*, *Bhuvanasaṅkṣepa*, *Tutur Kamokṣan, Vṛhaspatitattva, Mahājñāna, Tattvajñāna* and *Dharma Pātañjala.*

The predominantly speculative scriptures known as Tattvas, such as the *Vṛhaspatitattva*[2] and the *Tattvajñāna,*[3] characterize the Lord according to three aspects or manifestations, namely the highest principle of the Supreme Śiva (*paramaśivatattva*), followed by the principle of Sadāśiva (*sadāśivatattva*) and of Śiva (*śivatattva* or *śivātmatattva*). These three forms of the Lord are but three aspects of the principle of sentience (*cetana*) underlying the whole creation. The threefold classification in Old Javanese Tattvas reflects a similar tripartite systematization attested in Sanskrit texts of the Śaiva Siddhānta, which, however, display a wide degree of variations when it comes to their denominations.[4] The commonest triad encountered in the Sanskrit scriptures is Śiva, Sadāśiva and Īśvara, in their turn corresponding to His aspects of 'endowed with parts' (*sakala*), 'both endowed with and devoid of parts' (*sakalaniṣkala*) and 'devoid of parts' (*niṣkala*). This kind of threefold arrangement appears to be an attempt to justify on doctrinal grounds the paradoxical character of the Supreme reality,

[2] See *Vṛhaspatitattva* 6.9–10; 14.36–45; 50.18–21.

[3] See *Tattvajñāna* 2–5.

[4] On the various systematizations found in the Saiddhāntika literature, see Goodall (2004:192-193, fn. 80).

which is transcendent yet immanent in creation, invisible yet inferable, impersonal yet embodied in the Lord, unfathomable yet not totally inaccessible to the human intellect.

A different characterization of Divinity and Divine reflecting a more localized religious context and different concerns, and displaying a feeble link to the Sanskrit tradition, is found in a corpus of relatively late (14th–16th century) Tuturs in Old Javanese prose. These texts are usually shaped in the form of lessons given by a guru to a disciple, consistently called *sevaka dharma* 'servant of the Truth' or '[one] fulfilling the duty of serving or worshipping' (see Ojed 1754). Well-known technical terms of philosophy and yoga belonging to lists originally found in Sanskrit sources appear in these texts in a remarkably corrupt or Javanized fashion, decontextualized and reconfigured along local lines that show a concern for mystical, moralistic and didactic purposes. These texts feature a proliferation of names of God in His various aspects that are rarely found, or altogether unattested, in the Sanskrit tradition, namely *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* 'The Good', *Saṅ Hyaṅ Tuṅgal* 'The Unique', *Saṅ Hyaṅ Dharma*, *Saṅ Manon* 'The Witness', *Saṅ Hyaṅ Pramāṇa* 'The Life-Giving Power', *Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa* 'The Supreme Lord', etc., and the presence of a Śaiva-Buddhist coalition evidenced by the references to the Lord (Bhaṭāra) Śiva-Buddha. A comparable degree of doctrinal 'localization' is detectable in relatively late (>16th century) Old (or 'Middle') Javanese prose texts such as the *Koravāśrama*, the *Navaruci* and the *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran*. But certain non-Indic features of these texts are also detectable in Balinese Tuturs, especially those that were arguably compiled during (and even well after) the period of cultural influence from the East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit on the basis of older textual materials, such as the *Jñānasiddhānta,* the *Gaṇapatitattva* and perhaps the Śaiva version of the Buddhist *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*. This part of the Javano-Balinese Śaiva scriptural corpus bears witness to a 'popular' and embedded variety of Śaivism that is the expression of cultural milieus far removed from the cosmopolitan and deeply Indicized ones that appear to have been a common reality during the early Indo-Javanese kingdoms.

Reconfiguration of Divinity in Jñānasiddhānta, chapter 19

Tutur *Jñānasiddhānta* chapter 19, bearing the caption *Saṅ Hyaṅ Bhedajñāna* 'The Gnosis of Difference', is made up by seven Sanskrit

*śloka*s followed by an Old Javanese paraphrase and/or exegesis.[5] This short chapter is a telling example of reconfiguration of Indic elements into a local context of doctrine and yogic praxis.

The doctrinal background of this section is apparently Śaiva, yet a few passages (either Sanskrit *śloka*s or their Old Javanese commentary) contain echoes of Sāṅkhya-Yoga views that may be traced to the Sanskrit *Yogasūtra*s by Patañjali and its annexed commentary *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*. The presence of certain technical terms indeed points at a different philosophical and yogic tradition than the Śaiva yoga of the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) commonly encountered in the Tutur/Tattva corpus. This tradition appears to be a form of theistic yoga that reminds us of the one codified by Patañjali.

This chapter of the *Jñānasiddhānta* was edited and translated into English by Haryati Soebadio in 1971. Since Soebadio's work can be improved in several respects, I will present here an edition of the chapter with a new English translation. I will discuss the most interesting and relevant passages in a running commentary, indicated by [C].

> *idaṃ bhedajñānaṃ proktaṃ*[6] *rahasyaṃ paramaṃ śubham /*
> *bhuvanasya śarīrasya yo jñatvā*[7] *sa śivaṃ vrajet //* 1 //
>
> *Nihan Saṅ Hyaṅ Bhedajñāna varahakĕnaṅkva, rahasya sira, apan paramarahasya, atiśaya riṅ rahayva. Tĕkvan rakva rinahasya niṅ bhuvana. Apayāpan rahasya niṅ śarīra ika. Hana pva kumavruhi riṅ sira, tan kasandehakĕna maṅguhakĕnaṅ śivapada hĕlĕm.*
>
> Here is taught the Gnosis of Difference, a supreme, beautiful secret. Having known about the world-body, he will proceed to Śiva. (1)
>
> Thus I will teach the sacred Gnosis of Difference; it is secret, for it is the highest secret, of outstanding beauty. Moreover, it has been kept secret in the world, for it is a secret in the body. If there is one who knows about it, he will without any doubt obtain the abode of Śiva shortly.[8]

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[5] The *Jñānasiddhānta* is a composite and heterogeneous text, compiled by an author who used earlier textual materials. Hooykaas (1962) discussed in detail the textual relationship between the *Tutur Ādhyātmika* (that in 1971 was edited by Soebadio as *Jnānasiddhānta)*, the *Tutur Kamokṣan* and the *Gaṇapatitattva.* Our chapter is found, with only slight variations, in *Tutur Kamokṣan* and *Gaṇapatitattva* (40-45). I have found some of its *śloka*s also scattered over chapter 5 of the *Bhuvanakośa*.

[6] This *śloka* appears in *Bhuvanakośa* 5.51 with the following variant in the first quarter: *idaṃ śāstra mahā proktaṃ*.

[7] *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed. jñātā; all mss. *jñatvā*.

[8] Soebadio reads *śivapāda* instead of *śivapada* and translates, to my mind incorrectly, "the feet of Śiva".

sukhaṃ devaśarīratvaṃ nirbāṇaṃ sulabhaṃ caret // 2 //
tad idaṃ janmarahasyam ādimadhyāvasānakam /
pravakṣyāmy adhunā vīra niḥśeṣaṃ te[9] *mahātmane*[10] *// 3 //*

Kaliṅanya: ikaṅ kadadin devaśarīra mvaṅ kamokṣan memana ta ya pinaṅguh ika de saṅ paṇḍita. Ika taṅ jñāna karahasyan iṅ janma, ya ta vinarahakĕn i ṅhulun, ādimadhyāvasānanya, niḥśeṣa deṅku marahakĕn iri kita. Apan paramaviśeṣa. Kumva vuvusankv ika.

Easily he will obtain a divine body; easily he will obtain extinction. (2) This secret of the existence, its beginning, middle and end, O hero, I will now proclaim completely to you, great-souled one. (3)

That is to say: the coming into existence of the divine body and the state of liberation can be obtained without much effort[11] by the master. That is the knowledge of the secret of existence, which has been taught by me, its beginning, middle and end, completely I will teach to you. For it is the most excellent. Thus are my words.

[C] The exact import and referent of the word *bhedajñāna* is not entirely clear. The term, itself a Sanskrit compound literally meaning 'the knowledge of [the] difference', is uncommon in South Asian Saiddhāntika sources. It carries with it dualistic overtones, and occurs in certain monistic Śaiva works to denote a false discriminating view or, as its antonym *abhedajñāna*, the knowledge of the actual non-difference between Śiva and His Śakti, the individual soul, the world, etc.[12] In our chapter *bhedajñāna* seems to denote an esoteric doctrine providing a means (*sādhana*) to achieve liberation through the suppression of the mind and the freeing of the individual soul (*puruṣa, ātman*), which possesses various states according to the nature of stain (*malinatva*).

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[9] *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed.: niḥśeṣānte.

[10] *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed.: mahātmanaḥ.

[11] Soebadio (1971:209) noted that the OJ form *memana,* possibly derived from *heman* ('valuable; what a pity!') does not make sense here; OJED (675) glosses it as 'achieving nothing, without success, in vain, not worth the effort, of little value, without much force', and also 'without much significance > easy' on account of a passage in the *Sutasoma* (436.2); see also p. 619, "without much force (> easy to answer; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.43)." Here the word apparently means 'easily, without much effort,' being the exact Old Javanese translation of the Sanskrit *sukhaṃ/sulabhaṃ* in the *śloka*. This meaning of *meman* is attested also in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (folio 63 recto, see Acri 2011:302).

[12] See, e.g., Utpaladeva's commentary ad *Śivadṛṣṭi* 3.69, Sivāgrayogin's *Śaivasiddhāntaparibhāṣā* 16 and 38, Abhinavagupta's *Tantrasāra* 9.27.

Soebadio (1971:33-34) suggested that *bhedajñāna* may "point to a differentiation of the 'substance' of the world or universe and that of the god(s)". Ojed gives only one locus for the occurrence of this word, i.e. the Old Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 76.5 and 76.22, where *bhedajñā* is explained as "the knowledge of a man with reference to the division of the sentient and the insentient" (*vruh niṅ vvaṅ ri prabheda niṅ cetana lavan acetana*). *Cetana* and *acetana* are the two main ontological categories into which the cosmos is divided according to the theology of most Tuturs and Tattvas. This couplet recalls the Sāṅkhya dichotomy between *puruṣa* (spirit, sentient) and *prakṛti* (nature, insentient). But in our passage the term may rather refer to the knowledge of the difference among the three different conditions of the individual soul (*puruṣa*), namely the *sakala*, the *kevala* and the *śuddha*, mentioned infra, *śloka* 5. This is suggested by the introductory words of the Old Javanese commentary to that *śloka*: "Such is the kind of disciple suitable of being instructed in the sacred Gnosis of Difference. And how is this [Gnosis]? As follows: …" (*nāhan lvira nikaṅ yogya pajarĕn riṅ Saṅ Hyaṅ Bhedajñāna. Ndya ta kramanya? Nihan*).

The term *bhuvanaśarīra*, which I am inclined to interpret as a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning 'the body that is the world / the world-body', is not found in Śaiva scriptures from the Indian Subcontinent and is therefore likely to be a local development. It is widely attested in a variety of Old Javanese religious scriptures. In the prose version of the *Kuñjarakarṇa* (van der Molen 1983:233), itself a Buddhist work, it is described as a yogic practice through which the practitioner identifies his body with the physical components of the world, i.e. earth as body, stone as moon, wood as flesh, vines as muscles, water as blood, etc. (see Nihom 1994:128). Several Tuturs refer to a similar doctrine, but each one in different contexts and in disparate guises.[13] These types

[13] For instance, *Kumāratattva* B (pp. 18, 19, 21, 23, 25); *Gaṇapatitattva*, Old Javanese exegesis to *śloka* 51-53.11, where it appears to be connected with a form of yogic exercise causing the death of the practitioner and its desired reincarnation as a human being. In *Tattvajñāna* 14, 37 and 40 it is related to the doctrine of the placement of various reality levels within the body and identification of microcosm and macrocosm, in association with the twenty-five ontological principles (*tattva*), the seven yogic centres (*sthāna*), the six 'envelopes' of the human body (*kośa*), etc. In *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 5 (p. 99) a yogic practice defined *janmarahasya* 'the secret of life' — which corresponds to the *janmarahasya* in *śloka* 2 of our chapter, *karahasyan iṅ janma* in the commentary — seems to be connected with *bhuvanaśarīra*: "This is the method of him who reaches Śiva. While you are still alive, incessantly moaning, you should think of His entrance into your body, and realize his penetration into the

of associations are not uncommon in Sanskrit Tantric literature from the Subcontinent, but I have not yet found any exact parallels. It may be argued that the term refers to a type of secret Tantric initiation that involves the 'purification' of the disciple's body by the guru, akin to the *bhuvanadīkṣā* mentioned in Sanskrit Śaiva texts. In this type of initiation the disciple is led by the guru through the *bhuvanādhvan*; having been purified at every stage, from the earth until Śiva, he is released and attains the union with the Lord. It is perhaps to this same concept of purification of the body that the prose *Kuñjarakarṇa* implies when referring to the purification of the character Pūrṇavijaya through a 10-days long process of initiation that implies the identification with this kind of body (i.e. the *bhuvanaśarīra*) and the possession of a clear mind, in order to survive the hell-cauldron and becoming restored (or 'perfect'/'purified', *paripūrṇa*).[14]

> *labhyo*[15] *bhedajñānaṃ śiṣyaḥ śraddadhāno*[16] *jitendriyaḥ /*
> *dharmātmā vratasaṃpanno gurubhaktis tathaiva ca* // 4 //
>
> *Kuněn lvira niṅ śiṣya anuṅ varahěn riṅ Saṅ Hyaṅ Bhedajñāna, śiṣya śṛddha riṅ dhana, jitendriya tuvi, mahyun ta ya ri kagavayan iṅ dharma, kinahanan de niṅ brata, bhaktyā maguru kunaṅ. Nāhan lvira nikaṅ yogya pajarěn riṅ Saṅ Hyaṅ Bhedajñāna. Ndya ta kramanya? Nihan:*
>
> The disciple who is fitting to obtain the Gnosis of Difference [should be] one endowed with faith, having subdued the senses, righteous, endowed with observances as well as devotion for the master. (4)
>
> Now, how does the disciple who is suitable for being instructed in the sacred Gnosis of Difference looks like? A disciple well disposed

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inner recesses of nature (*pradhāna*). You should (also) go into meditation quickly, the progress (being) that your mind should strive after unification with the Lord Supreme (*Bhaṭṭāra Viśeṣa*)."

[14] See Nihom 1994:128-129. On account of the term *devaśarīratva* present in *śloka* 2 of the *Jñānasiddhāṇta* and the comparison with the context of the prose *Kuñjarakarṇa*, Nihom fleetingly suggested that the chapter on *bhedajñana/ bhuvanaśarīra* may represent "a praxis whereby the disciple constructs a divine body, co-terminal with the cosmos but separate from his own body, with which he then experiences the successive stages of release, understood as an approximation to Nirmala Śiva".

[15] *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed. labdhā; *Gaṇapatitattva*, *Jñānasiddhānta* cod., *Tutur Ādhyātmika* labdhvā.

[16] *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed.; *Jñānasiddhānta* cod., *Tutur Ādhyātmika, Tutur Kamokṣan, Gaṇapatitattva*: śṛddha-dhane.

towards wealth[17] even though having subdued the senses; he wishes to perform virtue, is endowed with religious observances, and will show devotion towards the master. Such is how the disciple suitable for being instructed in the sacred Gnosis of difference looks like. And how is this [Gnosis]? As follows:

sakalaḥ kevalaḥ śuddhaḥ tryavasthaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ /
malinatvacittamokṣaḥ kalpyate nirmalaḥ śivaḥ // 5 //

Tiga avasthā ya saṅ puruṣa riṅ kalĕpasan: hanān sakala, hanān kevala, hanān śuddha. Katuturakĕna sirān maṅkana: sakala ṅaranya makāvak triguṇa sira. Kevala ṅaranya atiṅgal pamukti sira. Malinatva ṅaranya papāśanira[18] *mvaṅ triguṇa. Manovijñānāvaknira. Śuddha ṅaranya pati niṅ manovijñāna. Sakeṅ sira māri mamikalpa, śūnyākāra, kaivalya, tan hana gĕlĕh-gĕlĕhnirān pamukti. Sira sinaṅguh nirmalaśiva.*

The soul is taught to have three conditions: the one visible in material form (*sakala*), the isolated (*kevala*) and the pure (*śuddha*); the freedom of the mind from maculation is conceived to be the Spotless Śiva.

Three are the conditions of the soul regarding liberation: there is the one in which he is visible in material form; there is the one in which he is isolated; there is the one in which he is pure. [The soul] being in such [conditions] will [now] be taught. 'Visible in material form' means that it assumes the form of the three constituents. 'Isolated' means that it has left behind the [condition of] enjoyer. 'Having stain' means its condition of being fettered by the three constituents.

[17] According to Soebadio (1971:211, fn. 4) the commentator misunderstood the compound *śraddadhāno* 'faithful' in the *śloka*, translating it as *śṛddha riṅ dhana*, 'faithful to his possessions'. It is more likely, however, that the commentator naively, but still somewhat consistently, translated into Old Javanese the corrupt Sanskrit reading *śṛddhadhane* appearing in all mss. The reading *śraddadhāno* is likely to be the most correct one as it often appears in similar lists of qualities of the good disciple listed in a number of Sanskrit Śaiva sources.

[18] The reading *papasah*, from the base *sah* 'depart, be separated, come loose' (*papasah* = to be separated, split, be broken; see OJED 1592), makes little sense here. The concept implied is rather that the stained soul is not disjointed [from the three *guṇa*s], i.e. ensnared by them. Soebadio (1971:211) indeed translated the clause *papasahnira mvaṅ triguṇa* as "its connection with the three constituents", yet she did not justify her translation. The reading *papasah* may be a corruption for the nominal form *kapāśa*/*papāśa* (OJED 1309) from the Sanskrit *pāśa* (fetter), which fits perfectly into the Śaiva doctrinal context.

> Its body is mental knowledge (*manovijñāna*). 'Pure' means the end of mental knowledge. Because of that it ceases to produce dualizing thought, it is void, isolated; there is no stain when it is in the state of liberation. It is called the Spotless Śiva.

[C] As I have pointed out elsewhere (Acri 2006:119-120), *śloka* 5 has a parallel in the Sanskrit *Kiraṇatantra* (Vidyāpāda 1.23ab)[19], one of the early scriptures of the Śaiva Siddhānta:

> *kevalaḥ sakalaḥ śuddhas tryavasthaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ /*
> *malinatvāc citer mokṣaḥ prāpyate nirmalāc chivāt //*

> The soul is taught to have three conditions; [that of] the one without [at least one of the bonds] (*kevala*), the one with [all three bonds] (*sakala*), and the pure soul (*śuddha*).[20] The liberation of the mind from stain is obtained because of [the will of] the spotless Śiva.[21]

The version of *śloka* preserved in the *Jñānasiddhānta*, as well as its parallels in other Tuturs, all read *kalpyate* 'is conceived' instead of *prāpyate* 'is obtained'.[22] Furthermore, all the ablative endings found in the *Kiraṇa* version are missing in the versions documented in the Archipelago texts, the third quarter being formed by a single compound and the last one substituting the ablative endings (*nirmalāc chivāt*) with nominatives. The meaning conveyed in the two versions of the śloka is at variance insofar as the latter (Javano-Balinese) equals the mind freed from stain to spotless Śiva, whereas the former (South Asian) implies that liberation of the mind from stain is obtained because of the Spotless Śiva — thus alluding to the idea of divine grace that played a role in the

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[19] Interestingly, the second hemistich is not found in all the ancient Nepalese manuscripts and also in Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary (cf. Goodall 1998:221, note 188), but it appears in the later South Indian redactions, such as the Devakoṭṭai edition (cf. Vivanti 1975:8) and in the version commented upon by Tryambakaśambhu (who places it after 1.23d, see Goodall 1998:29). Since some of these redactions may have been compiled even after the 12th century, we may assume that this verse was borrowed in that form either from a South Indian recension of the *Kiraṇa* or from another version posterior, or in any event unknown to Rāmakaṇṭha.

[20] The translation of this hemistich is by Goodall (1996:345).

[21] Vivanti's (1975: 51) Italian translation of this hemistich differs from my own in that it links the third verse-quarter (*malinatvāc citer*) to the first hemistich, supposing an enjambement: "Tre sono le condizioni del *puruṣa*: *kevala*, *sakala* e *śuddha*, in quanto la sua mente è maculata; la liberazione è da lui raggiunta grazie a Śiva immacolato."

[22] But some (apparently corrupt) Indian mss. read *procyate* 'is declared' (see Goodall 1998:29).

process of liberation according to the early Śaiva Siddhānta, and which was of even greater importance to the theologians of the of non-dualist Tamil school of Śaiva Siddhānta.[23]

The same Sanskrit-Old Javanese dyad hints at a fundamental doctrinal tenet of the Śaiva Siddhānta, according to which there is a threefold condition (*sakala, kevala*, *śuddha*) for the soul (*puruṣa*) is divided, depending on the kind of stain it is affected by, e.g. *māyā, kārma* and *āṇava*. With regard to this matter there are different views within the Siddhānta stream, as different texts often present slightly different systematizations.[24] According to the *Suprabhedāgama*, *kevala* is the state in which the soul has the *āṇava*, i.e. individual or 'atomic' stain; *sakala* the one in which the soul has all the three bonds, i.e. *āṇava*, *kārma* and *māyīya*; śuddha the one in which the soul has no stain and is freed.[25] These three distinctions are arranged in a slightly different form in certain late South Indian Śaiva Saiddhāntika works, leading to complex systematizations such as *sakala*-*kevala*, *sakala*-*sakala* and *sakala*-*śuddha* (see Devasenapathi 1974:232).

However, the Old Javanese commentary shows no reference to these systematizations and does not mention different kinds of stain or categories of beings known as *pralayakevala*, *vijñānakevala*, etc. On the other hand, the sakala state is said to be caused by the embodiment of the soul in the three constituents (*guṇa*). Being stained means that the soul is fettered (*papāśa*) by the three *guṇas*. This viewpoint arguably reflects an archaic doctrinal status quo, i.e. when the later Saiddhāntika

[23] For a discussion of the doctrinal standpoint of this *śloka* in the *Kiraṇa*, see Brunner 1965:313.

[24] Early texts and Kashmirian commentators do not divide stain into the three categories of *māyā*, *kārma* and *āṇava* but rather describe the three categories as different aspects of the same problem (i.e. bondage).

[25] See the discussion in Brunner 1967:53: "quand il [i.e. the *ātman*] pénètre dans le ventre de la *māyā* et en même temps rencontre (mais comment?) *karman*, on le qualifie de *sakala* […]; *śuddha*, il devient ce qu'il a toujours été en essence, pur et semblable a Śiva: c'est l'état de pureté totale, *śuddha avasthā*." See also the scheme in Davis (1991:26). Goodal (1996:345, fn. 15), commenting upon *Kiraṇa* Vidyāpāda 1.22–23, remarks: "the souls without *māyā* are either souls trapped in a period of resorption of the evolutes of primal matter, and therefore bound only by impurity and action (*pralayakevala*), or souls who 'by wisdom' have attained a state where they are bound only by innate impurity (*vijñānakevala*). The souls bound by all three bonds of impurity, action, and the evolutes of primal matter, are embodied, either with gross physical bodies such as ours or with subtle bodies (also composed of the lower principles that are evolutes of primal matter) which enable transmigration between gross bodies."

speculations around stain had not yet been codified and the originally Sāṅkhyaic doctrinal matrix of Śaivism was still predominant.

The Old Javanese form *pamukti*, deriving from the Sanskrit base *bhukti* (see Ojed 269), was translated by Soebadio as 'enjoyment', apparently intended the sense of 'pleasure';[26] however, it is more likely that the word here refers to the condition of enjoyer — in the sense of 'experiencer' — of the fruits of actions. According to the Śaiva Siddhānta, liberation consists in the freedom of the soul (*puruṣa*) from the condition, caused by maculation, of *bhoktṛtva* — i.e. of experiencer of karma and its fruits.[27]

Now, the concepts of *bhoktṛtva* and *kevalatva* prominently feature also in the seminal scriptures of Pātañjala Yoga. According to *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.24, the actions (*karmāṇi*) are good or evil, producing fruition as a consequence. The afflictions, being present in the mind (*manas*), are ascribed to the soul (*puruṣa*), because it is the enjoyer (*bhoktā*) of their fruits. Further, the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* (2.27; 4.34) defines the *puruṣa* as being in the *kevala* state when it transcends the three *guṇas* through the *buddhi*. The condition in which the mind is freed is called *cittavimukti*. According to Sāṅkhya-Yoga philosophy, *śuddha* is the state of the *puruṣa* when it does not assume the form of mind (*citta*), although it knows the mind. This view seems to be echoed in the Old Javanese commentary to *śloka* 5, which explains the word *śuddha* as a psychological condition involving the end of dualizing thought intended as mental knowledge (*manovijñāna*). This results in the isolation of the mind. The appearance of *manovijñāna* in this context is quite intriguing, for it is typically found as a technical term in Buddhist sources, meaning 'mind-consciousness.'[28] Our text hence appears to present a mixture of Śaiva, Sāṅkhya-Yoga and Buddhist doctrinal elements.

> *śuddhasūkṣmasvayambhogi śuddhajñānaṃ ca mokṣaṇam /*
> *mano līnaṃ paraṃ śuddhaṃ muktam eva prakīrtitam // 6 //*
>
> *Anantara sakerika ri huvusnyān enak hĕnaṅ-hĕniṅ niṅ manovijñāna, nirviṣaya, śuddha, tan mamikalpa, śūnyarūpa. Malilaṅ taṅ manah,*

[26] "Isolated means to have given up enjoyment" (Soebadio 1971:211).

[27] Or, as Brunner (1965:314) translated it, commenting upon this very *śloka* of the *Kiraṇa*, "capacité de jouir et de souffrir."

[28] Strangely, *manovijñāna* is not listed in Ojed, which on the other hand lists *manovijñā* (1105) and hesitantly glosses it as "knowing the mind, versed in spiritual things?"

yeka paramaśuddha ṅaranya. Apan malilaṅ tĕhĕr sūkṣma tan palvir. Ndan prihavak ta lakṣaṇanya. Saṅkṣepanya: ikaṅ jñāna śuddha vimala saṅkṣipta niṅ kamokṣan. Tan hana lĕviha sakeṅ manah śūnyākāra. Vĕkasan ri līnanya, mukta kaivalya saṅ hyaṅ ātmā. Ya sinaṅguh pūrvā bandhakoṭi[29] *ṅa. Apayapan pisaniṅūn sirān pamuktyaṅ karma mvaṅ phala. Apan nirbāṇa sira mukta, liṅ saṅ paṇḍita.*

The mind that is pure, subtle, experiencing itself, having pure knowledge and [projected towards] liberating, when it is dissolved and [has reached] the utmost purity, [that] is called a released [mind] indeed. (6)

Immediately afterwards, beginning from the moment of its extinction, undisturbed would be the clarity of the perception by the mental knowledge, without an object, pure, without producing concepts, void. The mind is clear: that is called supremely pure. For it is clear and, at the same time, subtle without a form. And existence by itself is its characteristic. In brief: the knowledge that is pure and spotless is a shorter [way] to release. There is nothing that could be greater than a void mind. Finally, when it dissolves, the soul is freed [and] isolated. That is called the end of the previous bondage. For in that state of release it is impossible for him to enjoy the actions and the fruits. That is because it has reached extinction, it is released. Thus say the masters.

[C] This passage is characterized by a Pātañjala Yoga, rather than Śaiva Saiddhāntika, doctrinal flavour in that both the *śloka* and the exegesis emphasize the transformation of the mind of the practitioner in the process of liberation rather than the accepted Śaiva salvific means such as initiation (*dīkṣā*) or the Lord's grace. When the mind ceases to have an object and becomes void, there comes the liberation and isolation (*mukta kaivalya*) for the soul, which can no longer enjoy (*pamuktya*) the actions (*karma*) and their fruits (*phala*).

The description of the liberated mind in this passage as well as in the previous one (Sanskrit-Old Javanese dyad 5) reminds us of the treatment of the released mind or intellect (*buddhi*) in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.47: when it is freed from impurity, which is constituted by the *guṇas* of rajas and *tamas*, the mind is characterised by a condition, dominated by *sattva*, of extreme clarity and internal undisturbed calm. Further, according to *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 2.27 the state of *cittavimukti* denotes

[29] *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed. *pūrvâbādhakoṭi*; *Tutur Kamokṣan* purvabandakoti; *Gaṇapatitattva* cod. pūrvāṇḍha kothi (Ed. *pūrvāndhakoṭi*).

the release of the soul in three stages (*cittavimuktis tu trayī*): "in this stage the soul has transcended the connection with the three *guṇas* and, luminescent by itself only, is without stain, isolated" (*etasyām avasthāyām guṇasambandhātītaḥ svarūpamātrajyotir amalaḥ kevalī puruṣa iti*).

The definition of the pure mind as *śuddhasūkṣmasvayambhogi* 'pure, subtle, experiencing itself' in *śloka* 6a strongly echoes the characterization of the mind in the *kevala* state found in *Yogasūtra* 1.3: "Then the Seer (*draṣṭṛ*, that is the Spirit or Self) is established in his own form" (*tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe 'vasthānam*).[30] An analogous perspective is found in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, a speculative Old Javanese Śaiva scripture that embeds several *ślokas* based on the Sanskrit *Yogasūtras* as well as the *Bhāṣya*. A *śloka* defining yoga as *cittavṛttinirodhākhyaḥ*, apparently based on the famous *sūtra* 1.2 of the *Yogasūtras* (*yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*), ends in the verse-quarter *svayam ātmā prakāśate*, "The soul [itself] alone shines forth".[31] This statement, according to which the true nature of the Soul, untainted by the mind's functions, shines forth as a result of yoga, also recalls *Yogasūtra* 1.3. Further on, the *Dharma Pātañjala* quotes the verse-quarter *ātmani cetanaḥ sthitaḥ*, "The conscious abides in the soul", which the Old Javanese exegesis explains as follows:

> The mind is conscious. The mind is left behind by the Holy Soul. It closely adheres to the Lord. This kind of absorption will be met by the yogin endlessly. That is the reason why the state of supernatural prowess is met by him.

The *Dharma Pātañjala*, in a guise that is quite similar to that documented in our chapter of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, appears to merge a Pātañjala understanding of the final state of contentless consciousness, brought about by absorption as isolation (*kaivalya*, meaning that the mind is no more conjoined with the soul in its pure state of awareness), with the Śaiva view of liberation conceived as union with the Lord and obtainment of His supernatural powers.

The reference to "the end of the previous bondage" (*pūrvā bandhakoṭi*) in the exegesis to *śloka* 5 of our chapter is interesting. This Sanskrit expression is a *hapax* in Old Javanese,[32] and here is likely to

[30] Or, with Woods (1914:13): "Then the Seer [that is, the Self,] abides in himself."

[31] *Dharma Pātañjala*, folio 52 verso (see Acri 2011:290).

[32] Soebadio's imprecise emendation of the various manuscripts' readings to *pūrvābādhakoṭi*, by her translated as 'the end of the former pain', is (incorrectly) listed in OJED (1458) s.v. *pūrwābhāda* (instead of *pūrwābādha*).

be used as a technical term borrowed from a Sanskrit text. It appears in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.24: *yathā muktasya pūrvā bandhakoṭiḥ prajñāyate na evam īśvarasya*, "thus the end of the previous bondage is discernible in the case of the liberated [soul] and not in the case of the Lord." As the author of the *Bhāṣya* notes, the concept of the end of the previous bondage applies only with respect to the obtainment of the *kevalin* state by the individual souls, whereas with respect to the state of isolation of the Lord (*īśvara*), the connection with the previous bondage or the future one (*uttarā bandhakoṭi*) does not apply because He is ever free and untouched by the defilements caused by the experiencing of karma, etc.[33]

puruṣasya tryavasthānaṃ mukto bhavati tatsamaḥ /
vairāgyāditraye tattve dhyānāditraye saṃyame[34] *// 7 //*

Ndya ta sādhana niṅ mamuktakĕn sira? Nihan: tiga vih sādhana saṅ puruṣa moktacitta prasiddhasādhananirān mukta, lvirnya: vairāgyāditraya, dhyānāditraya. Vairāgyāditraya ṅaranya: vāhyavairāgya, paravairāgya, īśvarapraṇidhāna. Vāhyavairāgya ṅaranya: kaviratin. Paravairāgya ṅaranya dharma saṅ viku vītarāga, rāga icchānuśayi, tan hanaṅ raga ri sira. Īśvarapraṇidhāna ṅaranya ayogapravṛtti. Dhyānāditraya ṅaranya: prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇa, samādhi. Prāṇāyāma ṅaranya kuñci rahasya. Dhāraṇa ṅaranya praṇavajñānaikatana. Samādhi ṅaranya nirvyāpārajñāna. Nāhan sādhanānuṅ kapaṅgihan saṅ hyaṅ bhedajñāna. Iti saṅ hyaṅ bhedajñāna.

The threefold condition of the soul becomes released, equal to that [Spotless Śiva] by virtue of the doctrine consisting in the triad beginning with freedom from desire etc., [and] of the restraint [that is] the triad beginning with contemplation, etc. (7)
And what are the means to liberate him? [They are] as follows: there are three means through which the soul has a freed mind; they are well-known means in attaining release. These are: 'the triad beginning with freedom from desire etc.' and 'the triad beginning with contemplation, etc.' 'The triad beginning with freedom from passion, etc.', means: external freedom from passion, higher freedom

[33] See *Yogasūtra* 1.24: "Unaffected by hindrances or karmas or fruition or by latent-deposits the Lord is a special kind of soul" (*kleśakarmavipākāśayair aparāmṛṣṭaḥ puruṣaviśeṣa īśvaraḥ*).

[34] *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed. 7c: *vairāgyāditraye tattvaṃ; Jñānasiddhānta* cod: vairagyadi traye tatva; *Tutur Ādhyātmika*: raugyadi traye tatva; *Jñānasiddhānta* Ed. and cod. 7d: *dhyānāditraye saṃyamaḥ*.

from passion, fixation on God. External freedom from desire means abstention [from the objects of senses]. Higher freedom from desire means the conduct of the monk who is free from desire, hates desire, there is no desire in him. Fixation on God means being engaged in the act of union [with God]. 'The triad beginning with contemplation, etc.,' means breath-control, fixation, and concentration. Breath-control means the secret key [that closes the apertures]. Fixation means having the mind fixed only on the knowledge of the sacred syllable Oṃ. Concentration means knowledge without activity. Such are the means [through] that the sacred Gnosis of Difference is obtained. Thus [ends] the sacred Gnosis of Difference.

[C] Both Sanskrit verse and the Old Javanese commentary contain Pātañjala Yoga doctrinal views and technical terms. The centrality of the mind in the process of liberation of the soul is reiterated at the beginning of the Old Javanese exegesis: when the mind is freed (*moktacitta*), the *puruṣa* is released. Further, three means of salvation are advocated, though only two of them are listed,[35] each consisting of a triad. I shall first consider the second triad (*dhyānāditraye samyame*). According to *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 3.4, the stages of practice of fixation (*dhāraṇā)*, contemplation *(dhyāṇa)* and concentration (*samādhi)* form a triad which is technically called *saṃyama* 'restraint', a kind of mental fixation involving the same object for all the three stages (*tad etad dhāraṇādhyānasamādhitrayam ekatra saṃyamaḥ*). It is to this triad that *śloka*-quarter 7d in our text is likely to refer to, although *dhyāna* appears as the first member of the compound instead of the *dhāraṇā* — perhaps just on account of metrical reasons. However, the Old Javanese commentary does mention neither *dhyāna* nor *saṃyama*, inconsistently glossing the compound *dhyānāditraya°* as the triad of *prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā* and *samādhi*. I suspect that this inconsistency is the result of either a misunderstanding by the commentator or a corruption in the textual transmission.

Let now consider the compound *vairāgyāditraye,* which the Old Javanese commentary glosses as *vāhyavairāgya*, *paravairāgya* and *īśvarapraṇidhāna.* The couplet *vāhyavairāgya* and *paravairāgya* echo a similar one mentioned in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.15-16, constituted by

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[35] Perhaps on account of a textual corruption. *Gaṇapatitattva* adds *parārogya* ('superior health'), which is likely to be an ex-post attempt by its author to make sense of the inconsistency in the original commentary, but may also be a corruption (note the phonetic similarity between *parārogya* and *paravairagya*–the sequence *va* in Old Javanese is frequently spelled *o*).

aparavairāgya (lower freedom from desire) and *paravairāgya* (higher freedom from desire). The former occurs when the mind is free from the thirst for objects that are seen and heard (cf. *Yogasūtra* 1.15, *dṛṣṭānuśravikaviṣayavitṛṣṇasya vaśīkārasaṃjñā vairāgyam*). This concept is hinted at in the Old Javanese gloss of *vāhyavairagya*: "external freedom from desire means abstention [from the objects of senses]." *Paravairāgya* is described in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.16 as an unafflicted state of the mind, inseparably connected with *kaivalya*, which is capable of suppressing the afflicted mental states. The definition of *paravairāgya* given in the Old Javanese commentary, "higher freedom from passion means the conduct of the monk who is free from desire, hates desire, there is no desire in him," only faintly echoes the characterization of the same item in *Yogasūtra* (and *Bhāṣya*) 1.16 as a means used by the yogin to attain liberation through the complete absence of *tṛṣṇa* (i.e. 'thirst') with respect to the qualities (*guṇa*) and not merely the objects (*tat param puruṣakhyāti guṇavaitṛṣṇyam*). Finally, *īśvarapraṇidhāna* occurs in *Yogasūtra* 2.45 as a means to achieve *samādhi* and is closely connected to the practice of *japa*. Here this practice may be regarded as a theistic form of *nirodhayoga* in which the mind has suppressed every other content, fixed on Śiva alone.

In the Pātañjala Yoga system, the meditative practices of *dhyāna, dhāraṇā* and *samādhi* forming *saṃyama* are closely linked to the previous preparatory stages of *vairāgya*, *śraddhā* and *abhyāsa*: these are unafflicted (*akliṣṭa*) states (*vṛtti*) of mind that lead the *yogin* from one stage to another towards the achievement of true knowledge (*tattvajñāna*) and then release. It is therefore possible that the compound *vairāgyāditraye* in *śloka* 7c could have originally referred to the three items of *vairāgya*, *śraddhā* and *abhyāsa* and yet, as it seems to have happened also in the exegesis of *dhyānāditraye*, it was interpreted in an idiosyncratic manner by the Old Javanese commentator.

Conclusion

The chapter of the *Jñānasiddhānta* analysed in this paper documents an indigenous (i.e, Javano-Balinese) approach to Divinity and the Divine that reconfigures originally Indic elements into a local theology and praxis. The resulting doctrinal and soteriological system may be regarded as a synthesis of theologemes and yogic practices belonging to distinct Indian schools, i.e. Śaivism and Sāṅkhya/Yoga.

Although the practitioner's ultimate goal, i.e. the identification of

his liberated mind with the Spotless Śiva, reflects a Śaiva perspective, the means to achieve this goal, as well as the characteristics of the soul in the state of isolation, are thoroughly Pātañjala Yoga. Further, the characterization of Śiva's divine state as pure and spotless just like the pure mind of the practitioner, isolated from the mental and dualizing aspect of intellect (*manovijñāna*), reflects a Pātañjala view. The latter system regards the Lord as a special kind of soul that is superior to the other souls by virtue of its paramount and eternal clarity, whereas the 'orthodox' Śaiva *Siddhānta* sees in the Lord an all-powerful and all-knower Soul. Liberation, according to our text, does not consist in the partaking by the individual soul of Śiva's supernatural qualities, but rather in the isolation of the mental knowledge from the pure awareness of the soul, which is itself the Lord Śiva — a view middling between the Śaiva and Pātañjala one.

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Facing God: Divine Names and (Celestial) Hierarchies

MADEEA AXINCIUC

"[…] your name is like anointing oil poured out […]."
(*Song of Songs* 1, 3)

Introductory remarks

The paper aims at unfolding the various significances and interpretations with regard to the Hebrew divine names and their role in reconfiguring the 'face of God' within the Jewish tradition, by approaching particular 'contexts' in the *Hebrew Bible* as well as later mystical interpretations developed in *Kabbalah* and *Hasidism*.

The guiding line is represented by the tight relationship established between the revelation of the name and the apprehension of the divine (celestial) hierarchies. The assumption is that the adequate understanding of the divine name unveiled within the mystical experience is made possible only by trying to recreate (or recover), by the aid of the text, the steps of the divine hierarchy envisioned in that particular experience. The "receiving" (*kabbalah*) of the divine names reflects and symbolizes at the same time the access to particular (celestial) worlds, realms or entities.

The approach will reconsider the connection between divine name and theophany. Special attention will be paid to the interpretation of the Tetragrammaton (YHWH), as well as to the specific techniques exploiting the power of the name in later developments of Jewish mysticism.

Framework, structure and methodology

The study approaches the topic of the Hebrew divine names regarded in their tight and fundamental connection to divine (celestial) hierarchies within the specific context of the encounters with the divine, commonly described and interpreted as “theophanies”[1].

This is why the present work will address three subjects:

1. the significance and the interpretation of the Hebrew names with a special focus on divine names;
2. the relationship between divine names and theophany;
3. the relationship between divine names and divine hierarchies.

The link between the divine names and the (celestial) hierarchies is uncovered within the framework of the religious (or mystical) experience of theophany. The *psychanodia* or the ascent of the soul, as manifestation of the divine on different levels, is correspondently unveiling the “steps” of the divine hierarchy in connection with the revelation of the names.

Therefore, we assume that there is an *essential* relationship between the unveiling of the names and the access to the different levels of hierarchy envisaged as worlds, realms, palaces, dimensions, *sefirot*, divine beings etc., according to different religious, mystical or cultural contexts[2].

Our assumption is the following: different divine names correspond to different levels of (or represented within) hierarchy. The passage from one level to the other constitutes a passage from one stage of consciousness to higher stages as a direct result of a sudden religious experience or as a consequence of applying, practicing or performing different techniques and/or rituals.

Special emphasis will be laid in this presentation on interpreting the relationship between divine names and divine hierarchies from the particular perspective of the experiential dimension as presented in relevant Hebrew texts. The approach will combine methods stemming from the fields of comparative religion, philosophy of religion and

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[1] See Savran, George, *Encountering the Divine: Theophany in Biblical Narrative*, London/New York: T&T Clark International Publishers, 2005.

[2] I am not referring here to ‘context’ understood as exteriority, but to a complex framework which intermingles the experiential subjective factors and the traditional external ones. Their mixture already includes the primal interpretation of the experiential register.

history of religious ideas, at the same time indicating toward more complex understandings reframed today in new interface research areas such as contemplative science or consciousness studies.

1. The Hebrew (divine) names and their interpretation

The Hebrew names, as they are introduced in the Hebrew Bible, as well as in later Hebrew texts, are indicative of the essence and/ or the attributes of the object, place or person/ living being they explicitly or indirectly refer to. Thus, there is a direct connection between the name and the denominated object, place or entity. The name proves to be the powerful expression and the in-forming agent of the specific features and particular essence of the object, place or entity it defines. The name and the one it 'denominates' are intensely and mysteriously interacting. The name is actually understood as having a conjoined nature, since it is not accidentally added, as a *post factum* event, but it somehow constitutes and undoubtedly participates to the very essence of the one it designates.

It is more than evident that the name influences and determines the profile, the particular features and even the specific actions or activity of the 'denominated' one.

Two types of 'events' are usually bringing into attention the powerful status of the name in the Hebrew religious literature: the receiving of the names and, as a reflex gesture, the changing of the pre-existing names (whether it refers to a place or to a person/ entity).

The act of receiving (divine) names stands for reaching or gaining access to higher levels and dimensions in the spiritual realm.

At the same time, changing the name of a place or a person indicates a profound change in the particular nature and properties of that place or person, in terms of being endowed with higher qualities or significance.

On the other hand, the name, as any other 'definition', imposes limits and borders, implying, by its very nature, constraints, limitations and boundaries, since it delineates something that can be named, and belongs by nature to the realm of creation.

Adam, after the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, is empowered to name everything around, the act being at the same time suggestive of the new status of Adam as well as of the new (image of the) world grasped as multiplicity, consecutive delineations and circumscribed entities.

The name is having power over the one it designates: by using a name one can immediately access the entity or the realm it refers to.

Among the Hebrew names, a special status is attributed to proper names which univocally designate a particular place or entity by addressing it in its singularity and uniqueness. The proper name 'calls' and 'encompasses' the essence and particular features of a person, all the other (multiple) names addressing different purely descriptive registers generally related to qualities, actions or attributes which may be shared within the same group, species or genus belonging to the same taxonomic category.

The power of these names is more efficient whenever they are 'received' in a theophanic vision. The higher is the level of religious experience, the stronger is the power of the name, since it constitutes the expression or reflection of higher realms and states of consciousness.

It is obvious that the proper name, as any other name, 'contains', in an incomprehensible manner, the 'ingredients' capable to relate directly to the essence and attributes of the denominated one. The name is mysteriously accompanying every 'separated' existence as an essential 'correlate' at the linguistic level.

In this way, the receiving of the name might be relevant for the capability of fully perceiving the realm or dimension whose representation may thus be named, i.e. circumscribed, apprehended, and circumambulated.

Among the proper names, a special group or category is represented by the divine names designating the divine (being) and the different divine aspects or attributes.

According to Moses Maimonides' interpretation, the most prominent medieval Jewish thinker, all the divine names, except for the Tetragrammaton, are referring exclusively to divine attributes addressing lower registers of the divine indicated by means of positive and negative attributes.[3] The Tetragrammaton alone represents the proper name, having the power to address the essence of the divine:

> All the names of God, may He be exalted, that are to be found in any of the books derive from actions. There is nothing secret in this matter. The only exception is one name: namely, *Yod*, *He*, *Vav*, *He*. This is the name of God, may He be exalted, that has been originated without any derivation, and for this reason it is called the *articulated name*. This means that this name gives a clear unequivocal indication of His essence, may He be exalted. (*I, 61*)

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[3] Cf. Maimonides, Moses, *The Guide of the Perplexed* [Shlomo Pines [tr.)], Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Whereas the attributes are mainly descriptive, the Tetragrammaton is 'performative'. This is why the interdictions of pronouncing the Tetragrammaton are explicitly stated.

The divine names derived from various attributes are describing the divine in accordance to the human possibilities of understanding the divine presence, actions or qualities. This is why, they will address different layers in the divine hierarchy (perceived or contextualized as intra-divine world or dynamic).

The Tetragrammaton, expressing the highest level of 'communication' or communion, is not a human-like expression or formula anymore: the intimate, mysterious name may be received and pronounced only in an 'unitive' state, *unio mystica*[4], alluded in the texts by the Hebrew word *devekut* or by different expressions or sentences indicating the state of unity. This is why the Tetragrammaton may not be taught or transferred in a usual manner, as any other name, since it supposes the highest and total experience of union. The Tetragrammaton is never pronounced or transmitted, but only received. It represents the proper name of God, the name He alone may reveal and pronounce. The pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton implies the highest manifestation of the divine as divine presence.

In order to illustrate, I will introduce two quotations from Abraham Abulafia, a prominent figure of the 13th century ecstatic Kabbalah[5]:

> The benefit of the knowledge of the name [of God] is its being the cause of man's attainment of the actual intellection of the active intellect and the benefit of the intellection of the active intellect is the ultimate aim of the life of the intellectual soul and it is the reason of the life of the next world; this aim is the union of the soul, by this intellection, with God forever. (*Hayyei ha-Olam ha-Ba*[6])

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[4] See, in this respect, the important contribution of Moshe Idel's study, "Abraham Abulafia and *Unio Mystica*", *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* [Isadore Twersky and Jay M. Harris (eds.)], vol. no. III, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2000.

[5] See Idel, Moshe, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1988, and *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* [Jonathan Chipman (tr.)] Albany: SUNY Press, 1988.

[6] For the English translation, *apud* Idel, Moshe, "Abraham Abulafia and *Unio Mystica*", *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature* [Isadore Twersky and Jay M. Harris (eds.)], vol. no. III Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2000, 156.

and:

> The name [of God] is composed from two parts since there are two parts of love [divided between] two lovers, and the [parts of] love turn one [entity] when love became actuated. The divine intellectual love and the human intellectual love are conjoined being one. Exactly so the name [of God] includes [the words] one, because of the connection of the human existence with the divine existence during the intellection […]. This is the [great] power of man: he can link the lower part with the higher one, and the lower [part] and the higher [part] will descend and will kiss the entity ascending towards it, like a bridegroom actually kisses his bride out of his great and real desire, characteristic of the delight of both, from the power of the name [of God]. (*Or ha-Sekhel*[7])

A particular category among the divine names is constituted by the divine names attributed to realms or entities pertaining to the divine hierarchy usually perceived in prophetic or mystical experience. In this case, the receiving of the names gives the receiver access to the correspondent level in the hierarchy, representing at the same time the 'seal' of a genuine and adequate communication culminating in the 'granting' of the name.

Divine names and theophany

The different levels of the divine hierarchies as well as the many different correspondent names designating entities, places, realms, dimensions etc., are unveiled through intense religious experiences emblematic of specific states of consciousness interpreted as particular stages of spiritual development.

These religious experiences described as "encounters with the divine"[8] are usually gathered, in the exegetical literature, under the term "theophany" pointing to radical uncommon experiences revealing higher and hidden aspects of the divine perceived *in actu*.

But what is the "face" of the divine? How is the divine perceived as 'present'? What is the meaning of the appearances grasped in the prophetic or mystical vision? What is the significance of the divine name received during the theophanic experience?

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[7] For the English translation, *apud* Idel, Moshe, *ibid.*, 154.

[8] Cf. Savran, George, *Encountering the Divine: Theophany in Biblical Narrative*, London/New York: T&T Clark International Publishers, 2005.

The Hebrew texts seem to indicate toward a paradoxical situation: on one hand, the interdiction of representing the divine is clearly stated as a commandment and an article of faith; on the other hand, the texts are continually highlighting the most intense and significant experiences of the encounters with the divine as reference points for the human-divine relation: the manifestation of the divine presence is expressed, in these cases, by means of contextualized representations.

Even though the representations are multiple, none of them is *the* divine. They only announce the divine presence manifested on multiple levels, including the mundane visible register.

The message is evident: the divine may not be represented, still it manifests itself through infinite representations.

Even more troubling is the use of the term *panim*, 'face', in expressions such as: *panim el-panim* ('face to face'), *Peni'el* ('the face of God'), *mal'akh ha-panim* ('the angel of the face'), *panav* ('his face' – referring to angels) etc. What is the meaning of *panim* in these specific contexts?

The dislocation is necessary for a deeper understanding, and it supposes the passage from the literal meaning to the figurative one, which thus indicates toward the divine. The transfiguration of the words reestablishes the superior function of the language (and of any other type of representation) as a vehicle capable to re-orientate the gaze toward the One beyond.

Consequently, receiving divine names may also apply to the mundane realm whenever a 'transfiguration' of that kind takes place, being indicative of a passage from one consciousness level to the other: the experience re-configures one's 'world' in the supra-mundane and mundane registers. The change is manifest at all levels, transmuting the essence as well as the attributes of the 'receiver' understood not only as a specific entity, but as a 'context', a space-time 'recipient' of the divine presence permeating the whole 'place'[9].

Whenever a theophany is described, it produces *essential* changes (i.e., at the level of the *essence*): the divine presence manifests if and only there is 'place' for its (in)dwelling. By its very nature, theophany implies the re-configuring of the 'receiver' as being able to express and as allowing the presence of the divine.

[9] See, for the various interpretations of the Hebrew biblical term *ha-makom*, "the place", Houtman, C., 1977, "What Did Jacob See in His Dream at Bethel?" *Vetus Testamentum,* vol. no. 27, 345-46.

In conclusion, whenever a name is changed during (or as a consequence of) a theophany, the name is a divine name, by transfiguration, even if it applies to a particular mundane place or a person. That place and that person do not manifest solely their presence, but they change their status by 'receiving', 'containing' or expressing the divine presence. Whether we take into consideration higher levels of perception related to extra-mundane steps of the divine 'ladder' or lower mundane representations, theophany re-defines all the registers of perception and interpretation, untying the knots and thus making the divine present.

After fighting the 'man', Ya'akov receives the blessing of a new name, further bestowed upon the visible mundane place. *Yisra'el* and *Peni'el* (the 'face of God') are both to be considered divine names:

> And he said to him: What is your name? And he said: Ya'akov. And He said: Your name shall be called no more Ya'akov, but Yisra'el: for you have contended with God and with men, and have prevailed. And Ya'akov asked Him, and said: Tell me, I pray Thee, Thy name. And He said: Why is it that you do ask after My name? And He blessed him there. And Ya'akov called the name of the place Peni'el: for I have seen God face to face (*panim el-panim*), and my life is preserved. (*Genesis 32, 28-31*)[10]

Divine names and divine hierarchies

The theophany as manifestation of the divine presence or 'encounter with the divine' displays the levels of the divine hierarchy, 'touching' each and every step 'till' the visible, material, space-time dimension. The message of the divine presence is thus expressed through the hierarchy itself which actually becomes the expression of the divine.

According to the state of consciousness of the person experiencing the theophany, different manifestations will occur, and different representations and names will become manifest. The passage from one level of consciousness to the other is thus expressed by the change at the representational level, naturally followed or accompanied by the change of the name.

Consequently, each and every divine name constitutes the sign sealing a particular approach to the divine in terms of access level. The

[10] The translation of the Hebrew verses closely follows *The Jerusalem Bible*, Jerusalem: Koren Publishers Jerusalem LTD, 1997.

divine names are the gates opened and the path for the divine presence to become manifest:

> And since God wanted us, He announced to us… the mysteries of this world, which is sealed with His name, in order to untie all the knots, by whom they [i.e., the knots] were knotted according to Him [i.e., the name] and with it [i.e., the name] we were composited, so that we are able to become simple [i.e., spiritual], loose from all remaining compositions, and he will remain uncomposite […]. (Abraham Abulafia, *Sitrei Torah*[11])

In this light, at different stages different divine names will be revealed.

The most spectacular case is, as an illustration, the case of Moses who is repeatedly receiving divine names, the highest name revealed being the Tetragrammaton:

> I am the God of your father, the God of Avraham, the God of Yitz'chak and the God of Ya'akov. (*Exodus 3, 6*)

> […] and they shall say to me: What is His name? What shall I say to them? And God said to Moshe, *Ehyeh Asher Ehyeh* [I am/will be what I am/will be], Here is what to say to the people of Isra'el: *Ehyeh* [I am/will be] has sent me to you. (*Exodus 3, 13-14*)

> And he said, I beg you to show me your glory! He replied, I will cause all My goodness to pass before you, and in your presence I will pronounce the name of YHWH […]. (*Exodus 33, 18-19*)

I have underlined that the receiving of the divine names supposes a radical religious experience, hence the fundamental connection between the divine names and the theophany. In other words, the divine names emerge and are revealed during a prophetic or mystical experience, representing the correlate manifestations sealing a particular level of access to the divine realm. Different divine hierarchies will become manifest accordingly.

The access to the divine realm is not a mere cognitive apprehension. It can not occur at will (unless specific techniques are provided), nor can it be 'transferred' (in the same way an experience may not be transmitted).

This is why the understanding of the divine names is strongly related to the understanding of theophany and, consequently, of the

[11] For the English translation, *apud* Idel, Moshe, *ibid.*, 155.

divine hierarchies envisaged within the theophanic vision as successive passages from one state of consciousness to another.

The experience of (comm)union or *unio mystica* is the necessary 'framework' for accessing, at different levels, the divine hierarchies and for receiving divine names.

Here we have two illustrations from Abraham Abulafia, describing the state of *unio mystica*:

> For now he is no longer separated from his Master, and behold he is his Master and his Master is he, for he is so intimately united with Him, that he cannot by any means be separated from Him, for he is He… (*Hayyei ha-Olam ha-Ba*[12])

and:

> His higher soul longed to unite with her root, which is the beginning without end, and the end without beginning… and God, may He be exalted, has poured upon him, out of the efflux of His Goodness… until He caused his intellect to pass slowly from its human potentiality and caused it to become divine actuality. (*Sitrei Torah*[13])

Once received during a unitive experience, the divine names may function as a key for re-opening the gate at will, and for enabling, in special conditions, by the power of the divine name, the access of a disciple to the divine realm. This is how the invocation techniques developed and proliferated in later forms of Kabbalah and Hasidism.

Torah was approached in this new light as a continuum of divine names, the reading or recitation of the Torah text becoming a powerful invocation technique.[14]

Here we have, in this respect, a suggestive late illustration from Hasidism:

> It is as if God has contracted Himself into the Torah. When one calls a man by his name, he puts all his affairs aside and answers to the person who called him, because he is compelled by his name. Likewise God has as if contracted himself into the Torah, and the Torah is his name, and when someone reads the Torah they draw God, blessed be He, downwards toward us, because He and His name are one total unity with us. (R. Dov Baer, *Or ha-Emmet*[15])

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[12] For the English translation, *apud* Idel, Moshe, *ibid.*, 156.

[13] For the English translation, *apud* Idel, Moshe, *ibid.*, 154.

[14] See Idel, Moshe, *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 155-160.

[15] For the English translation, *apud* Idel, Moshe, ibid., 156.

In order to address particular levels in the divine hierarchy specific invocation techniques were used exploiting the power of the divine names. This is why the magical[16] dimension became more evident in the later developments of Jewish Mysticism.

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[16] For the magical aspects developed in Hasidism, as well as for a new perspective regarding the relationship between religion and magic, see Idel, Moshe, *Hasidism: between Ecstasy and Magic*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1995.

The Divine and Oriental Textiles

CHRISTINE BELL

Many textiles demonstrate designs with symbolic meanings. Chinese and Japanese fabrics often include floral and geometric patterns which are auspicious: i.e. wishes for long life or marital happiness. This paper focuses on Mahâyâna Buddhism in Tibet and provides examples of symbols in modern textiles which have a religious meaning specifically those depicting the Buddhist eight auspicious symbols.

Cults and rituals cannot do without textiles. However, they are usually accessories and not the focus. They serve as altar cloths, banners, hangings, monks' or priests' robes, protective covers of the Holy Writ, mounting of thangkas and scrolls, and under and over ritual objects. Some religious symbols are already woven into the fabric (the very weaving of which was already considered a prayer), others embroidered, printed, painted, or otherwise decorated.

Some motifs have become quite widespread and are used today in a purely decorative manner and their religious background is not even recognized as such anymore. Some auspicious symbols including many to be found in Tibet have apparently been utilized for thousands of years. Many of them originated in Indian religions and in the course of centuries have undergone various cultural assimilations and changes of meaning.

Brocade in Tibet – Eight Auspicious Symbols

Buddha is Sanskrit for the awakened: a creature who, through his own ethical behavior and profound insight has reached purity and perfection of spirit. He has reached nirvāṇa within his lifetime (the expression for the goal of leaving the circle of suffering through enlightenment) and is therefore no longer bound to the cycle of reincarnation.

A number of religious symbols came to Tibet from India with the spread of Buddhism. In Buddhism eight auspicious symbols represent the offerings made by the gods to Shakyamuni Buddha immediately after he attained enlightenment.

The following eight emblems belong to one of the oldest groups and are very popular in China and Tibet[1]. (**Fig. 04)** They are common decorative elements in Tibetan life as seen in, architecture, tents, costumes and in paraphernalia of everyday life. Textiles are very widely used in Tibetan monasteries. Colorful brocade (one-sided, patterned cloth woven with metal threads) is seen to decorate exteriors, cover supporting columns, for cushions and hangs from walls and ceilings. Dagyab Rinpoche in his book on Buddhist symbols in Tibetan culture asserts, "the Tibetans are extremely fond of rich silk brocades, and have imported them for centuries (**Fig. 03)** the best quality came from the Russia, the second-best from China".[2] The fabrics used today usually come from China where the Buddhist eight auspicious symbols are ubiquitous. The brocade described here (origin certainly China) was purchased in a shop in Lhasa in the fall of 2008.

The following emblems represent **Buddhist Eight Precious Things** in Tibetan known as **The Eight Symbols of Good Fortune** (Tibetan: *bkra-shis rtags-brgyad;* Sanscrit: *aṣṭamaṅgala*). These first four symbols are said to be associated with Buddha:

The Treasure Vase (Tibetan = *gter-chen-po'i bum-pa*; Sanscrit = *kalaśa*) is generally shown as a rounded vessel with a short decorated neck. A jewel (three jewels) denoting treasure is often seen in its opening. The general symbolism of vases certainly goes back to the early days of religion. The meaning is usually associated with the concept of storage and satisfaction of material desires. In Chinese a homophone for vase *ping* 瓶 means peace 平 and is therefore auspicious.

The vase **(Fig. 01 – top row - middle)** shown here is decorated with silk scarves and stands on a three footed round base. In the mouth of the vase there appears to be a fly whisk, four feathers (?) and a wishing tree on which is hanging a stone chime; an object more usually associated with the Chinese secular Eight Precious Things.

According to Indian tradition the sacred vase is filled with *amṛta*, an elixir from heaven. In Tibetan Buddhism, there are different vases for varying purposes, especially for tantric rituals. The particular form

[1] Vollmer, John E., *Five colours of the universe. Symbolism in clothes and fabrics of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644–1911)*, 1981, 63.

[2] Dagyab Rinpoche, *Buddhist symbols in Tibetan culture*, 1995, 93.

of the treasure vase included with the Tibetan "eight symbols of good fortune" is a symbol of the fulfillment of spiritual and material wishes, and is also an attribute of particular deities, associated wealth.[3]

The Victory Sign (Banner) (Tibetan = *rgyal-mtshan*; Sanscrit = *dhvaja*) is often depicted in a form which is similar to the parasol (with which it can easily be confused); it is made of wood and cloth and is generally depicted as lavishly decorated with steamers, tassels and a flaming jewel. In different shapes and in beaten copper, it often crowns the four corners of Buddhist temples or gateways. In Sanskrit meaning "sign of victory over all disagreements, disharmonies, or hindrances" this battle standard of military supremacy, the victory banner, was adopted by early Buddhism as an emblem of the Buddha's victorious enlightment and his vanquishing of the armies of Māra[4] It is not described anywhere in classical Tibetan literature. It symbolizes for Tibetans the victory of Buddhist teaching, of knowledge over ignorance or victory over all hindrances, also for the attainment of happiness. In this brocade **(Fig. 01 – middle row - left)** its somewhat rounded form is decorated with fringe and scarves.[5]. The Tibetan form of the victory banner is usually constructed on a cylindrical wooden frame, which is capped with a small jewel-tipped parasol and vertically draped with layers of silk valances, hanging aprons, jewel nets and silk scarves.

In the Chinese collection of **The Buddhist Eight Precious Things** the **Canopy** (**Fig. 04)** symbolizes a monarch and shelters all living things, replaces the victory sign or banner.

The Right-Turning (Coiled) Conch Shell (Tibetan = *dung g.yas-'khyil*; Sanscrit = *dakṣiṇāvartaśaṅkha)* As a natural object, it is certainly one of the oldest ritual items in existence. In pre-Buddhist times it served as an attribute for Hindu gods and symbolized femininity. Seasnail shells, imported from India, were rare and valuable items in Tibet. The "right-turning" or clockwise-spiraling form, as determined by looking at the univalve's growth spiral on the top of the shell, is considerably rarer than the left-turning form[6]. Shells with whorls turning to the right were especially prized as they recall the "blessedness of turning to right" as Buddhists do in circumambulating sacred monuments and as

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[3] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995, 22.

[4] Beer, Robert, *The encyclopdia of Tibetan symbols and motifs*, 1999, 180.

[5] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995, 27–28.

[6] Stix Hugh & Marguerite & R. Tucker Abbott, *The shell: five hundred million years of inspired design*. 1988 (p. unnumbered).

is demonstrated in brocade at the base of the shell by a small clock-wise turning whorl. **(Fig. 01 – middle row - right)**

The conch was particularly valued in Tibetan Buddhism, for its powerful sound as an instrument. It was used to summon the assembly and served during the ritual as a musical offering as well as a container for saffron water. They also were used in ornaments for decorating thrones, reliquaries, statues[7]... The conch represents the deep, far reaching melodious sound of Buddha's teaching. It has a purely religious significance.

The Parasol (Umbrella) (Tibetan = *gdugs*; Sanskrit = *chattra*). The symbol of the parasol to denote power or rank is easily understood, for one had to be rich to possess such an item let alone to have someone carry it. The fact that it also protected the bearer from the heat of the sun was transferred into the religious sphere as a "protection against the heat of the defilements". In China this is also the symbol of an incorruptible official. Tibetans took over the parasol from Indian art where multiple parasols were depicted piled one on top of another. In Tibet practicality it lent itself to a more restrained and portable form.

Religious dignitaries of high rank were entitled to a silk parasol in a procession; secular rulers to one embroidered with peacock feathers. When the Dalai Lama leads a procession, he is entitled to both to demonstrate that he is a secular as well as religious ruler of the Tibetans.

Here the parasol is closer to the Chinese version **(Fig. 01 – bottom row - middle).** It is decorated with scarves, but not shown in a multiple form. The parasol has come to represent spiritual power in a positive sense. As with other Buddhist symbols the meaning has been transferred from the worldly to the spiritual level.[8]

In the Tibetan collection of the Eight Symbols of Good Fortune the Parasol or Umbrella closely resembles the Canopy (**Fig. 04**). The following four symbols from **The Buddhist Eight Precious Things** relate to the tenets of Buddhism:

The Wheel (of Dharma) – (Tibetan = *'khor-lo;* Sanskrit = *cakra*) The wheel is an ancient Indian symbol of creation, sovereignty, protection and the sun. It represents motion, continuity and change, forever moving onwards like the circular wheel of the heavens.[9] Buddhism adopted it as a symbol of Buddha's teaching that was "set in motion" with Shakyamuni's First Sermon in Sarnath. As Buddhism

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[7] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995, 24.

[8] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995, 19.

[9] Beer, Robert 1999, 185.

spread across Asia, the wheel came to symbolize the Buddhist doctrine. It reminds us that the Dharma is all-embracing and complete in itself. It has no beginning and no end. And is at the same time in motion and at rest.[10] **(Fig. 02 – upper row - left).**

The Tibetan wheel of the law in its best-know form, has eight spokes or multiples there of, a hub and rim. It is often set in a lotus base and has a halo of flames to indicate its sacred character. It is frequently encountered as an architectural ornament – separate or as a part of various sets of ornaments.[11]

The circular form makes it a never ending symbol. Just as a circle has no beginning or end, emptiness also has no end. It is usually shown with 8 spokes representing the *saṁsāra* (Sanskrit = suffering) or eight stages of transmigration (path to Nirvāṇa): (1. right understanding, 2. right intention, 3. right speech, 4. right action, 5. right livelihood, 6. right effort, 7. right mindfulness, 8. right concentration).

The (Two) Golden Fishes (Tibetan = *gser-nya*; Sanscrit = *suvarnamatsya*) In Buddhism the golden fish symbolize happiness and as fish multiply rapidly also represent fertility and abundance. Fish often swim in pairs, and in China they came to represent conjugal unity and fidelity[12] In Asia the two fish depicted are often carp which are highly regarded for their beauty, size and long lifespan. In China they are shown nose-to-nose swimming in an upward direction as if they are drawn by the jewel *ratna*, which stands for preciousness and clarity of Buddhist teachings as well as the condition of enlightenment. A Chinese homophone for *yu* 魚 for fish means abundance 餘 and thus also wealth and is therefore auspicious.

Although considered an Indian symbol originally representing the two rivers the Yumuna and Ganges it was found in China as far back as the Zhou dynasty (1027–256 BC), before Buddhism was introduced to China and this symbol found its way into Buddhist tradition. In Tibet, the golden fish are also found nose-to-nose, but more often than not, swimming downwards **(Fig. 02 – second row - left).** They are almost only found in connection with the other seven symbols and were not awarded any special meaning of their own by the Tibetans. The golden fish depicted in this brocade are clearly carp and are swimming upstream probably indicative of their Chinese origin.

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[10] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995, 31.

[11] Reynolds, Valrae & Amy Heller, *The Newark Museum Tibetan collection.* Vol. I, 1983, 67.

[12] Beer, Robert 1999, 176.

The Lotus (Tibetan = *pad-ma;* Sanskrit = *padma)* was ascribed sacred qualities throughout the ancient world because it grows undefiled out of muddy water. Early Buddhists adopted lotus symbolism which already existed in India to represent the many aspects of the Buddhist path. It symbolizes divine birth and emancipation of Buddhahood even today in a greater part of Asia because although its roots are in the mud, it produces an immaculate flower (= enlightenment) which raises above the water. It also symbolized the passage of time because the fruit, bloom and seeds are in appearance simultaneously and therefore the teachings of Buddha.

It is one of Buddhism's best recognized motifs since every important deity is associated in some manner with the lotus either holding it in their hands or sitting in an open blossom as is often the case with Buddha in the "lotus" position. In Chinese a homophone *lian* 聯 also means (matrimonial) love and is therefore widely used in connection with harmonious marriages.

The lotus is widely found in Tibet as a decorative element in both naturalistic, but more likely in a highly-stylized form as demonstrated on this brocade. **(Fig. 02 – third row - left).** This is not surprising as the lotus does not grow in Tibet. It is also found there in the following forms:

1. as a naturalistic growing plant with leaves and stem i.e. in the hands of deities and saints,

2. shown supporting seated or standing Buddhist images in both realistic and abstract forms but always retaining the symbolism of purity and the transcendent state of enlightenment,

3. and lastly as a conventionalized radiating disk related in appearance to the Wheel or sun disk.

Within the group of eight symbols, the lotus stands for purity, especially mental purity.

The Glorious (Endless) Knot *((*Tibetan = *dpal be'u*; Sanskrit = *srivatsa)* This graphic ornament is composed of right-angled, intertwined lines in the form of a knot with no beginning or end. It expresses motion and rest in a form of great simplicity and balanced harmony and bears a certain resemblance to an overall version of the swastika. **(Fig. 05)** Hindus associated it with a birthmark found, on the chest of Vishnu. In its earliest form, this seems to have been a *nāga* symbol of two stylized snakes. According to Chinese tradition it represents the intestines 臟 of Buddha or the entrails of a dead enemy. This is probably due to the rebus meaning of *tsang* 藏 (meaning infinite mercy of Buddha).

The endless knot shows up in different cultures, i.e. the Celts and on African textiles.

In Tibetan Buddhism, there are no records of possible earlier meanings. For the Tibetans, the endless knot is the classic sign for *rten-'brel* (the way in which reality exists). It demonstrates that all phenomena are intertwined and dependent on causes and conditions. It is certainly one of the favorite symbols in Tibetan culture and it is often found singularly. Since it has no beginning and end, it also symbolizes the infinite knowledge of the Buddha.[13]

Although the other seven auspicious symbols can clearly be identified on this brocade, the classic endless knot is not to be found. The eighth motif included here most closely resembles a triangular pile with four levels and tentacles **(Fig. 02 – second row - right).** With some imagination it might demonstrate a lock of hair, a coil of intestines, the Tibetan *lu* = serpent (Sanskrit *nāga*) or, more likely, a Mt. Meru maṇḍala offering.

It is possible that the designer of this brocade wasn't familiar with the eight auspicious symbols and had difficulty accommodating the Endless Knot in its classic geometric form. But as Dagyab Rinpoche in his book on Buddhist symbols speculates, "On the Chinese brocades, certain figures constantly recurred, and accordingly, even without detailed information, they could have been interpreted as symbols of good fortune and allotted to the group of Seven Gems".[14]

The Buddhist Eight Precious Things and one last important Tibetan symbol

This representation of the eight auspicious symbols combined in one image in a banner was photographed in Tibet in 2008. **(Fig. 06)**

One final word on a symbol prevalent in Tibet. The Sanskrit *svastika* or lucky charm is a right- or left-handed cross. It is associated with the pre-Buddhist Bön religion and used the right turning corners. The left turning *svastika* is associated with Tibetan Buddhism and is symbol for constancy, perseverance, and steadfastness and is often used together or is even a variation of the meander ornament (Chinese 卍 *wan* = ten thousand 萬) **(Fig. 07).**The swastika as decorative element can be found in many cultures and on many continents, the exception being Australia. The meaning however varies from culture to culture.

[13] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995: 25.
[14] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995: 93.

In conclusion, this example of a brocade fabric produced in China for use in Tibet demonstrates Tibetan, as well as, Chinese elements of Buddhist connotation. It is probably not possible to determine why the ubiquitous "never-ending knot" is not included here and what the mysterious triangular symbol means. To quote Dagyab Rinpoche yet again, "The Seven Gems is the name given to a group of objects which have taken over by the Tibetans as individual symbols from Chinese art. There is, accordingly, no reliable Tibetan source from which we could derive detailed explanations concerning their description, designation, or meaning. Almost any interpretation appears to be possible and permissible."[15]

Fig. 01

[15] Dagyab, Rinpoche 1995, 91.

Fig. 02

Fig. 03

Eight symbols were brought from India by Buddhist missionaries. Four were royal emblems associated with the Buddha: canopy of state (over the image), conch shell, vase, and royal umbrella (to the right in the waves). Four more symbolized religious tenets: wheel of the law, endless knot, lotus and paired fish (to the left in the waves).
Canopy, symbol of a monarch, shelters all living things
Lotus, symbol of purity, rises unblemished through muddy water
State umbrella, symbol of an incorruptible official
Sacred vase holds the amrita or water of life. Vase (p'ing) rebus symbol for peace (p'ing).
Wheel of the law, the ever-turning cycle of transmigration.
Conch shell, symbolizes the call to worship
Endless knot, everlasting love of Buddha

Fig. 04

Fig. 05

Fig. 06

Fig. 07

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Contacts of Russian Diplomats with Ecclesiastical and Secular Rulers of Mongolia as a Factor of Bilateral Relation (the second half of the 19th century)

ELENA BOYKOVA

In the beginning of the 1860s after the Russian Consulate had officially started its activity in the capital city of Mongolia, Urga, contacts between Russian diplomats and Mongolian authorities — both ecclesiastical and civil, started being more active. In 1861 the members of the Russian consulate arrived in Urga; there were only few of them — a consul, a secretary, an interpreter and a first-aid man.

Qing Empire was interested in isolating Mongolia from the Russian influence. Mongolia was infested with Chinese merchants who controlled their market. Chinese merchants were represented in Mongolia with large firms which leaned on the Chinese government to prevent Russian merchants from coming to Mongolia. Chinese merchants enjoyed full support of the Manchu government in Mongolia. After having become a part of the Qing state Mongols were forbidden to trade with the Russians; they had to buy almost all the necessary goods from Chinese merchants. All questions of the Russian-Mongolian relations had to be solved with the government of China.

In the first years of the Consulate's work Manchu officials prohibited Mongols to pay visits there and have contacts with Russians. Mongols themselves sometimes hesitated and did not give credence to Russian diplomats. But gradually the Chinese authorities slackened their political pressure on the Mongols in that question, and Mongols started contacting with Russians in general, and Russian diplomats in particular, more fearlessly. Local people were not hostile, but quite often

Mongolian authorities preferred to avoid meeting Russians because of the fear of Chinese authorities and it took time to start regular official and informal contacts with Russian diplomats and even with those Russians who lived and had their business in Mongolia at that time.

Nevertheless, a great number of pieces of information on different sides of life in Mongolia were obtained by the Russian diplomats from the Mongols — both state officials, and local authorities; that information was of special importance for the foreign ministry of Russia with regard to the Russian-Mongolian relations. Sometimes information came from ordinary people.

In the summer of 1862, a new representative of the Chinese government arrived in Mongolia. His attitude toward Russians in general and Russian diplomats in particular was better than that of his predecessor's. After that relationship among Russians in Mongolia and Manchu and Mongolian officials, lamas and influential Mongols changed for better. Contacts with the officials of high rank became possible and more frequent. The Russian Consul General had an opportunity to get acquainted with most khans and princes of Eastern and Western part of the country. Direct contacts of Russian diplomats with high rank Mongolian authorities promoted better understanding between Russia and Mongolia and substantially influenced the bilateral relations.

Unfortunately it was not easy for Russian diplomats to meet Bogdo Gegen because of his failing health which did not allow him as often as before, to go to his people, and the audiences were sometimes limited to only brief meetings with Mongol princes and other noble and wealthy visitors.

There were not so many Russian diplomats who worked in Mongolia at that time, so objectively Russian church which officially started its activity in that country in 1865 when a temporary church (a chapel) was opened at the Urga consulate, helped the Russian diplomats contact with the Mongols.

The modern history of the Russian Orthodox Church in Mongolia began in 1860, when in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a consular service, which became a channel of penetration of Christianity abroad, was established.

First of all, the Russian church in Urga, was to attend the officials of the Russian consulate and the members of their families. But the question of the contacts of the Russian priest with the Mongols was

quite delicate. Russian Ministry of foreign affairs considered that the construction of a separate church could give “a reason for different senses and even to excitements among lamas and to start … intrigues on the part of the Catholic missionaries, spread in different parts of Mongolia”.[1] At the same time the Russian council Ya. Shishmarev considered the construction of an Orthodox church in Urga “rather important even and in the political sense”.[2]

In 1872 the construction of the first permanent Russian church in Urga was finished. For divine service there were hiermonks directed from the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission which means that there was not a permanent priest serving in the capital city of Mongolia. The Extreme Envoy of Russia and the Proxy Minister at the Beijing Court A.E. Vlangali considered such practice most acceptable. He was apprehended, that “movable by warm feelings of the Faith and the desire to pay more Mongols to the Orthodoxy, the clergy (of East Siberia. – E.B.) could frequently take a great interest further of the limits of the political prudence, and at that influence, which the lamas had on the Mongols, the slightest imprudence in missionary business could excite hatred and antagonism against us [i.e. Russia and Russians]”.[3] As we can see from this cited fragment, the government of Russia, taking into account its political tasks in the region, was not interested in spoiling the relations with Mongolian population, imposing the Orthodoxy to the Mongols.

The missionaries among the Mongols did not have any special success, especially in Khalkha region. By the end of the 1860s hiermonk Gerontji managed to baptize less than 40 Mongols, however the baptized people kept quite often alongside with the icons, subjects of the Buddhist cult in their yurts. Quite often under the influence of the lamas and the relatives the baptized people renounced the Orthodoxy. Only some of them, who went to Russia for earnings, remained Orthodox, but mostly until they returned home.

In December, 1892 the Irkutsk archbishop Tikhon created the Commission for the translation of the divine service books and spiritual-moral literature into Mongolian and Buryat languages. In the printing house of the Synod in St.-Petersburg, and also in Selenginsk and Irkutsk about 25 orthodox editions in the Mongolian language were published.

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[1] *Archiv vneshnej politiki Rossijskoj Imperii* (*AVPRI*), collection 143 “Kitaiskji stol”, unit 491, dossier 574, folio, folio 13 back.

[2] *Ibid*., folio 32 back.

[3] *Ibid*., folio 57 back.

Some years before, in the Irkutsk seminary teaching Mongolian and Buryat languages was established and this made possible the development of the missionary service in East Siberia and Mongolia.[4]

After the restoration of Mongolia's sovereignty and independence, in 1911 Russian authorities concluded an agreement with the government of Bogd Gegen on the activity of the Christian Orthodox missions in the Hubsugul region, in Altan-Bulak and Kobdo. Secular schools were opened in each parish; in those schools besides Holy law pupils studied basic subjects, such as mathematics and languages. Teachers in those schools were graduates from St. Petersburg and Kazan universities.

It should be noted that unlike other religions, Christianity penetrated into Chinese Empire in general and into Mongolia in particular not by force, but as a part of Russian diplomatic and cultural missions.

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[4] *Ibid*.

The Genealogy of the Chinggisids in Islamic Historiography

MIHÁLY DOBROVITS

The aim of this paper is to investigate how and why did the genealogical tradition of the Chinggisids become a part of the Persianate and Middle Turkic historiography. We shall focus on the recomposition of this tradition in the Islamic environment and its ideological functions.

It is quite a well-known fact, that the Mongols had developed their historical traditions long before they have finally conquered Iran and the Islamic corelands. In their historical tradition they focused on the rise of Chinggis Khan's family and their position as elected ones by the Heaven. One of the most important versions of this tradition have come down to us as the "Secret History of the Mongols".[1] Other versions very close to this one were incorporated into the Buddhist Mongolian historiography. The most important aim of this was to demonstrate the sacred position of Chinggis Khan and his family in the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition.[2]

On the other hand, the authors of the Islamic versions tried to drag the Mongolian tradition into their own cultural sphere. They did not have a real hard work to do, for the structure of the original material made it easy to elaborate it in a new context.

The oldest Mongolian history is a classical genealogical story with elements of hagiography demonstrating that Temüjin and his Borjigid

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[1] Wiliam Hung 1951, "Transmission of the Book Known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*", *The Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, 14, 433-456.

[2] Cyben Ž. Žamcarano 1955, *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century*, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 3, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz; Walter Heissig 1959, *Die Familien-und Kirchengeschichtschreibung der Mongolen, Teil I: 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, Asiatische Forschungen 5., Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz.

family were holders of divine charisma and therefore they are legitimate founders of their empires and charismatic rulers of all the inhabited world. We have also a series of other evidences demonstrating that the Mongolian Great Khans really believed that they were chosen rulers of the world.

Genealogy (*nasab*) had deep roots in Islamic historiography long before the age of the Mongols. It was cultivated by the pagan Arabic tribes and it was part of the Biblical tradition also well known by the Muslims. The Biography of the Prophet (*al-sīratu l-nabawiyya*) is also based on genealogical and hagiographical elements. It is also connected with the Biblical tradition. The genealogical histories of the Iranian Kings were also well-known for the Muslim historiographers. Iranian tradition became an integral part of Islamic historiography at least beginning from the age of Tabarī (839-923).[3] The so called Persian Renaissance and the "Šāhnāma" of Firdawsī (940-1019 or 1025) gave even more impetus to this process. The restoration of the Iranian political tradition reached its highest point with the coming of the Seljuqs (a dynasty of pure Turkoman origin), who after 1055 established themselves as great sultāns and protectors of the caliphate in Iran.[4] So these were the elements the Mongolian tradition had to be integrated with.[5]

There was also one important tradition that played a role in the assimilation of the Mongolian tradition to Islamic cultural sphere. Although the Turkic cycle of the Oġuz Khagan epic was only partly known to Islamic writers before the Mongolian conquest, this story became an integral part of the Islamized variants of the Chinggisid tradition. Originally ardent enemies of Islam, the Mongol rulers (and their retinues) of Eastern Europe, Iran and Central Asia soon or later found their way into Islam, but maintained and Islamizated their original

[3] On the Islamic historiography *vd.:* Fran Rosenthal 1968, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden, E. J. Brill.

[4] Philip K. Hitti 2002 *History of the Arabs*, Hampshire and London, Palgrave Macmillan, revised tenth edition, 294-296, 473-480; Richard N. Frye 1955 "Notes on the Renaissance of the 10th and 11th Centuries in Eastern Iran", *Central Asiatic Journal* I., 137-143; Richard N. Frye 2000 *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 104-230.

[5] Thomas T. Allsen 2009 "A Note on Mngol Imperial Ideology" In: Rybatzki, Volker et al. (eds.) *The Early Mongols: Language, Culture and History. Studies in Honor of Igor de Rachewiltz on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University, The Denis Sinor Institute of Inner Asian Studies, 1-8.

dynastic and tribal traditions.

In an older article of us we tried to demonstrate how and under which circumstances this situation came to exist.[6]

This process is usually connected with the gigantic work of the great Persian chronicler Rašīd ad-Dīn (cca. 1247-1318) the "Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīẖ",[7] (compiled between 1300 and 1310). Reading into the Introduction of the work of Rašīd ad-Dīn it becomes clear that he uses the word *turk* (with the Arabic plural *atrāk*) as a common denotation for all the nomadic inhabitant (*ṣaḥrānišīnān*) of the northern steppe zones as opposed to the *aᶜrāb*, the Arabic speaking Bedouins.[8] He maintained the use of the ethnonym Mongol only for the original family of the Chinggisids,[9] stating that there are „Turks who once were called Mongolians", *i.e.* Mongolian-speaking tribes who were subjugated by Chiggis Khan.[10] This work was later re-edited as the "Majmūᶜa-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū".[11]

In reality this identification was made first time by his pupil Ḥamdullāh Qazwīnī in his work "Tawārīẖ-i guzīda" (or "Ta'rīẖ-i guzīda", 1330).[12] By this work became Oġuz Khān, the legendary eponymic leader of the old Turkic peoples and the Uyghurs the proto-Islaminc forefather of the Chinggisids. His work became later enlarged and recomposed by Šaraf al-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī on the initiative of Ibrāhim Sulṭān, the grandson of Timur and the ruler of Shiraz and the western parts of Iran (1415-1435). His work is the "Ẓafarnāma" the famous biography of Timur (1425).[13] He enlarged the composition in two ways. He added to this text as a preface a part of the work of Gardīzī (11th century), the "Zayn al-aẖbār" dealing with the (mostly 8th century) history of the old Turkic peoples as the grandsons of Yāfaṯ

[6] Miháli Dobrovits 1994, "The Turco-Mongolian Tradition of Common Origin and the Historiography in Fifteenth Century Central Asia", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 47, 269-277.

[7] Muhammad Rawšan–Muṣṭafā Mūsawī (eds.) 1373 (1994/95) *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh-i Rašīd al-Dīn Fażlullāh Hamadānī*, I-IV, Tehrān, Našr Alborz.

[8] *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh-i Rašīd al-Dīn Fażlullāh Hamadānī* I, 39-41.

[9] *Ibidem,* I. 218-219.

[10] *Ibidem.* I, 145-212.

[11] Sayyed H.S. Kamal Hajj Sayyed Javadi (ed.) 1372/1992, *Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū: Zubdat al-tawārīẖ*, Tehrān, Nay.

[12] Dr. ᶜabd Al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī (ed.) 1381 (2002/2003) *Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī-I Qazwīnī: Ta'rīẖ-i guzīda*, Tehrān, Amīr Kabīr.

[13] There is one facsimile edition of this work: Isamaddin Orunbayev (ed.) 1972, *Šaraf Al-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī: Ẓafarnāma,* Tashkent, Fan.

b. Nūḥ.[14] He also described the genealogical line between Yafaṯ and Oġuz ḫān in a more sophisticated hagiographical form. According to this narrative, the Mongols of Chinggis Khan were descendants of the Turkic peoples coming from the lineage of Yapheth and Oġuz. They were destroyed nearly annihilated by the Tatars, the once pagan enemies of the „Muslim" Turks and were forced to flee to *Ergene Qon*, this legendary valley or cave in an iron mountain where they lived for many generations before their leaders Nöküz and Qiyan led them back in their original fatherland. Yazdī's second innovation consisted in that he included a virtual genealogy of his masters, the Timurids into this story. Inventing the figure of Qāčūlī bahādur, the twin brother of Qabul ḫān, the ancestors of the Chinggisids, he made an opportunity to add to this story the famous dream of Qāčūlī bahādur according to what the Chinggisids should come to power in the third generation after them but in the seventh generation the Timurids will be the legal inheritors of their rule. This story later became popular in the court of Uluġ beg (1405-1448), another grandson of Timur ruling in Samarqand. Here the "Ta'rīḫ-i arbaᶜa ulūs" maintained this conception. Although the work has not come down to us, we are well informed about its contents. This work was used by Ḫʷāndamīr and in this way, the whole composition found its way into Moghul India where it flourished for a long time.[15] If Ahmedov is right, it was later summarized in a hitherto unedited work, written in 1525 for the Sheybanid Keldi Muḥammad of Tashkent by a person called ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī Naṣrallāhī, the *Zubdatu l-āsār*.[16]

In the end we can see some substantial alterations in the story. At first, the Islamic variants lost all vivid connections with the Mongol original. Not only the language changed, originally from Mongolian to Persian and later partly from Persian to (Chagatay or Eastern) Turkic, but the story itself had lost its original context. It became a part of a Near Eastern and Persian historiographical tradition, the main concern consisted in how to find a due place for the forefather of the destroyers of the ᶜAbbāsid Caliphate but also of the founders of one of the epoch-

[14] ᶜAbd Al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (ed.) 1347/1968 *Tārīḫ-i Gardīzī*, Tehrān, Entešārat-e Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān.

[15] Wilheim Barthold 1928, *Turkestan down the Mongolian Invasion*, London, Luzac & Co, "E.J.W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series, V., 56; *Idem.* 1964, "Ulugbeg i ego vremya". *V.V. Bartol'd Sočineniya* II/2, Moskva, Nauka, 141.

[16] Mss Ivrran D 104; RGB f. 186, №19; Bori Ahmedovič Ahmedov 1985, *Istoriko-geografičeskaja literatura Srednej Azii XVI-XVIII vv*, Taškent, Fan, 30, 32-33.

making empires in Iran, Central Asia and in the Middle East. During these alterations, the imagined family of the Chinggis Khan became a kind of Muslim saints, and their once emphasized role as enemies of Islam tapered off. Not only new elements came to the story but many of the original characters have changed their names or their attributes. A certain Tümene Khan became the father of Qabul Khan, and so the grand-grandfather of Chinggis Khan. Alan-qoa became a daughter of a certain Čobinä-yulduz (or maybe in original Suldus) of the *Qor(u)las* tribe,[17] and the miraculous birth of her three sons became a parallel to the birth of Jesus.[18]

The story have also changed its ethnic background from Mongolian to Turkic. Later not only the Mongol Chinggisids became „Turks", but it denoted (the members of) the dynasties that can have legitimate claims to become rulers, *i.e.* the Chinggisids and Timurids. This was based on the cult of Chinggis-khan, the founder of the dynasty so deeply, that Yudin simply called it „a new religion of Chingisism".[19] Of course Yudin erroneously called it a „new religion" but it was really a cult and also a source of identity and political legitimation. Until the 18-19th century no one could be a legitimate ruler who could not establish (even imaginary) contacts with Chingis-khan and his descendants. Not only the rulers of Central Asia, but even the Mughals of India (being Timurids by paternal and Chinggisids by maternal ancestors), or the Manchus ruling China tried to do so. The story of the family of Chingis-khan was transformed into an Islamic hagiography, and mixed with the ethnogenetical legends of the Turco-Mongolian tribes of Central Asia was shaped into the form as a great (peseudo-)history and fit into the Muslim and Iranian historical tradition. Tribalism now became a source of legitimation and identity equal to religion.

This is why Abū l-ġāzī (1603-1663) gave the title of his recomposed variant of the Chinggisid history Rašīd ad-Dīn — *Šajara-i Turk* which is to be explained as 'The History of the Chinggisids' or 'The

[17] The main elements of the story are present in Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Ibid.*, I, 215-286; *cf.* also A.P. Grigor'ev 2009, "Letopis'nye licevye svody v srednevekovyh gosudarstvennyh obrazovanijah Rossii i Irana: čingisidskie rodoslovija na persidskom i čagatajskom jazykah", *Tjurkologiĕskij sbornik* 2007-2008, Moskva, «Vostočnaja literatura», 98-123.

18 Ferešteh Ṣarrāfān (ed.) 1380/2001, *Muḥammad Yūsuf Munšī: Taẕkere-ye Muqīm-xānī*, Tehran, Mīrāṯ-e Maktub.

19 V.P. Yudin 1992, "Orda belaya, siniaya, seraya, zolotaya", In: YUDIN, V.P. et al. (eds.), *Utemiš-hadji: Čingiz-name*, Alma-ata [now Almaty], Gylym, 15-21.

Legitimation of my ruling family'.[20] On the other hand we know that he was fully aware of the original Mongolian background of his ancestors, and living among the Kalmyks he learned some Mongolian language. This composition, really carried out only after his death is to be clearly compared with another book written by himself and also based on the Oguz and Turkmen *zayl* of Rašīd ad-Dīn — the *Šajara-i Tarākima*.[21] Comparing with his other work one can understand a clear political message sent by this ruler of Khiva to his former Turkoman enemies — although all of them were descendants of the same ruler, Oġuz ḫān, the Turkomans, who permanently tried to involve themselves into the state-affairs of Khiva, could never became legitimate rulers of that state.

On the other hand he could merely make use the original work of Rašīd ad-Dīn as composed by himself or in its later re-edited form known as the "Majmūᶜa-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū". We know that he had these manuscripts at his disposal.

We can only mention that a totemistic variant of the story was maintained in the work of Qazwīnī and also the historiography Golden Horde and entered maybe at the time of the Šaybanīs into Central Asia.[22] This variant never became officially acknowledged and was less popular than the other ones.

The last attempt to use this story for political purposes happened in the 19th century when the famous Chagatay chronicle "Firdawsu l-iqbāl" tried to demonstrate that the new Qongrat rulers of Khiva had their preeminence over the Chinggisids for their ancestors have left *Ergene-qon* before their ancestors.[23] But it was however too late to recompose this story, so legitimacy-making even in Central Asia turned to other ways.

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[20] Its only edition is Petr Desmaisons, (ed.) 1970, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân* ... St Leonards, Ad. Orientem Ltd–Amsterdam, Philo Press (repr. of the original edition: SPb 1871-74).

[21] Andrei Nikolaevič Kononov (ed.), 1958 *Rodoslovnaja turkmen, Sočinenija Abu-l-Gazi, hana hivinskogo*, Moskva-Leningrad, Izd-vo. An Sssr; Zühal Kargi Ölmez (ed.) 1996, *Ebülgazi Bahadir Han: Şecere-i Terakime (Türkmenlerin soykütüğü)*, Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi 3, Ankara, Simurg.

[22] A.M. Akramov (ed.) 1967 *Tawārīḫ-i guzīda–Nuṣrat-nāma*, Tashkent, Fan.

[23] Yuri Bregel (ed.) 1988, *Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnis and Muḥammad Riżā Āgahī : Firdaws al-iqbāl: A History of Khorazm*, Leiden–New York, E. J. Brill.

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^CABDALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ^CALĪ NAṢRALLĀHĪ 1525, *Zubdatu l-āsār*, unedited, MSS IVRRAN D 104; RGB f. 186, №19.

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Chinggis Khaan’s Sacrifice in Mongolia and Abroad

SENDENJAV DULAM

Since the 13th century, all Mongol ethnic groups around the world worshipped and offered sacrifice to a major historical character and that man is Chinggis Khaan (1162–1227). Most ancient and complete among great worship ceremonies known among Mongol ethnic groups is *Altan Ordon* “The Golden Palace” worship which is also called “Eight White Yurts” that takes place in the present Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. According to the history and legend after Chinggis Khaan ascended to heaven retainers and ministers loaded their master’s “golden corps” onto the ox-cart and moved towards the land of his birth. However upon arrival to Mona’s land called Khöövör the ox-cart got stuck in the mud up to the axis and horses of five different colours were brought to pull but failed. The whole empire suffered and mourned seeing this failure then Sönid, the warrior Gilugedei prostrated himself in front of the golden corpse of Chinggis Khaan and read his famous poem of mourning. As if the meaning of the poem of mourning fitted the moment the ox-cart got out of the mud and moved towards the direction of destination. Therefore at the end of the poem of mourning it is said:

Most eternal corpse originated from there
Becomes the *tulga*[1] of Khans and *zaisans*[2]
Became the object of worship of the whole empire
Became the eight white yurts
Remaining eternally
Because when the master was passing by
Got overwhelmed and praised this place

[1] In Mongolian, the “fire place”is situated in the middle of the yurt.

[2] *Zaisan* is either the title of an Oirat clan-head, or the title of an official in the administration of a lamasery or an ecclesiastical estate.

Just now the ox-cart
Got stuck until the axis
We made a false promise to this large country
Enshrined here his one sock
The shirt he was wearing and the *ger*[3] dwelling
Some people say his true corps is in Burkhan Khaldun
Some say that is behind the Altai Mountains, in front of Khentii Mountains
The place called *Ih őtőg* was said to have been enshrined.

[Lubsangdanjun 1990, 126b, 127b-128a][4]

Here I would like to deliberately explain that when Chinggis Khaan was alive he passed through this land and saw the beauty of the place and praised in verses "the broken state could take refuge here, the peaceful state should inhabit here, the deers could breed"[5] and exactly at that place the ox-cart got stuck in the mud. Therefore even nowadays within Mongols there is a widespread belief that praising a foreign land which one visits makes the spirit master of the place attempt and seize the person making him stay there. Chinggis Khaan, Queen Bőrtgőljin, Queen Khulan, Queen Gurbeljin Goo, Tului's queen Esh worship and sacrifice palace were first founded by Ordos Mongols, especially Suldiin Shar (yellow) Darkhads who are eternally widowed and who offer sacrifices to the holy spirit of Chinggis Khaan. There are numerous books and literature written on this topic[6], therefore I will

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[3] *Ger*, Mongolian name for the felt yurt.

[4] Lubsangdanjin, *Erten-ű qad-un űndűsűlegsen tőrű yosun-u jokiyal-i tobčilan quriyaγsan altan tobči kemekű orusibai*. Orusil bičigsen Ša. Bira, Ulus-un tőb nom-un sang-dur qadaγalaγdaju bui Lubsangdanjin-u γar ičimel eke-eče gerel jiruγ beledkegsen So. Tőrűbatu, Ulaγanbaγatur: Ulus-un keblel-űn γajar, 1990, 177ab.

[5] *Ibid*. 122b

[6] Sainjirγal, Mandaltu Šaraldai, Norow, *Altan ordun-u tayilγ-a*. Begejing:"Mongγol tulγur bičig-űn čubural", Űndűsűten-ű keblel-űn qoriy-a, 1983, 470; Sayisiyal, Rasidongrob, *Činggis qaγan-u tobčiyan*. Degedű, douradu debter, Hohhot: Őbűr mongγol-un arad-un keblel-űn qoriy-a,1988, 1377; Sainjirγal, Mandaltu, *Mongγol tayilγ-a*. Ba.Qasmőren kinaba, Begejing: Űndűsűten-ű keblel-űn qoriy-a, 2001, 613; Eedenibolud, Borjigin, *Sine-ber ariγudqan tungγaγsan Činggis qaγan-u altan bičig*. Sa.Narasun, kereyid Nacuγ ariγudqan tungγaba, Qayilar: Űbűr mongγol-un soyul-un keblel-űn qoriy-a, 2000, 129; Qurcabaγatur, Losal, Čoγtu, Bayandorji, *Činggis qaγan-u altan bičig*. Qayilar: Űbűr mongγol-un soyul-un keblel-űn qoriy-a, 2001, 351; Šaraldai, Norow, *Sacrifice and worship of Chinggis Khaan's cenotaph*. Edited by S.Dulam, Ulaanbaatar: Uria, 2001, 269. Dulam, Sendenjav, Chinggis Khaan's state symbol. Edited by Ts. Shagdarsuren, Ulaanbaatar, 2006, 287.

not pursue it further. However we managed to obtain a rare manuscript called "Great sacrifice plea of Lord Chinggis Khaan" which is recited in Ordos during the sacrifice ritual of Chinggis Khaan. This book is in folded form written with hair brush by *Taij Meerin* Enkhsumber.[7] This manuscript was presented to us in 1997 by the venerable Khereid Norovyn Sharaldai, a descendant of the banner Darkhad stokers. Compared to the previously printed versions of "Altan bichig" besides of small differences in some lines of the poem this manuscript is the most complete versions of one of the original texts *Bogd Chinggis khaany tailgyn ochig* (Statement of the sacrifice for Bogd Chinggis Khaan) and *Chinggis khaany ikh tailgyn ochig* (Statement of the great sacrifice for Chinggis Khaan).

This *Altan bichig* [the golden scripture] is valuable with its special characteristics presenting an original Mongolian poetry with genteelism and absence of Buddhist influence. The content of the poem mainly reveal elements of the cult of *tenger* heaven and ancestral spirits. Maybe because the text was recited by the descendants of Chinggis Khaan and of the Queen Bőrte:

> Make your golden rope with three branches
> Arise your glorious reputation
> Diminish your predator enemies
> Prolong your life and age
> Enrich your wealth and herds
> Reproduce your descendants
> Glorify all of your goodness
> Grow your treasury herds.

The text contains as well numerous elements of the original Mongolian knowledge and way of thinking related to the state ceremonies, symbolism, history, mythology and ethnicity. The text became the base of many later sacrificial statements and poems such as the *Dayan Khaany zurgaan tumen mongolyn magtaal* [Dayan Khaan's praise for six *tumen*[8] Mongols]. The content of the text starts with a praise for Chinggis Khaan, recalls all the places he conquered, praise for

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7 This book is currently in a private library of the author. The manuscript in folded form is 9,5 x 21,5 cm in size, written in eight lines on Chinese yellow paper in black ink (title and end is in red ink) with hair brush. Dulam, Sendenjav, 2006, *Symbolism of the State of Chinggis Khaan*. Edited by Ts. Shagdarsuren, Ulaanbaatar: Öngöt kewlel, 198-210, 216-231, 253-274.

8 *Tumen* literally means ten thousand, but here it means many.

all nine *kholog baatars* “heroes” starting with Boorch, praise for four of his wives and their ancestors, for four of his friends, four wise advisers, four of his warriors with tiger’s heart, four of his talented smiths, four of his talented craftsman etc. Number four is a symbol of steel existence of the Mongolian State describing four columns holding the State (Dulam I, 2007, 79-85, 93).[9] A Latin and Cyrillic transcription of the manuscript was published in my book *Chinggis Khaany toriin belgedel* [Symbolism of the State of Chinggis Khaan 2006].

In the present territory of Mongolia, the major worship involving Chinggis Khaan is the worship of the Mount Burkhan Khaldun. According to the written sources in Mongolian and Manchu, in 1778 the *Van* noble minister Yundendorj of Ikh Khuree, the capital of Mongolia, and an official subject Sanjaadorj submitted a proposal to conduct a state worship of the Khentii Khan Mountain (which is Burkhan Khaldun), and the worship started in the following year 1779. It was issued a decree in the *Zarligaar togtooson mongol ulsyn khuuli zuiliin bichig* [Document of law issued by the decree] “to hold a worship following the traditional way in summer and autumn”.[10] Burkhan Khaldun is an old name referring to all ranges of the mountain therefore the law in the document says “to worship the *tenger* [heaven] of the mount Khan Khentii”. The worship for the *tenger* of Khan Khentii were conducted by Setsen Khan and Tusheet Khan *aimags* and Bogd Jebzundamba of the State of Mongolia used to participate. The worship lasted through the first years of revolution and was interrupted for a while until it was revived from the 11th to the 13th of June 1995, by the decree of P. Ochirbat at that time, President of Mongolia. The President of Mongolia was present at the worship and the Ministry of Defense was in charge of conducting the worship of the *Khar Suld*, Black Standard of Mongolian army, along with the main worship of the Mount. Since then, once in three years the state holds worship for Burkhan Khaldun, in the presence of Mongolia’s President.

Mount Burkhan Khaldun has a beautiful and magnificent nature with interesting natural scenes. Local people say that on the way to

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9 Dulam, Sendenjav, *Mongol belgedel zűi [Mongol symbolism]*. I boti: *Toony belgedel zűi [Symbolism of the Numbers]*. “Mongol soyolyn chuulgan” VIII boti, Ulaanbaatar: Bitpress, 2007, 294.

10 *Jarliγ-iyar toγtaγaγsan Monγol ulus-un qauli jüil-ün bičig: γučin qoyaduγar debter* (Document of law issued by the decree) Mongolian National Archive, Ф № A-235, T № 1, X/H № 32; Dulam, Sendenjav, *Khuree dorvon uulyn takhilga belgedel*. Ulaanbaatar 2004, 126-130.

Burkhan Khaldun one must go through the mud of Uuden Mod, the pass of Bosgo Tenger, and climb up following the river Bogd. The name of the landscape gives an impression of entering into a Mongolian felt tent because, the terms depict parts of the entrance of the *ger*, such as *Uuden Mod* meaning a "Gate Wood" and *Bosgo Tenger* meaning the "Heaven of Threshold". Foreigners and women are forbidden to enter beyond the pass of Bosgo Tenger. Therefore children and women usually stay in the pass of the Bosgo Tenger, where they camp and prepare food, and wishes all the best for those who are traveling further. According to my experience I have never seen any women going further the pass. Because the mountain has been considered a national park for a long time the passages are very wild with grass and mat bushes. Burkhan Khaldun has three *oboo*s "pile of stones", one in the bottom, one in the middle and one on the top. The bottom and mid *oboo*s can be worshiped by monks while the top one of *tenger* "heaven" must be worshiped by shamans and statesman only. On the previous day of the worship of the heavenly *oboo* worship for *Doloon Burkhan* meaning "Seven Deities", referring to the Pleiades, or Seven Sisters. After the main worship which takes place on the top of the mountain, people go down to the bottom, *oboo* to participate at the ritual of *Namsrain Dallaga* the beckoning the fortunes of God Namsrai. The middle *oboo* is considered to be the *oboo* worshiped by Ondor Gegeen Zanabazar, the first incarnation of Bogdo Jebzundamba. Therefore, Buddhist monks recite Buddhist texts and hold rituals. *Oboo* of *Tenger* "Heaven" is piled with blue stones and is considered to be a site of shamans invoking *Tenger*s "Heavens". The *Oboo* of *Tenger* is on the flat platform of rock and big stones and it was built by man. I conducted a fieldwork about the worship twice in 1998 and 2001. Along my field research I had the chance to offer a milk libation at the worship. On the 5th to the 7th of June 2001 N. Bagabandi, the President of Mongolia participated at the worship. In the morning of the actual worship the nature was showing us all of its possible bad weather conditions such as a very cold rain and snow, and thick fog which made unable even to see the head of the horse that one was riding. Every one including the President did not stop climbing towards the peak of the Mount some riding horses and some walking. When we reached on the top the sky was frightening dark and the fog became even worse by making the person next to you unable to be seen. As soon as a milk libation was offered fog dispersed, sky cleared and people were happy to see each other. Since that moment everything went very well accordingly to the plan. The general outline of the *oboo*

worship is the same in various parts of the country: after the worship the weather became very nice and pleasant. It was like the nature was showing all of its behaviors to the Presidents and the statesmen. According to the Mongolian way of thinking the clear sky is the sign that the master spirit of the mountain and the spirit of Chinggis Khaan accepted the worship.

I will describe two other cases of the worship of Chinggis Khaan which took place abroad. From the 26th to the 31st of July 2009, I visited the Mongols living the region of Xingmen Xiang, in Tonhai Yunnan province of China. We visited the temple dedicated to the three kings Chinggis Khaan, Khubilai Khaan and Monkh Khaan. The population of Xingmen Xiang is 13 000[11] people with eleven Mongol bands and each band has an ancestral spirit worshiped since Ming dynasty. All of the eleven bands have a tradition to worship their ancestral spirits twice a year, in spring and autumn. They live in the western part of the Tonghai valley on the bottom of the *Mount Feng-Huan* "Mount Garuda", near the *Hy-Lu Lake*, "Spring Lake". In 1253, during the time of Dali Empire, troops of Monkh Khaan conquered the Province of Yunnan. Since then until 1381 Mongol nobles of Chinggis Khaan's linage ruled the region. When we visited them, after 756 years their physical appearance transformed to the appearance of South Asian nations and their language is Kazu (ka zhou), which is presumably influenced by Chinese, Mongolian and Yi minority language in the South West of China. Some vocabularies can be identified as distant version of Mongolian words such as *na po tcha* meaning ear and in Mongolian it is *navch* meaning 'a leaf' which is sometimes used to call ear. Also for nose they *na khu me* and the Mongolian version is *narmai*. Some linguists argue that ten percent of their vocabulary is Mongolian. Since the declaration of the country, Xingmen Xiang has been sending young people to Inner Mongolia to let them learn about Mongolian culture such as language and customs. Baatar who went to study in Inner Mongolia told us about their history and culture. One of the most important site we visited was the temple for worship of three Khaans (san sheng gong) dedicated to Chinggis, Khubilai and Monkh. On the right column of the entrance a scripture states that "Let the flourishing heroism of Yuan Empire established by our three Khaans be kept eternally in the pages of the world history", while on

[11] In the times when H. Schwarz conducted this research the population was of 4 300 people having 1150 households. Among them there were 33 Yi and 23 Han nationalities.

the left a script says that "Let the prominence penetrate in the heart of the Mongols be kept and remembered eternally". The temple was built during Ming Dynasty period and dedicated to the Chinese heaven of war Guan Looye the Chinese version of Geser Khaan. Later on, starting with 1874, during the Manchu times the temple became that of Chinggis, Khubilai and Monkh Khaans' temple. Since then, the worship for the three Khaans lasted continuously for about hundred years until it was prohibited during the Cultural Revolution. The worship was secretly revived in 1978, and the revival was officially announced and named as the revival of the worship of three Khaans in 1985. The name of the temple changed into *San Sheng Gong* which means the palace of the three Khaans. It was fixed as well a date of the worship, on the 20th of June of the old calendar.

Since 1985, June 20th is a national holiday of the Mongols living in Yunnan, a holiday to held worship for the ancestral spirits. On the celebration day, early in the morning everyone including old and young are gathering in front of the temple for the worship, and the elder people who are well known in the Mongolian villages for their knowledge of history and traditional culture are leading the ceremony. First of all, three bowls filled up with vodka are put on a votive scarf *khadag* and offered to the three Khaans. Then they collectively sing a song of praise dedicated to the three Khaans, while everybody start from old to young to prostrate in front of the statue of the three Khaans in the temple. After the prostration, everyone is invited to the table where best food is served. At three o'clock in the afternoon, official governors of Xingmen Xiang give a formal speech. The content of the speech always reminds their origin from the Northern Mongols, mentioning that they are the descendants and subjects of Chinggis Khaan, Khubilai Khaan and Monkh Khaan. A young person is specially selected in order to carry the portrait of the Khaans from village to village. Villagers welcome the portrait with incenses, various food offerings on plates and make a loud noise with *bian pao* crackers.

The main purpose of the celebration is to remind the youngsters that they are Mongols from the North and to enjoy the ancestral spirits. Another national celebration in Xingmen Xiang is a *naadam* in December, where they wrestle, held worship, and organize a big open trade of food and goods. People in Xingmen Xiang are usually very welcoming to guests and offer tea, food and tobacco. Younger girls serve alcoholic drinks and singing traditional songs. Before drinking

alcohol one must arise the bowl of vodka with two hands above his head and sprinkle from it with a finger once for the heaven and once for the earth.

The third case of worship I will mention is a very new worship of Chinggis Khaan organized by Mongols settled lately in the USA. Before introducing the case, I must mention that Khalmuks and some Inner Mongolians of New Jersey have over twenty years of tradition to worship Chinggis Khaan in the USA. The founder of the new worship of Chinggis Khaan is Mr. Sh. Enkhbayar who runs a company to producing a beer named Chinggis Khaan. Since 2005, I met several times Sh Enkhbayar who asked for a advice on how to perform a worship of Chinggis Khaan. In 2006, he succeeded in organizing the first worship and according to his wish the video circulated the through the internet.

The worship became very popular among the Mongols in the USA was extended as a big *Danshig Naadam* and took place in San Francisco on the 5th of August 2006. He received numerous requests in order tombe performed for celebrating the 800th years anniversary of the Mongolian State. The original purpose was to make the celebration annual and involve as many Mongols as possible. Every year one Mongolian company in the USA is responsible for organizing the event. In 2006 a marketing company lead by Mr Batjargal was responsible with the organization. By shifting the responsibility year by year they hope to improve the content and the organization of the event. According to the interview, there are various problems they are facing. One of the reasons is that they have no experience in performing such worships and they need to learn a lot about the traditional culture. Therefore the longest time in organization was spent to get familiar with the tradition. As Chinggis Khaan is now an icon representing all the Mongols in the world, they proposed to invite as many Mongol ethnic people as possible and introduced their plan to Mr Bold the Mongolian Ambassador in the USA. The journalist enquired about the main purpose of the event and the reply was that it is not simply to advertise and popularize Mongolian history and traditional culture and make people happy. He declared his personal belief in the Spirit of Chinggis Khaan, therefore, the most important purpose is to enjoy the ancestral spirits of Great Khaans and to receive the according blessings. The next purposes is to light up pride, patriotism and nationalism of the Mongols living outside Mongolia. Moreover, they investigated Mongols who are descendants of Chinggis Khaan and asked to hold a DNA test among Mongols

in San Francisco done by researchers work for National Geographic Channel. Three out of fifteen tested people were direct descendants of Chinggis Khaans. Therefore, they were asked to offer libation for the spirits of Khaans in the worship. In terms of meat offering, since bringing mutton from abroad is forbidden in the USA they had to use a local sheep. However, concerning the mare’s milk *airag* they brought it from Mongolia in order to perform the libation. A portrait of Chinggis Khaan was specifically drawn for the worship and the black and white standards of Chinggis Khaan’s State, together with all clans’ standards, were made in Mongolia and brought to USA. Also a genuine steel Mongol *tulga* chimney was made in Mongolia and used in the worship in the USA. The organizers managed to complete all the necessary customs. For example, the text of libation was published by Mongolian academician B. Rinchen in West Germany and Ts. Batmonkh, a student who studies in Vioming, found it after a long investigation. It was considered that following every customs was a very important task. The event clearly show that the younger generation of the Mongols believe in the existence of Great Khaans’ spirits.

To conclude, the belief and worship of Chinggis Khaan developing in various places such as his birthplace in Mongolia, in Ordos Inner Mongolia, in Yunnan South China, and even lately in the USA, the worship is not limited in time, space and diversity of cultural practice they experienced so far. Therefore Chinggis Khaans is now a symbolic deity of all Mongols unification and harmony. It is evident that Chinggis Khaan is and will remain an imaginary icon of the high State.

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Fr. André Scrima &
Rev. P. Augustin Dupré La Tour s.j.:
Note concerning the History of Religions in the Middle East (1970–1980)

DANIELA DUMBRAVĂ

I. *Inaugural encounter* is perhaps the most felicitous choice of words to introduce us in the atmosphere of a meeting both amiable and rigorous, as surely Fr. Scrima himself would have liked it to be. In fact, throughout his life, he often met many persons with very different social and intellectual backgrounds, always under the sign of a genuinely curious but profound contemporary theological reflection. Christians, Hinduists, Muslims, Buddhists, Mosaic–Jewish, religious or agnostic people were all considered by Scrima friends and presences under his historic time, none of them absent from his religious and theological consciousness; similarly, when interacting with him, as in a mirror, they all discovered themselves in brother Andrei's opened and rigorous mind, heart and spirit. After having intensely read more than one thousand pages of documents from the Andrei Scrima archive, currently at the New Europe College[1], Bucharest, it seems to me that most of his meetings occasioned specific spiritual experiences, an experience which preserved their uniqueness, discretion, precise context and intent.

In this brief note, I will attempt to explore one of these contexts and, in so doing, I will relate facts not abstractions (or theories) about the

[1] I wanted to express all my gratitude to Mr. Andrei Pleşu, Director of the New Europe College. Institute for Advanced Study, Bucharest for the opportunity to study and for his permission to publish unpublished documents from the André Scrima collection, as well as to Mr. Marcel Pirard for his inspired and useful corrections.

history of religions or about monotheistic theology: a friendship with the Augustin Dupré La Tour, a Jesuit – and with professor Yūsuf Ībish and dr. Hisham Nashabé, both Muslims and founders of the Department of Christian and Muslim Studies at the *Saint Joseph* University in Beirut – became a spiritual mediation for peace, and also a crucial academic mission in the Middle East. At that time, for almost two decades – officially from 1971 until 1990 – the situation in Lebanon had become critical as a consequence of Syria's invasion into the Lebanese territories in April 1975; this was one aspect of a multifaceted civil war, which involved all religious, political and national factions (Palestinian guerrilla and their Lebanese Druze allies versus Maronites Christians).[2] Knowing what *Bilad ash-Sham* Greater Syria means, Middle East war analysts consider that Damascus was ambitious to dominate its geographic surroundings.[3] However, it is a fact that at that time, collective memory registered the Kuarantina, Damour and Tell-al Zaatar massacres between Christians and Muslims and vice versa; none of this groups sparred crimes, and atrocities seemingly having forgotten their gods for a while.

This is the context in which I will situate Fr. Scrima's figure today, and this will be your *rencontre inaugurale* with him. Firstly, I will introduce some biographic information about him, followed by an introduction to the content of the unpublished letters between him and Augustin Dupré la Tour s.j., Finally, I will specify some core elements of Andrei Scrima's hermeneutical language and at the same time, but separately, I will explore, concepts from theology, history of religions and philosophy.

II. *Coelestis disciplina* and itinerancy.

Andrei Scrima was born in Romania, Gheorghieni, Transylvania, on the 1st of December 1925 from Macedonian parents, Nacu Scrima, engineer and Victoria Scrima, his wife. He became orphan early

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[2] "[…] the intense struggle between the Christian Maronite community and the leftist National Movement coalition that provided the context and pretext for sustained Syrian military intervention", Mordechai Nisan, 2000, "The Syrian Occupation of Lebanon" in *The Syrian Occupation of Lebanon*, http://c4rpme.org/bin/articles.cgi?Cat=christians&Subcat=cmr&ID=83.

[3] Naomi Joy Weinbereger, 1986; Walid Khalidi, 1984; Daniel Pipes, 1990; Avi-Ran Reuven, 1991; Yamak Labib Zuwiyya, 1966 corroborated by an extensive discussion in Pipes, *Greater Syria*, see *supra* n. 2.

in his life and was obliged to leave his college and Bazargic town (near Hunedoara) in 1942, his last location together with his parents. From 1943 Scrima pursued simultaneously courses at the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, but he will give up Medicine being more attracted by Philosophy. His degree dissertation, *Logos and dialectic to Plato* will be much appreciated and, consequently, his Philosophy teacher, Anton Dumitriu (1905-1992) names Scrima as assistant professor in the Logic and History of Philosophy, from 1946 until 1948. Anton Dumitriu was elected Member of Parliament and *de facto* Scrima's task was to teach. In the meantime, both Scrima and Dumitriu started to frequent the *Burning Bush* movement, an important spiritual movement located at the Antim[4] Monastery, Bucharest.

Scrima became a monk in 1950 and he will be again nominated professor at the Superior monastic Seminary, Neamţ monastery, Northern Romania until 1952. His brilliant and erudite mind, as well as his linguistic abilities determined Justinian Marina Patriarch (1948-1977) to entrust Scrima as principal librarian of the Central Library of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate – NB. the very first Romanian public library founded by archbishop Antim Ivireanu, who also founded a famous typography. Let me note here, Scrima's involvement in the *Burning Bush* Movement and his meeting with John the Stranger, a Russian monk from Optina Monastery, will entirely change brother Andrei's intellectual and cultural profile weaving his erudition with "le mot qui ouvre" and "le mot qui est ouvert", and opening him to a "doxological consciousness." A few years later, before his passing away, Scrima will write about this doxological consciousness in his *Lecture herméneutique de la lettre de Jean l'Étranger,* the spiritual testament of Optina's monk, who had escaped from Bolshevik Russia in Romania in 1943:

> Il s'agit d'une connaissance trans-noétique qui prend la forme d'une célébration. […] La "doxa" est gloire et grâce dans le sens très mystérieux, mais paradoxalement accessible, de lumière incréée. Cela serait la forme la plus adéquate de définition conceptuelle – non métaphorique – de la gloire et de la grâce. Orthodoxie désigne, littéralement, reconnaissance de la vraie gloire et de la vraie grâce.[5]

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[4] Antim Ivireanul, a monk born in Georgia and emigrated into the Romanian Counties, founded the *Monastery of All Saints* in 1712; only after his death the monastery came to bear his name, Antim Monastery, thus memorizing its founder.

[5] See André Scrima's French text, translated from Romanian by Anca Vasiliu,

Through this affirmation, made from the point of view of the *Burning Bush* Movement, Scrima, gave the most valuable contemporary reflection about what he found inside this orthodox group with a very heterogeneous presence (monks, artists, intellectuals, scientists, and others): "prayer is the substance of the doxological consciousness." His philosophic mind gradually metabolized thorough assimilating this doxological consciousness[6], a spiritual task, most probably caused by the spiritual presence of John the Stanger, and his *hesychast* vocation. In fact, this is the most important spiritual "chapter" of Scrima's life, so much so, that it deserves to be treated in a separate paper.

Another unusual detail which will entirely change the destiny of this monk is this: *The Ecumenical Council of Churches* through the *Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate*, proposed to Scrima to pursue some courses at the *Ecumenical Institute*, Château de Bossey, Locano, nearby Geneva, Switzerland. Thus he left Romania on the 28th of November 1956, early in the morning; he wouldn't be back for more than 35 years. As a result of his impressive level of Sanskrit language and interest for the Indian philosophy and Hinduism, Scrima received almost at the same time, a fellowship from Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (n. 1888 – d. 1975), Indian writer and philosopher, born in Andhra Pradesh province. Scrima met the Indian intellectual and politician – at that time Vice-President of the Indian Government – while still being in Romania but he received these unexpected news only one year afterward. From Locano he will confirm his presence as a PhD doctoral candidate at the University of Benares. In fact, he will submit a dissertation about Advaïta- Vedānta: *The Ultimate in methodological and epistemological connotations according to Advaïta-Vedānta*.[7]

"Le temps du Buisson ardent. Recontre autour d'un pélerin étranger", in *Contacts* 203 (2003), 314-363.

[6] Important biographic references can be found in the following contributions offered by: Vasiliu Anca, "André Scrima, l'étranger", *Contacts* – Revue française de l'Orthodoxie, Vol. 56, no. 207, 2004; *André Scrima (1925-2000). Un Moine hésychaste de notre temps*, in *Contacts. Revue française de l'Orthodoxie*, LV, 203, 2003; LVI, 207, 2004; Rév. P. Augustin Dupré La Tour, Hisham Nashabe, 2005; Dumbravă Daniela, 2005, "Storia delle Religioni ed Ecumenismo – isomorfismo necesario? Brevi accenni morfologici sul linguaggio di Andrei Scrima", paper presented at Pontificio Istituto Orientale (unpublished manuscript); Toti Marco, "Morfologia religiosa ed ermeneutica ne *Il padre spirituale* di A. Scrima", *Studi Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 31/2 (2007), 321-341; Dumbravă Daniela 2009, *Cinque lezioni sull'antropologia cristiana proposta dai teologi romeni del XX secolo*, unpublished manuscript.

[7] L'Advaïta Vedānta is probably the best known text of traditional Vedānta

After a short period spent on Mount Athos in 1957, he will return to Benares until 1959. This period was extremely fertile for father Scrima, its most important fruit being an article – “L’Avènement philocalique dans l’Orthodoxie roumaine” signed *Un moine de l’Eglise Orthodoxe de Roumanie*[8] – published by *Istina* journal which is edited by *Centre d’études oecuméniques*, Paris; furthermore, his Diary [Switzerland, India], recently published in Romania[9] and an impressive correspondence are witnesses of his daily thoughts and personal considerations.[10] From 1959 he became the spiritual father of the Deir-el-Harf monastic community; in 1960 he returned to Paris where he will receive French nationality; in 1961 he meets the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras which propose to him to became his personal secretary. This is another crucial aspect of Andrei Scrima’s biography because he will be the Ecumenical Patriarchal envoy to the Vatican II Council and a key mediator between Patriarch Athenagoras and Pope Paul the VI. After their historical encounters (Constantinople, Jerusalem and Rome) and, more precisely, following their historic meeting in Jerusalem in 1964, these important spiritual and ecclesiastic leaders revoked the excommunication decrees. [11]

He was often invited to the famous *Enrico Castelli philosophical*

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schools of Hinduidsm. Literally, the term Advaïta means “non-dual”, but it is also used to indicate the monist system on which the principle of indivisibility between Self and Atman (Brahman) was founded. The sacred *corpus* of Vedānta texts represent, in fact, the Upaniṣad, or the comments dedicated to Veda; the texts of Brahma Sutra, known as Vedānta Sutra, contain the debate related to the most important texts of Upaniṣad. I suppose that Scrima was attracted by the non dualist Vedānta school because it is a monist system, but this presumption should be treated extensively from the history of religions point of view.

[8] “Un moine de l’Église Orthodoxe de Roumanie” [André Scrima], “L’Avènement philocalique dans l’Orthodoxie roumaine”, *Istina* 3-4 (1958), 295-328; 443-475.

[9] André Scrima 2008a, 93-118; 119-152.

[10] A large part of André Scrima correspondence’s is still unpublished. Alexandrescu Vlad, the editor of André Scrima 2008 selected some of the most relevant ones, see André Scrima 2008a, 387-458.

[11] 1054 the year of the final separation between the Eastern Christian churches (led by the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius) and the Western Church (led by Pope Leo IX). The mutual excommunications by the Pope and the Patriarch that year became a watershed in church history. The excommunications were not lifted until 1965, when Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras, following their historic meeting in Jerusalem in 1964, presided over simultaneous ceremonies that revoked the excommunication decrees.

meetings in Rome, where he met Martin Heidegger (they had a brief but intense exchange of letters), Paul Ricoeur, Raymond Panikkar, Jean-Luc Marion. Furthermore, between 1968-1989 he frequently met Mircea Eliade at the Chicago University. At the same time he will teach at Saint Joseph University in Beirut, as well as at the University of the Holy Spirit, Kaslik, Lebanon. Scrima was a founder member of the *Académie Internationale des Sciences religieuses et de Philosophie des Sciences religieuses* in Bruxelles and member of the scientific council of the De Ménil Foundation, Huston, Texas.

III. *Un travail qui se révèle providentiel et si important* […].

In a famous speech on July 20, 1976, President Hafez al-Assad of Syria claimed that "Syria and Lebanon were one state and one people… and have shared interests and a common history". Indeed, the presence of Syrian forces in Lebanon was a clear policy of control in the name of Lebanese pacification. For a very good synthesis about these events, let me just quote the voice of Mordechai Nisan:

> […] during the latter part of 1975 and early 1976, Assad sent Syrian-commanded Palestine Liberation Army battalions, then *Saiqa* "Palestinian" units, into northern Lebanon. On June 1, 1976, twelve thousand regular Syrian troops crossed the border. […] Their presence in the northern Akkar region, at Sofar in the central mountain area and near Sidon on the coast, demonstrated that Syrian policing policy was assuming the form of a comprehensive military domination. By November, Syrian troops had virtually taken over West Beirut. By 1977, the number of Syrian troops exceeded thirty thousand man, with over two hundred tanks. After fighting the Palestinian and other leftist forces, Druzes and Sunnis in particular, the Syrian army then confronted the Christian Lebanese Forces. […] For three months, during "the one hundred Days War" in mid-1978, Syria bombarded Christian East Beirut, specifically Ashrafiyya […]; at this time Syrian forces were also capturing Batroun and Besharre areas in the heart of the mountain area. A flood of Christian refugees and the execution of many Lebanese civilians were the direct result at this stage of the intensification and extension of Syria's ruthless conquest of Lebanon.[12]

It is within this historical context that the spiritual and academic

[12] *Apud* Nisan Mordechai 2000, see *infra*, n. 2.

mission of father Scrima in the Middle East takes place, together with Augustin Dupré La Tour s.j., and Prof. Hisham Nashabeh and Prof. Yūsuf Ībish, both Sunni Muslims. There are three remarkable and somehow unexpected events: firstly, from 1971 until 1980, Andrei Scrima was invited to teach three courses[13] at Saint-Joseph University: comparative philosophy, dogmatic Christian theology and history of religions; secondly, in 1974 father Augustin Dupré La Tour S.J. met Dominique de Ménil a famous art collector and co-founder (with her husband John de Ménil) of the Ménil Collection and *Rothko Capel*, Huston, Texas; starting with 1977, Dominique de Ménil will subsidize for years, the Institute of Muslim–Christian Studies, the first institute of its kind in the Middle East, and famous for its "teaching method, which is the presence of a Muslim and Christian professor on the same course".[14]

This institute was first opened in 1974 but its courses started only in 1977 under the careful and erudite spirit of four scholars previously nominated to these positions, scholars of different religious identity and showing an immense mutual and reciprocal respect: an orthodox monk, a Jesuit missionary, and two Sunni Muslims. This attitude, in fact, determined the method of teaching in this institute:

> [...] n'est pas par hasard qu'ils décident une représentation numérique égale de chrétiens et de musulmans au sein du comité fondateur et le principe d'une concertation des orientations et des programmes ; les cours sont donnés d'emblée à deux voix, un chrétien et un musulman, chacun présentant sa propre tradition, devant un public mixte.[15]

Judging by the impressive number of both published and unpublished documents, chronologically resulting from the time of Andrei Scrima's stay in Lebanon, it seems to me that *conviviality* was the highest purpose of this institute, enacting an equivalence between "method" (*i.e.* "to travel, to pursue the way" for Scrima) and existence. From a religious point of view, Lebanon – as other countries in the Near East – represents the space of the monotheistic Revelation. The constitution of Lebanon

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[13] Some of these courses – those from 1977 until 1979 – were recently published in Scrima André*,* 2008b.

[14] Mokrani Adnane, "Healing Of Memories First Gathering Between Muslim And Christian Young People In Post War Lebanon", *Journal of Middle Eastern Politics* 1/1 (2005), 68, n.5.

[15] Boisset Louis s.j., *Trente Années au crible du Dialogue*, Bulletin Semestriel publié par l'Institut d'Etudes Islamo-Chrétiens, Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth, Année II, 3 (2007), 1-3.

incorporated its ethnic and religious pluralism ensuring equal rights for its citizens in a context where the proportions of religious groups is a key variable. Thus, this State has structurally two major components: Christians and Muslims. For this reason the politics of education has always been sensitive to this particular situation.

Andrei Scrima was the first contemporary theologian in Lebanon to assume[16], on the one hand, the spiritual life of the Deir-el-Harf monastic community (with an Orthodox majority), and on the other hand, teaching at Saint Joseph University. As it was previously said, he taught philosophy, theology and the history of religions. One of the most rigorous and exigent rules of his courses was to promote knowledge both to Christians and Muslims. The "other", the "person which is different from me" was a key concept. Diversity, structural differentiation, interaction, dialogue are the keywords of a new convivial education. Scrima remains a remarkable presence in the history of the Lebanese education system of the XX century because of his hermeneutics and his language.

The search into the spiritual life was the main subject of his academic carrier, an interest intimately connected with his own monastic experience. He used to recurrently reflect on Kirkegaard's assertion that the shortest manner to know yourself is to know the "other" and Scrima succeeded in this. He permanently mirrored "I" with the "other" and the rapport between these two entities is a priority in Scrima's hermeneutics of the individual's religious experience. Firstly, he tried to differentiate the lexical content of the spiritual experience from that of theology, rejecting the equivalence between superiority and the uniqueness of one religion. Religious belief was compared with the *counter-point* music theory – in Latin, *punctus contra punctum* meaning "point against point" – or the relationship between two or more voices that are independent in contour and rhythm and are harmonically interdependent. One may remember Bach's *Fugue*![17]

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[16] "The arrival of father Scrima marked the link between the monastic tradition, coming through Romania, and the new life being reborn on Lebanese soil. For this purpose father André Scrima arrived at the monastery on Palm Sunday 1959 and began to give daily lessons in monasticism." (cf. Houda Kassatly, 1996)

[17] Glenn Gould made innovative use of the counterpoint technique in his three radio documentaries: *The Idea of North*, *The Latecomers*, and *The Quiet in the Land* (see *The Solitude Trilogy*). Gould called this method "contrapuntal" radio. It involves

Secondly, he tried to introduce concepts such as the Christological dimension of Revelation, identifying the person of Christ with the image of the universal man and his pre-Adamic condition, and the model of the Trinitarian communion – Father, Son, Holy Spirit – as the perfect model of an infinite reciprocity between "us" and the "other". He established an analogy with the "solar spectroscopy"[18], a phenomenon borrowed from physics. The solar spectroscopy is a scientific technique which allows the observer to deduce and calculate the composition and the structure of solar objects through the light reflected from them. The photographic emulsion, as a consequence of the light decomposition in very subtle components, offers an amazing and detailed structure of the spectral line. Through This technique it is possible to deduce from the Mendeleev table the chemical structure of the galaxy and its physical state: temperature, relative speed, abundance, aggregation, etc.

Scrima considers that this possibility is analogical to the cognitive process of the person and its hermeneutic capacities. Word (*i.e.* hermeneutics) and spiritual life are interwoven and language or our communication system represents not only thought for the "other" but the door through him.

The comparative study of religions was a methodological instrument for him, mostly for analogies and for a better understanding of any single religious tradition and dogma. On the one hand, this method, eradicates the possibility to distinguish the uniqueness of any single religious tradition even as it creates the possibility to better define the structure (or the morphology) of the religious phenomena. On other hand, the monotheism tradition represents, indeed, an Abrahamic common tradition within what history of religions defined as "Monotheism". In this case, Scrima together with the other Catholic and Muslim colleagues preferred "to protect" the authenticity of any single monotheistic tradition and to present what derives from the tradition and the major themes of each of these religions. Thus, teaching was successive in method: a major theme was explored from the point of view of the Islamic tradition, of the Mosaic religion, and, finally, of the Christian religion. Each religious phenomenon and paradigm was treated in three different conceptual and doctrinal registers, so that a pluralist position would result.

This teaching method was fully adhered to both by the Christian

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the voices of two or more people simultaneously speaking (or playing against each other), entering and leaving the work as in a fugue.

[18] Patapievici Horia-Roman 2004, 13-23.

and by the Muslim students. It is a tradition which, having been initiated by A. Scrima, together with Augustin Dupré la Tour S. J., Hisham Nashabeh and Yūsuf Ībish over thirty years ago is still alive and continuing nowadays.

Appendix[19]

Université Saint Joseph
FACULTE DE SCIENCES RELIGIEUSES
B.P. 293 Beyrouth – Liban
Révérend Père André Scrima Beyrouth, le 24 juillet 1978

Cher Père André,

Vous voici maintenant aux USA depuis quelques jours. J'espère que votre séjour en France a pu être fructueux pour vous et que vous avez pu vous reposer pleinement après une année laborieuse. Je vous serais reconnaissant de transmettre mon respectueux souvenir à Mather Alexandra[20] qui doit être si heureuse de vous revoir.

Finalement j'ai dû renoncer à ma retraite à Tanaïl ces jours-ci. A la suite d'une visite médicale, on a diagnostiqué en moi une hypertension assez forte (18-12) et le climat de Tanaïl n'est pas indiqué dans un tel état de fatigue. Grâce à des médicaments, d'ailleurs assez doux, la tension a baissé, mais cela manifeste un état de fatigue que la situation au Liban participe à maintenir. Si bien que je compte rester à Beyrouth jusqu'à mon départ éventuel pour Paris et Porto Alegre. Je profite de ce contre-temps pour lire et terminer le

[19] The publication of these documents from the André Scrima collection are courtesy of the New Europe College. Institute for Advanced Study, Bucharest.

[20] Princess Ileana (1909-1991), was the youngest daughter of Ferdinand I and Queen Maria of Romania. She married in 1931 the Archduke Anton of Austria, Prince of Tuscany but in 1954 they officially divorced. She will married secondly in Massachusetts, on 1954, Mr. Nicolas Isărescu and even this second marriage ended in divorce in 1965. Before her second divorce, in 1961 princess Ileana joined the Orthodox Monastery in Bussy, France. She will become nun in 1967, receiving the name Mother Alexandra. She is the founder of the Orthodox Monastery of the Transfiguration, Ellwood City, Pennsylvania, serving as abbess until her retirement in 1981. She met several times Fr. André Scrima in France and USA.

rapport pour le P. Borrmans. Malheureusement il est difficile de passer dans la zone Ouest, à cause de francs-tireurs sporadiques qui brusquement bloquent le passage. J'aurais aimé avoir une réunion avec nos amis pour mettre au point ce rapport avec eux. Par ailleurs il est très difficile d'obtenir des contacts téléphoniques. Toute cette situation bloque en partie la mise en place des projets que nous avions conçus pour l'année prochaine.

Je n'ai pas encore reçu le virement de la Rothko Chapel[21] que j'attendais, si bien que je n'ai pas pu encore faire le virement à la Bank of America. J'espère que cela ne vous gêne pas. Je vais écrire à Mr. McCorquodale à ce sujet en espérant que la situation ne sera pas un obstacle. Car actuellement le courrier n'est plus distribué à la poste centrale, les sacs postaux s'entassent en attendant un tri éventuel.

Que vous dire que vous ne connaissiez pas sur la situation du Liban? A part le bombardement de Hadeth ces derniers jours, une nouvelle méthode s'installe, qui s'inspire des régimes totalitaires. Les syriens constituent lentement des listes et les suspects sont arrêtés la nuit et disparaissent ensuite. Il y a deux jours, le Deuxième Bureau syrien pénétrait dans le bureau du doyen de l'ESIB (l'Ecole Supérieure d'Ingénierie de Beyrouth), à Mar Roukos et enlevait les dossiers. On est inquiet pour les étudiantes, car pourquoi une telle razzia ?

Enfin on m'a transmis pour vous de Fribourg un livre de Christoph von Schönborn, L'Icône du Christ[22], que j'ai mis de côté pour votre retour.

Mais comment vous dire encore, toute ma reconnaissance pour votre amitié et pour votre aide dans ce travail que nous réalisons ensemble et dont vous êtes le réel inspirateur. Qui aurait pu croire, il y a tant d'années, que un jour nous travaillons ensemble dans un même équipe, pour un travail qui se révèle providentiel et si important ?

In Christo frater,
[pr. Augustin Dupré La Tour]

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[21] Rothko Chapel was founded by John and Dominique de Ménil in 1971, often compared with *Sacré Cœur* in Audincourt, created by Fernand Léger or the *Chapelle de Sainte-Marie du Rosaire* depicted by Henri Matisse, because Mark Rothko – a famous abstract expressionist American painter of the mid twenty century – was commissioned to create a meditative space. (see:http://www.rothkochapel.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5&Itemid=13). Dominique de Ménil became one of the most important benefactors of the Institute d'Études Islamo-Chrétiennes, Saint-Joseph University, Beirut (Lebanon) after 1977. Fr. Augustin Dupré La Tour S. J. maintained a very fructuous relation with the well known American art collector as a consequence of André's Scrima intense mediation.

[22] Schönborn C. 1976^2.

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Université Saint Joseph
FACULTÉ DE SCIENCES RELIGIEUSES
P. 293 Beyrouth-Liban

Beyrouth, le 11 septembre 1978

Rev. P. André SCRIMA
c/o Madame de Ménil
7 rue Las Cases
75007 PARIS

Cher Père André,

Me voici de retour à Beyrouth depuis le 10 septembre, dans un pays où l'insécurité règne encore et dans une ville désertée en grande partie pas ses habitants. On devine en effet une inquiétude profonde et beaucoup s'attendent à une reprise des combats sur une échelle plus grande. On signale de multiples incidents, les uns mineurs, les autres plus importants. Toute cette situation me porte à vous suggérer de retarder éventuellement quelque peu votre retour. Malgré la joie évidente que j'aurais de vous revoir rapidement, je me demande s'il ne serait pas plus fructueux pour vous de rester dans la vieille Europe encore quelque temps, du moins jusqu'à la fin du mois.

Vous avez dû recevoir ma carte du Brésil. Comme je vous le disais, votre rapport a été photocopié à un certain nombre d'exemplaires. C'est dire l'intérêt qu'il a suscité. J'en ai laissé les deux derniers exemplaires au Centre Sèvres à mon passage rapide à Paris.

L'intérêt le plus grand de ces Congrès est certainement les rencontres et les contacts. Ce qui m'a étonné, c'est la conception d'"Université Catholiques", compris dans un but de constituer une sorte de chrétienté à la recherche d'un équilibre du croyant dans le monde moderne, conception qui domine dans thèmes qui intéresserait beaucoup, c'est la recherche de l'« identité » (toujours la même chose) de l'Université Catholique ! En fait, d'autres thèmes ont été retenus. Mais dès lors je comprends un peu mieux dans ce contexte le rapport du P. Elie Khalifé de Kaslik. Mais, nous sommes, nous-mêmes, tellement éloignés d'un tel état d'esprit.

Nous sommes restés surtout dans la partie Sud du Brésil, à Porto Alegre et aux environs. Mais étant donné le nombre d'institutions de Théologie et d'Universités Catholiques sud-américaines représentées à ces deux congrès, il est possible de comprendre un peu (très peu !) cet immense continent. Ce

qui m'a frappé c'est le sous développement intellectuel de tous ces pays ! et le peu d'exigences en ce sens, sinon peut-être dans les facultés techniques. Par contre la vieille Europe était représentée par les deux Louvains, Salzbourg, Graz, Francfort et par trois recteurs d'Instituts Catholiques en France. Rome évidemment était largement représenté. J'ai remarqué que soit les USA, soit le Canada, soit l'Europe était intéressés par notre Département islamo-chrétien. Finalement nous ne sommes pas nous-mêmes tellement sous développés. Trop optimiste, me direz-vous ?

Le P. Liégé était absent, des suites d'une fatigue.

Voici quelques nouvelles de mon voyage. Je ne peux vous dire ici mon émerveillement devant les cataractes de Fos do Yguaçu et devant la ville de Rio (étouffée par ailleurs par la pollution). Vous pouvez m'écrire directement car le courrier arrive à la poste centrale de Beyrouth. Mais pauvre Liban !

Tout ceci vous dire toute ma profonde amitié et ma reconnaissance pour votre collaboration si fraternelle.

Reçu une autre assurance de 50.000 DM. de « Misere[o]r » !

[pr. Augustin Dupré La Tour]

* * *

Huston, 10 oct. 1979

Bien cher Père et ami,

… je commence par en appeler à votre indulgence (à vrai dire, je sais qu'elle m'est acquise…), pour m'excuser du retard que j'ai mis à vous donner – par écrit – de mes nouvelles. Mais, par ailleurs, c'est surtout (me dis-je) le tourbillon des jours s'envolent dans des voyages, activités, rencontres serrées qui laisse l'impression d'un long silence. A bien réfléchir, il n y a pas si longtemps qu'on se parlait au téléphone depuis Paris, et puis il y a eu votre départ pour Rome (tout s'est-il bien passé ?) et le mien pour les USA, beaucoup plus tard que je ne l'avais envisagé (le 10 sept., seulement). Et, puis, le tourbillon – assez réussi ! – du passage du Dalai-Lama, d'autres voyages à New York et chez Mère Alexandra (que je viens de retrouver à Huston) et aussi, de surcroît, une période de fatigue intense. Plus exactement, je suis tombé malade, avec des manifestations très douloureuses, de mes

anciens maux hépatiques et gastro-intestinaux. Dominique de Ménil insistait que je fasse un « check-up » à l'américaine dans les fameux centres médicaux de Huston : je préfère, cependant, Paris (voir même Beyrouth…) il n'est pas impossible qu'une intervention chirurgicale (à la vésicule biliaire) soit nécessaire: pourtant, pour l'instant, je ne veux pas y penser.

J'envisage donc, le retour à Beyrouth – via Paris – dès que j'aurais terminé ici, le travail de rédaction et correction des différents textes. Mais, avec tout cela, je suis obligé de vous demander – et je sais combien cela risque de vous peiner quelque peu, – de comprendre qu'il me sera pratiquement très difficile – pour ne pas dire pas impossible – de reprendre l'enseignement cette année. « Année sabbatique » souhaitée depuis longtemps (après tout, lorsque je fais des comptes rétrospectifs, je réalise qu'il m'est arrivé d'enseigner sans discontinuer depuis 10 ans !... plusieurs cours souvent, et même durant la guerre: cela s'accumule trop, à la longue…), mais aujourd'hui imposée par les circonstances. Je verrai comme je me sentirai au deuxième semestre, quand je pourrais, éventuellement, reprendre l'enseignement : mais, pour l'heure, j'ai besoin de repos. Des raisons que même la raison peut comprendre…

Dominique de Ménil vous remercie de tout ce que vous lui avez fait parvenir par la poste et vous envoie ses salutations. Elle était assez préoccupée de mes ennuis de santé, plus que cela n'en valait la peine, certainement. Elle a, néanmoins, raison lorsqu'elle m'invite à me reposer et a consulter des médecins: bien sûr, à regarder le travail qu'elle abat on se sent … vexé de faire moins qu'il ne faudrait.

Je vous écris à la hâte, en m'empressant de faire expédier ces lignes: on dit que les communication postales avec le Liban sont redevenues aléatoires. Je pense d'arriver à Paris vers le 24–25 oct. et à Beyrouth – si tout va bien – vers le 5 ou 7 nov. Bien sûr, je vais essayer de vous appeler téléphoniquement de Paris ou dès que possible.

En attendant, je vous redis « à bientôt », avec toute ma fraternelle affection,

André S. [signature]

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Ups and Downs of the Divine: Religion and Revolution in 20th century Mongolia

MARIE-DOMINIQUE EVEN

Theocratic Mongolia or the rule of the Divine

In the beginning of the 20th century, the Manchu dynasty (Qing, 1644-1911) was already on the verge of collapse. Its 'New Policy' had opened up Mongolian territories to Chinese colonization, arousing wide discontent and resistance among the Mongols, demographically outnumbered. It is in this exacerbated context that in Northern (Khalkha) Mongolia, the (Chinggisid) aristocracy, vassal of the Manchu dynasty for over two centuries, and the Buddhist high clergy jointly prepared during the summer of 1911 the separation of Mongolia from the Qing state. The independence was officially proclaimed on the 1st December 1911 by a provisional government. Although there were Chinggisid local rulers to choose a new head of state from, it was a holy figure of Buddhism, moreover a Tibetan by birth that was enthroned as the new king on the 29th December by the secular and religious representatives of the Mongols. Buddhism had been, admittedly, a salient element during the previous centuries in Mongolia, but this was the first time that a religious personality would surpass in legitimacy a Chinggisid and ascends the throne. How could that be?

Mongolian princes, being vassals of the Manchu emperors to whom they had pledged allegiance, had been kept – or were later promoted for meritorious military service to the emperor – as rulers of their own Mongolian subjects. Mongolian territories were broken up in numerous petty dominions, the 'banners' (*khošuu*[1]), headed by a Chinggisid

[1] *Note on Mongolian transliteration*. Mongolian words are transcribed from the

hereditary ruler. In parallel to this local civil administration, the Manchus recognized also a religious one. In Northern Mongolia, fourteen out of the over one hundred incarnations (Mong. *khuvilgaan,* Tib. *sprul sku*, called *khutagt*, 'blessed, holy, saint', *gegeen*, 'bright, brightness') of Buddhist spiritual lineages were accorded a seal by the Manchu court: this privilege allowed them to rule the serfs piously offered to them as 'disciples' *(šavi)* by Chinggisid rulers eager to accumulate religious merit. Administration of these serf-disciples was conducted by specific services of the incarnations' monasteries, separately from the internal monastic administration itself.

The most prestigious among the Mongolian reincarnations was the Jebtsündamba Khutagt (also known as the Bogd Gegeen, 'Supreme Bright'), the third in rank in the Tibetan Buddhism hierarchy after the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. He had the highest number of serf-disciples. In the early 1920s, the Eighth incarnation of the Jebtsündamba had an estate comprised of 90,000 of them.[2] This is an impressive figure in comparison with the population of Northern (Autonomous) Mongolia at the time: according to the 1918 census, it reached only 647,504 persons, including some 100,000 Chinese and 115,000 monks (almost one half of the male Mongolian population).[3] The figures above

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Mongolian Cyrillic script except for words that have a familiar English form such as Chinggis or Jebtsündamba. For non-specialist readers, Cyrillic letters *х* and *ц* have been transliterated *kh* and *ts* respectively, the various letters *и*, *й*, ь and ъ, used in Mongolian for a single phoneme *i* are all rendered by *i*, and *ы* by a long *i (ii)*, and never by *y* (used for the yod). Palatal consonants *ж*, *ч* and *ш* are noted *č* [ch], *š* [sh] and *ž* [dj]. Note that *z* is pronounced [dz]: the name of the first Jebtsündamba khutagt, Zanabazar is pronounced 'Dzanabadzar'. For the Tibetan the Wylie transcription is used.

[2] Tsedev D., *Ikh Šavi* (The Great *Šavi* estate), (Ulaanbaatar, 1964), 27; Püevzav, S. and Daszamts, D. *BNMAU-d süm khiid, lam nariin asuudliig šiidverlesen-ni (1921-1940)* [The resolution of the issue of the monasteries and the lamas in the People's Republic of Mongolia (1921-1940)] (Ulaanbaatar: State Press Committee, 1965), 24.

[3] The other thirteen reincarnations 'with seal' had altogether 30,071 serf-disciples, with two reincarnations sharing half of these. In comparison, the secular rulers' total amount of serfs at the time did not exceed 40,000, and their free subjects numbered only 64,048. Most of the religious estates did not have a territory of their own: the serf-disciples lead the same nomadic life as the other pastoralists, on the territory of the banners. They owed taxes and *corvées* to the monastery rather than to the banner's secular ruler. See Maiskii, I., *Orčin üyeiin Mongol* (Modern Mongolia), (tr. of *Sovremennaya Mongoliya*, Irkutsk, 1921, by Ts. Otkhon), (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2005), 25-39.

(*Nota*: apart from the 542,504 Mongols living in Northern Mongolia, an estimated

give a clear indication of the social and economic weight of Buddhism in Mongolia after two and a half centuries under Manchu suzerainty. The emperors successfully fragmented the political power of their Mongol vassals, and hampered the local development through military and tribute obligations, taxation or usury from Chinese traders and monasteries. But they weakened also the Chinggisids by sustaining a religious aristocracy, linked to, but independent from, the secular one. Eventually, a few Buddhist holy figures came to rule a serf population as large as all the Chinggisid rulers' serfs and free subjects altogether.

Keeping in mind the predominance of Buddhism in the country and the reverence shown by the population to its most sacred figures, we can understand why, in 1911, a theocracy was adopted as the political regime of the new state rather than a secular monarchy, and why it was the country's major Buddhist incarnation, the Eighth Jebtsündamba Khutagt, who was enthroned. This was in preference to one of the prominent Chinggisids involved in the restoration of Mongolia's independence, such as the Sain Noyon Namnansüren, instrumental in setting in motion the separation from the Manchus, the Tüšeet vang Čagdaržav, influential head of the Tüšeet khan League who was appointed chief of the provisional government, or the Čing vang Khanddorž, general of the same league.

The Eighth Jebtsündamba, as all his predecessors except for the first two, was originally a Tibetan, not a Mongol. Actually, after the 1756 rebellion headed by some Khalkha Chinggisids, and supported in the beginning by the Second Jebtsündamba, the Manchus had issued regulations excluding sons of Mongolian nobles from being considered as possible Buddhist reincarnations. They prevented thus the emergence among their Mongol vassals of a powerful figure who would merge in his person both Chinggisid and religious prestige.[4] Nevertheless, the Eighth Jebtsündamba could be linked to the royal lineage of Chinggis Khan through the first Mongolian incarnation of the Jebtsündamba lineage, the illustrious Zanabazar (1635-1723). Otherwise known as

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2 million more were living in Inner Mongolia and other Mongolian areas claimed by Republican China after the fall of the Manchu empire). See Maiskii, I., *Orčin üyeiin Mongol* (Modern Mongolia), (tr. of *Sovremennaya Mongoliya*, Irkutsk, 1921, by Ts. Otkhon), (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2005), 25-39.

[4] Bawden, C. R. 1989 [1968]. *The Modern History of Mongolia*. Londres: Kegan Paul International, 117-23, 132-33; on this religious lineage see also by the same author, *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga*. 1961, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz (Asiatische Forschungen, 9).

Öndör Gegeen, Zanabazar was born the son of the Tüšeet khan, then the main Chinggisid ruler of Northern Mongolia, and he possessed in his day a high moral and political authority.

At the enthronement ceremony of the Eighth Jebtsündamba, the proclamation was read by the Sain Noyon khan Namnansüren, kneeling on his right knee in front him, like all the people attending the ceremony. To be sure, the text recalled his first incarnation in Mongolia as "son of the Tüšeet khan, descendant of the ancient great Chinggis Khan of Mongolia".[5] However, the phraseology used in the proclamation presented the new king through a much stronger Buddhist light. More generally, as wrote the Buriat scholar Tseveen Žamsarano, nothing in the external aspects of the newly established regime evoked the tradition of Chinggis Khan. [6] The text declared the Bogd Gegeen "elevated by all" to be the "Long-lived, shining as the sun Bogd Khan,[7] sovereign of Mongolia, holding jointly the religion and the state". The expressions "elevated by all", used in the Mongolian calendar as the name for the new era), and "shining as the sun" are epithets of the legendary Indian king Mahasamadi from which the Mongolian rulers are said to have descended in Buddhist historical narratives.

As for the notion that the new head of state held jointly both religious and temporal powers, defining the dual nature of his rule, it is obviously linked to the 'dual principle' (*khoyor yos, khos yos*) presented in Mongolian chronicles written after the conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism and influenced by its views. In these narratives the Mongolian rulers are identified to the ideal 'cakravartin', the universal monarch in the Indian tradition, and their secular rule is paired with the religious rule of a Buddhist master in order to produce a perfect government.

[5] See O. Batsaikhan , *Mongoliin süülčiin ezen khaan VIII Bogd Žavzandamba* (The Eighth Holy Jebtsündamba, last sovereign of Mongolia), Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2008, 107.

[6] *Ibid.*, 159-61. The letter was addressed to the Mongolist V. Kotvitz.

[7] Lit. 'Supreme Khan'. In Mongolian the title used is *khaan* (class. Mong. *qaγan*) rather than *khan* (class. Mong. *qan*), a difference appearing only in script. The use of the written form *khaan* is restricted to Mongolian emperors and great khans, from the reign of Ögödei Khan, first successor of Chinggis Khan, until the defeat of the last great khan, Ligden Khan (1592-1634), by the Manchus. We have distinguished here the two forms as 'Khan' and 'khan' respectively. As for the epithet *bogd*, 'supreme', it was not restricted to a Buddhist use: it was also applied for supreme rulers like Chinggis Khan or the Manchu emperors, as well as in the designation of mountains, object of worship in Mongolia. In other words, the word conveyed in a larger sense the idea of divine or sacred.

This dual principal is based on a close connection between Buddhism and the ruling power. In the chronicles the ‘two principles’ are said to have been put in practice first at the end of the 12th century by Khubilai Khan and the Sakya lama ’Phags pa, then four centuries later, by Altan khan, powerful ruler of the Tümed Mongols, and bsod nams rgya mtsho, head of the Gelugpa, to whom Altan khan bestowed the title of Dalai Lama. But whereas in these previous occurrences the two powers were distributed between a secular ruler, image of the ideal monarch, and a Tibetan religious master, in our case, the religious figure of the Bogd Khan detains both the religious and the secular powers, as the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

In the eyes of the so pious Mongols, the divine character of the new monarch, already an object of worship was exceeding the sacred dimension traditionally associated with Chinggis Khan’s lineage and thus legitimizing its right to rule. It is exemplified by the following excerpt from the Diluv Khutagt – another Mongolian Buddhist reincarnation –’s political memoirs:

> The reason why this Eighth Bogd has become notably more powerful and strong than previous Incarnations was, in addition to the fact that the Mongols universally, generation by generation, had believed in, honored, had faith in and reverenced each Incarnation of the Bogd as a true divinity, [that] this Eighth Gegeen ever since childhood had been especially sharp and intelligent. Whenever in Khalkh or in one of its districts there was any such fear or suffering as fire or flood, sickness or disaster, he knew in advance and let it be known to give warning. In religious matters or ordinary affairs his directives were unfailingly clear and in accordance with the evidence, and when this had repeatedly become known he became famous for it and everyone had deep faith in him.
>
> At the age of 18, as the result of a serious illness, he lay dead (lit. “became Nirvana”) for three days and nights, and at the moment he stirred again there was no mark of the sickness and he was cured, and for such marvels as this the Mongols had complete faith and trust in him.[8]

These lines many prophecies (*züngden*, < Tib. *lung bstan*) of the Bogd Khan were circulated among the Mongols, a practice partaken to

[8] Lattimore, Owen and F. Isono, *The Diluv khutagt. Memoirs and Autobiography of a Mongol Buddhist Reincarnation in Religion and Revolution,* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1982 [reprint Ulaanbaatar: Polar Star Books, 2009], 22.

religion rather than to ordinary politics. While the Chinggisid rule in Mongolia had been charged with sacred components, the necessity to resort to a semi-divine Buddhist figure, focus of collective veneration, in order to unite the Northern Mongols and separate from the Manchus in 1911 has conferred a hint at the magic powers of the theocratic ruler that enabled him, it was believed, to foresee disasters and manifest a marvelous clarity of mind in all matters. Indeed, during this period, unprecedented holiness to the new Mongolian Buddhist state.[9] Was not the Bogd Khan after all "a true divinity", in the words of the Diluv Khutagt, or, as the Westerners saw it, a "Living Buddha"? If this latter denomination is inadequate from a Buddhologist point of view, it conveys quite well, however, the divine character attributed by his people to the Bogd and his rule.

The 20th century began for Mongolia under the double banner of independence and Buddhism. Buddhism not only enhanced the sacred dimension of the Mongolian state, but it gained also for itself, as a major actor of the independence process, a new legitimacy and political authority. It is therefore not surprising that in the following decades the most radical of the revolutionary Mongols, backed by their Bolshevik Russian advisers, would fail to stop most Mongols having faith in Buddhism and its lamas, except through the use of terror.

For the theocratic regime based on an alliance of the secular and the religious social elites the main challenge was to secure the country's independence, initially from the crumbling Manchu empire, then from the Republican Chinese who posed themselves as legitimate heirs of the Manchus. This last task proved arduous and complex, leading the Mongols to seek help from Russia. Eventually, due to the international and geopolitical context, Northern Mongols' independence was to be recognized by major powers only as 'autonomy' under formal Chinese suzerainty. China was not allowed to station troops nor was

[9] The prestige of the Bogd Khan in Khalkha territory had been sufficient to unify the Northern Mongols, but would it be enough to rally the Southern Mongols belonging to other groups and having other famous Buddhist reincarnations? If a significant number of Southern Mongol banners did rejoin the new Mongolian state, not all did, or could. In order to rally them, recalling the glory of Chinggis Khan was more appropriate. Indeed, when Khanddorž, one of the actors of Mongolia's independence, heard from Tseveen Žamsarano all the details about the relics of Chinggis Khan kept among the Ordos Mongols, he planned to use them, in particular the black war banner, to unify the Mongols: see U.E. Bulag, *Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia* (Oxford:Oxford University Press), 1998, 221, cited in Batsaikhan, 2008, 161.

it to interfere in internal matters of Mongolia, whose new status was guaranteed by Russia.[10] In practice, Russia's protection resulted in its increased political and economical involvement. From this period onward Mongolia became more Western-orientated.

In this context the October Revolution was to have a great impact in Mongolia politics, all the more when China, taking advantage of the Russian civil war, sent troops to occupy Mongolia and abrogate the autonomy (1919). To make things worse for the deeply religious Mongols, the Chinese brutal and humiliating treatment did not spare Buddhism, destroying monasteries, killing *šavi* and putting under house arrest the sacred figure of the Bogd Khan.

As the civil war was raging in Siberia a small contingent of White Russian troops commanded by the Baron von Ungern-Sternberg (1886-1921) took refuge on the Mongolian territory. Ungern, using clever stratagems and propagating frightful rumours among the Chinese soldiers, was able, in February 1921, to liberate the capital.[11] While the Chinese retreated in disorder, many towards the Northern border, Ungern restored the Bogd Khan to his throne. The Baron's –and his follower's– ruthless violence and slaughters (especially of Russian Jews and suspected Bolshevik partisans) prevented him however from being popular among the Mongols. Moreover, the presence of White Russians on Mongolia's territory was what the Bolsheviks needed to justify a military intervention in the country. In their project of controlling Khalkha Mongolia, they also benefited from the archaic aspects of the Bogd Khan's rule, rejected by the few educated commoners, to which they could oppose a seductive communist ideal.

The very conservative Bogd Khan government had indeed preserved the ancient feudal-like organization and privileges, already left in place and reinforced by the Manchus. Whereas the increased relations with Tsarist Russia after 1911 did result in the introduction of some modern elements in the material, economic and intellectual spheres, it did not induce any reform of the backward socio-political institutions. The

[10] Khiagta treaty, 1915.

[11] Batsaikhan 2005, 130; *Mongol ulsiin tüükh* 2003, 112-113. On this short but very troubled period, see the precious account provided by the Russian observer Dmitri Peršin, preserved at the Hoover Foundation in Stanford and published by I. Lomakina under the title *Baron Ungern, Urga i Altan-Bulak* (Samara: Agni, 1999), translated from Russian by D. Savelli: Perchine, D., *L'épopée du Baron Ungern-Sternberg en Mongolie. Mémoires d'un témoin sur le temps des troubles en Mongolie-Extérieure* (1919-1921), (Besançon: *La Lanterne magique*, 2010), 92 sq.

Bolsheviks, in contrast, imposed on the Mongols right from the start a commitment to political reforms in return for Russia's vital political and military support.[12]

In the 1910s, ideas about changing the traditional political system slowly had made their way among educated civil servants, employees and lamas in the capital. Two groups of partisans appeared at the end of the decade, during Chinese occupation:[13] one of the placards they posted, stuck on the door of the Chinese general, condemned the abusive actions and the greed of the hereditary banner princes, "out of tune with the times", and proposed that the system of hereditary rulers was abolished and replaced by an elective government "as in all other countries of the word".[14] One source of influence for these reforming views was of course the contact with the Russians and the Buryat Mongols working in the capital and who were in favour of revolution. [15] Another channel of modern-day ideas among the literate Mongols was probably the cultural and news magazine 'New Mirror' *(Šine Toli)* edited by the Buryat scholar Tseveen Žamsarano (1880-1942): educated in Saint Petersburg and a sympathizer of revolution. He was above all a nationalist defending pan-Mongol ideas and aware of the cultural value of Buddhism. In 'New Mirror", he published texts disseminating Western knowledge, describing foreign countries' geography, economy and institutions, as well as highlighting the glorious past of the Mongol state.[16]

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[12] See Bawden, 1989, 201-202, 217.

[13] *Ibid*. 209.

[14] *Ibid*. 205-208; Inčinnorov, S., *Dansaranbilegiin Dogsomiin uls törin namtar* (Political biography of D. Dogsom), (Ulaanbaatar: Center for the Study of Contemporary History and Human rights, 1997),1 2-13.

[15] *Ibid*. 206; Perchine, 2010, 46-52.

[16] As an illustration, here are the topics addressed in the issues 3 (50 p.) and 4 (75 p.) of this magazine (respectively dated of May and September 1913) that I was able to consult at the Mongolian State Library: 1) chapters from Tseveen Žamsarano's translation of the French historical novel *La Bannière bleue. Aventures d'un musulman, d'un chrétien et d'un païen à l'époque des croisades et de la conquête mongole* published in Paris in 1875 (in Mongolian the title reads; "The Blue Banner of Blue Mongolia. History of the time of Chinggis Khan"); 2) articles on Italy and the Vatican, relating the early contacts with the Mongolian empire, Marco Polo and the Roman Church, on the situation of Bulgaria and Montenegro in the Balkans and the fight against the Turks, on Holland and Japan; 3) a long scientific description of the universe and the solar system; 4) local and regional news: the authorization granted by the Bogd Khan's government to a British firm for importing opium in

Religion in Revolution

The Mongol partisans whose "people's government" was to replace in July 1921 the archaic institutions of the previous regime were initially motivated by nationalist rather than Bolshevik inclinations. [17] This can be seen from the oath they took when the two resistance groups united into a single force in the first days of 1920, which was to bring peace to the population and to protect Mongolia and Buddhism. [18] The oath was taken inside one of the capital's temples which had been originally the palatial tent of a famous Khalkha prince, Abdai khan, and in which the Bogd Khan had was enthroned in 1911. The members of the group presented ritual offerings to Ulaan sakhius, the 'Red Protector', the other name of the fierce Buddhist deity Žamsaran (Tib. lcam sring) considered as the protector of Mongolia. When later in June 1920 they founded the People's party, the party program in nine points did not mention 'revolution' as one of its first aims: it called for a reform of the internal administration, and appealed to get rid of the enemies hostile to the religion and the nation, [19](in other words, the Republican Chinese). Buddhism and the nation were still closely associated in the minds of these new political figures whose religious feelings were not to be dissociated yet from their political actions.

As attempts by the Bogd Khan's representatives to get support from Japan and Western states failed to produce any reaction, help from Soviet Russia was eventually sought on the initiative of the partisans. Eventually the direct involvement of Soviet Russia gave Mongolia a strong protector again, but a politically invasive one. When the Bogd Khan's government was reinstalled by Ungern, the People's party backed by the Soviet state established from Buryatia a Provisional people's government, following the party's First congress (March 1921). Together with Russian troops the People's party and its troops finally entered the capital in July 1921. As the Bogd Khan's summons

Mongolia, a decision criticized by the editors who warned of its danger to human health; the international issues involved with fishing in the Buir and Dalai lakes on the Manchurian border; the political elections in China; the negotiations between China and Russia on the status of Mongolia, as well as some short pieces of information.

[17] Pürev Ö., *Žanžin Sükhbaaatar* (The General Sükhbaatar), (Ulaanbaatar: Monsudar, 2001), 14.

[18] *Mongol Ulsiin tüükh* (History of Mongolia), vol. 5. (Ulaanbaatar: Admon, 2003), 106-107.

[19] Bawden, 1989, 209-10; Lonžid, Z., 1997, *Magsar xurtsiin Dugaržaviin uls töriin namtar* (Political biography of M. Dugaržav), 22.

to the party to submit to the central government, and his religious exorcism to keep the People's army at bay were to no avail, the Bogd Khan finally agreed to the establishment of a 'People's government', the new state officially proclaimed the 11th. In September the government declared in a lengthy statement sent to the international community that Mongolia was fully governing herself, refused any suzerainty from China, and was wishing, now that the Soviet government had abolished the agreements signed by the Tsarist government with Mongolia, to develop trade relations with foreign countries in an equal manner.[20]

The new regime was a hybrid one, mixing a constitutional monarchy headed by a king considered by his subjects as divine, and a government recruited from both the Party and the Bogd Khan's side, but overshadowed by the revolutionary (and in practice already monopolistic) Party. While the Bogd Khan was left as 'supreme king' of the state, the coupling of civil and religious authority characteristic of the theocratic period was undone. In November 1921, an oath *(tangarag)* was taken by the Bogd Khan and the Government to "abide without fail" to the "regulations made in order that the Mongolian People's state was solid, the religion prosperous, and the population lived happily, peaceful inside, imposing outside". These regulations delimited their respective powers: the former had full authority in religious matters whereas in the political sphere, he could veto only once any new regulation adopted by the government.[21] Soon, the People's government abolished the feudal privileges. The serf-disciples *(šavi)* system was abrogated, and fiscal measures started to restrain the economic wealth of monasteries. Ideological struggle was also on the agenda. As the party members were mostly Buddhist, anticlerical and atheist propaganda was spread in the population mainly by the more radical Revolutionary Youth Organization, founded in 1921. Linked to Soviet revolutionary organizations, it was initially encouraged to operate independently from the People's party, as the Soviets were wary of pan-Mongol and 'capitalist' orientations developing in the Party and the government, and used to harden the political line within the party.[22]

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[20] Bawden, 1989, 236 sq.; Magsaržav, N., *Mongol Ulsiin šine tüükh* (A new history of Mongolia), (Ulaanbaatar: Monsudar, 2010), 252-55.

[21] *Mongoliin ulsiin tüükh* 2003, 133; Magsaržav, 275, 277-78.

[22] Posing as a revolutionary vanguard the members of this organization developed political, educational and cultural activities, especially in the countryside. It is in this context that young intellectuals like Ayuuš and Buyannemekh, one of its prominent figures, wrote the first modern Mongolian plays which were performed

In the years following the revolution, some trends could be identified among the monks. A progressive one was represented inside the Church by some religious personalities like the Darva Bandida.[23] Conscious of the need for the religious institution to reform and to find a compromise with the on-going social and political change taking place in the country, they showed good-will towards the new government. Although the Darva Pandita declined to take part in the government, he accepted in 1923 to write a booklet on the relations between Buddhist principles and the policy of the People's government, at the request of the politically active scholar Tseveen Žamsarano. In his booklet, the learned monk indicated that both shared the good of the people as a common goal, and

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in front of rural audiences. The recruitment of often illiterate herders receptive to the revolutionary millenarianism was used to counterbalance the weight in the Party and the government of moderate personalities, including respected Buddhist incarnations, which were still seen as temporarily useful. The situation led to frictions between the Party and the independent Youth Organization, the more radical advocating purging both of their capitalist and other classes. With the death of the Bogd Khan in 1924 and the execution without trial, at the following 3rd congress of the People's party of the Prime minister Danzan, accused of being representative of the 'new capitalists', the revolutionary orientation of the country was better secured and the independence of the radical vanguard reconsidered. On the directives of the Comintern the 3rd Congress ruled that no party other than the People's Party would be allowed, the Youth Organization having to limit itself to assisting the Party; at the same congress, the epithet 'revolutionary' was officially added by the Mongols to the party's name (People's revolutionary party). See the report on the history of the Youth movement coauthored by Buyannemekh in 1926, published with detailed footnotes by Gantulga Ts. and Boldbaatar Č (eds.), *Mongoliin khuvisgalt zaluučuudiin evleliin kholbogdokh züilüüd* (Elements related to the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Organization), (Ulaanbaatar: Sorkhon Tsagaan, 2007), 15-22,36, 40-41, 54-55, 63-64, 67; *Komintern ba Mongol*, 1996, 65, 73-75, 260: Batsaikhan 2005, 166-167. See also the Diluv Khutagt's comments on the "strongly anti-religious line" of the Organization to which he fell himself victim : Lattimore, O. and Isono, F., 1982, 128).

[23] The Darva (or Darba) Pandita is one of Mongolia's Buddhist spiritual lineages. This one was the 6th Mongolian incarnation, Agvaančoinžordondov (1870–1927), a scholar, as indicated by the title *pandita*. After the establishment of the People' government, the Darva Pandita was invited by Tseveen Žamsarano to become a member of the new Institute of Books and Manuscripts, the future Academy of Sciences. He refused but wrote a booklet on government rule, social organization and relations between the State and the monasteries which was published by the Institute. As most of the monks could read only Tibetan, it had to be translated into Tibetan. See *Buddiin šašin, soyoliin tailbar toli* (Dictionary of Buddhist culture and religion), (University of Mongolia), (Ulaanbaatar: Öngöt Publications, 2000, 2 vol.), 33–35, 327; Bawden, 1989: 269-71.

he tried to make the new rule look acceptable to Buddhists. Among the Mongolian laity the idea of a 'Buddhist renewal' was rather new, but it was familiar to Russian-educated Buryats such as Tseveen Žamsarano. In Saint-Petersburg he had been and still was in contact with Russian scientific circles that studied Buddhist traditions and texts. He must have been aware also of the Theosophists's approach of Buddhism as a source, in its primitive form, for modern spirituality. After the 1921 revolution Žamsarano attempted to encourage a new, purer form of Buddhism detached from popular superstitions and ignorant or corrupt clergy. Aware of the ideological tenets of communism against religions, he presented Buddhism as a scientific philosophy. He wrote: "What Buddhist faith and scriptures teach [...] corresponds perfectly with science"[24] – a statement that echoes today's views defended by Western Buddhists and the present Dalaï Lama. To stress its philosophical aspects and make it more acceptable to the new regime, the word 'Buddhism' was used instead of its ordinary appellations: 'religion' *(šašin)*, 'religion of the Yellow [Gelugpa school]', or 'religion of the burkhan' (the Mongol name for Buddha). With the help of such religious figures Tseveen Žamsarano aimed at developing a modern view of Buddhism in Mongolia and he was instrumental in defending it on the political stage during the 1920s.

Another trend of Buddhism was defended by the high clergy who were not preoccupied with modernizing Buddhism, but with developing a national Buddhism, proper to Mongolia: the "religion of the Jebstündamba lama of the North". This trend downplayed the supremacy for the country of the main figures of Buddhism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama of Tibet, in favour of the local main Buddhist incarnation.[25]

A third trend could be seen among the lower ranks of the clergy suffering from the abuses of their privileges by high monks. During the early 1920s, the Party, among whose ranks were many lamas, attempted to divide the monks and develop a class struggle among them. A Comintern document from January 1929 explains that the idea was to strengthen the links between the Party and the lower clergy in order to create, through it as well as through the progressive monks in the middle and high clergy, a movement for reforming Buddhism. This progressive trend within the clergy was to be protected as stated

[24] Pürevžav and Dašnyamts 1965: 113; Bawden, 1989: 284-285, 292.

[25] Bawden 1989: 286.

in the new law on religion (1926).[26] This policy seemed to have been initially successful: In 1925 and 1926, revolts were organized in monasteries against the upper clergy, urging for a more equal share of the monasteries' income; it was also proposed that Mongolian language would be used for religious teaching, instead of Tibetan, the liturgical language.[27] But, complained the same Comintern document, because of the rightist deviation, this policy was not followed. When a movement started somewhere, it was known, monks fought each other. Most of them were traditionalists. There was no clear program of actions concerning the movement among the monks and the reform of Buddhism. Moreover, in the Party and its direction a group headed by Žamsarano opposed the creation by the Party of such a movement, arguing that it was not its role and that it was contrary to the main principles of Buddhism; as believers themselves, they considered that creating troubles within Buddhism was not acceptable, that it was a sin. So the policy was abandoned, and no more propaganda work carried out in 1927-28.[28]

As the document makes it clear, this "reform movement" manipulated from the outside by the Party must not be confused with the first, progressive, trend mentioned above. It pertains to political agitation and propaganda inside monasteries in order to create internal strife between the monks. In contrast, the reform movement called for by Tseveen Žamsarano emanated from the conscious will of believers and of the religious actors themselves.

In those days, belief in Buddhism was still strong and widespread, and the place of its clergy and institutions central to society: it governed the habits and views of most Mongols: Mongolia was far from being

[26] *Komintern ba Mongol*, 262-63.

[27] Bawden, 1989: 261, 269, 287; Batsaikhan 2005: 190. Very few monasteries used Mongolian for Buddhist liturgy. One of the most famous one was the Mergen Gegeen monastery in Inner Mongolia (Urad Banner) seat of the Mergen Gegeen incarnations. On this important monastery and its tradition, see Galluu, S., *Mongγol-iyar delgeregülügsen burqan šajin-u nom soyul uraliγ-un teüke* (Doctrinal, cultural and art history of the Buddhism spread in Mongolia), (2 vols), (Kökeqota: People's Press of Inner Mongolia, 2003). Interestingly, today's monks are not willing to adopt Mongolian as the liturgical language. Such a project existed after 1990, one or two temples opened, but in fact the project was mainly supported by Buddhist scholars. See Even, M.-D., (forthcoming), Ritual efficacy or spiritual quest? Buddhism and modernity in post-communist Mongolia, in Buffetrille, K. (ed.), Revisiting rituals in a Tibetan changing world, (Leiden: Brill's).

[28] *Komintern ba Mongol*, 263.

turned into a "disenchanted" society at that point. Yet several features could be interpreted as first steps towards secularization of Mongolian society and internal, or organizational, secularization of the religious institution itself:

– the monks' demand for a more accessible liturgy using Mongolian,

– the separation of Church and state in 1921 on a peaceful basis,

– the acceptance of the new status of Buddhism, a less political and more spiritual one, by some respected religious personalities,

– Tseveen Žamsarano's attempts to present Buddhism as a spiritual philosophy that should have its full place in post-revolutionary Mongolia's culture,

– and (see below) the privatization of religion illustrated by the political leader Amar concerned with keeping his beliefs private, careful not to display them publicly, as required by the party regulations.

Communism against religion: the failure of secularization

However, the question of the Buddhist Church and its lamas was a troublesome one for the Comintern and the Soviet government. The Bogd Khan's death in 1924 might have cleared the way for setting a republic, but it has been followed by a 'rightist deviation'. Soviet advisers had become aware at that stage that the deeply religious population was not ready to accept anticlerical ideas. Some understood that, from a strategic point of view, it was still beneficial for the Mongolian party to use experienced and respected individuals, even if they did not fit the ideological criteria, as with Amar (1886-1941). Prior to the 7th Congress of the Party, in the fall 1928, one of the Comintern representatives declared: "In Mongolia's present context, such an unscientific view of the world will not be overcome spontaneously. Here the Comintern cannot fight religion with sheer force. Fighting religion is not like fighting lamas' wealth". Amar, in his answer to the delegates, felt confident enough to tell the delegates that he was, indeed, a Buddhist, and so were 90% of the Party members.

> My faith, he said, is not harmful to the people, it is inside me only. I do not display my beliefs, I know the limits, I do not deviate from the Party regulations and I never will. I believe in all conscience, my faith is serious. I fight incarnated lamas against perversion of the creed. If the Party asked me to stop believing, I could not do it, but I can be ordered to keep my beliefs to myself. I am a nobleman *(taiž),* but I have always been poor and like my parents before I have always

> worked for a living. If the Party wants to sack all the noblemen, then it will have to sack me too.[29]

For other Comintern advisers, the analysis of the situation reached by the party in 1928 and the remedy prescribed were quite different. In their eyes, religion and an emerging capitalism posed serious obstacles and needed to be dealt with more radically. They considered that the Party had become a party of small capitalists, and that in the absence of a consistent ideology in the Party, Buddhism was becoming the party ideology. They recommended to purge thoroughly the Party of the many lamas who had joined up recently, and to enroll mainly ordinary herders.[30]

The Party's 7th Congress engaged a drastic rupture in the political and economical development of the young Mongolian state. The orientations called for by the Soviet Union – and applied through the Comintern's guidance and its direct involvement in local politics – fully prevailed. Moderate leaders still aiming at carving out under the necessary Soviet umbrella a specific future for Mongolia, one that would be adapted to its conditions, were eliminated or excluded from the Party. Concerning religion, the 7th Congress condemned any role, be it cultural or philosophical, for Buddhism in the state.[31] Following close on the steps of the Russians, the Mongolian state substituted to the previous measures aimed at limiting the social and economic power of the Church radical anticlerical measures. What has been called euphemistically the "Leftist deviation" sparkled major uprisings in the countryside in which monks, the only organized force outside the communists, played a major role.

Finally, in spite of the increased repression and severe control of the population and of its Church, despite the successive show trials, Staline failed to obtain from the Mongols a complete suppression of what he called "a state within the state". Staline who took in his own hands the Mongolian question resorted to sheer force. With the assistance of the Soviet secret police (NKVD) and echoing the Great Terror taking place simultaneously in Russia, monks, intellectuals, party members and ordinary people were sentenced and generally executed, hundreds of monasteries were destroyed and desecrated (only three were partially preserved). To accelerate the purges a Special Commission with full

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[29] *Komintern ba Mongol*, 200, 246-247.
[30] *Ibid.*, 271-72.
[31] *Mongol ulsiin tüükh*, 163-165; Bawden 1989, 284-86.

powers was set up, headed by Čoibalsang. In the course of the 50 meetings it held between the 22nd of October 1937 and the 4th of May 1939, the Commission sentenced (as counter-revolutionary elements or spies for Japan) 25,824 individuals: 20474 were executed, 5103 were jailed for ten years. Over half of the sentenced people were the higher and the most educated.[32] The rest of the clergy was forcibly secularized or sent to the army. By the end of 1939, Buddhism as an institution had been fully eradicated.

Can such a violent process, taking place in a totalitarian context, be called 'secularization' and equated to the forms of secularization that have developed in Western democratic societies? As a sociological notion, secularization denotes the withdrawal of important domains from the authority of the Church: politics, law, medicine, education. It implies at a social level that individuals, behaviour, cultural expressions are set free from religious control, and it results in religion being limited to the private rather than the public sphere. In the case of communist Mongolia the reality of such secularization is not obvious. Instead of limiting the authority of religion in society, controlling its public expression and pushing it into the private sphere, the purges aimed at the total suppression of Buddhism in order for its own monopolistic ideology to rule. In obliterating religion altogether, communism in fact has made impossible any secularization process. Such a process would have resulted in preserving and guaranteeing Buddhism (as well as Shamanism) as legitimate actors in the Mongolian society. It is exactly what it would not do.

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Reality versus Divinity
(On the Creation of the Buddhist Canon)

ALEXANDER FEDOTOFF

As it is well-known, the Buddhist Canon (Tripiţaka, or *Three* Baskets) was codified in Pali, Sanskrit and some its dialects. The Pali version of the Canon seems to be the oldest and the most complete compendium of the Buddhist scriptures. Pali *Tripiţaka* became quite popular in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar (former Burma), Laos, Cambodia and other countries. Sanskrit version of *Tripiţaka* was not complete and as a whole had a fragmentary nature.

Yet for all Buddhist believers not only in India, but in other Asian countries like Tibet, China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Buryatia, etc. Sanskrit language was and still is a sacred and canonical language. No doubts that in ancient and medieval India one could find many canonical scriptures written in Sanskrit. Later on these works were translated into Tibetan and Chinese, but, alas, were lost in the original language, i.e. in Sanskrit. That is why nowadays we do not posses the complete Sanskrit version of the Buddhist Canon.

In this paper, I would like rather to put some questions regarding the Buddhist Canon than to find answers. All my speculations are focused on the creation and development of *Tripiţaka.* As this theme is quite complicated and complex, herewith, I would like just to overview several parallel versions concerning the Canon's creation: mythological (legendary) and historical or quasi-historical.

First of all, in both Pali and Sanskrit versions of the Buddhist Canon is said that all the sermons and saying of Buddha Gautama were codified by his disciples very strictly and precisely. But almost nothing is mentioned when this Canon was compiled. Moreover, in the

traditional interpretation of this question one can discover two different approaches.

In accordance with the first approach, three months after the transition of Buddha Gautama into *Parinirvana*, his disciples gathered all together in order to recite precisely and clearly every word he pronounced and to preserve in the collective memory of the Buddhist community (*sańgha*) every event happened to him in his life. This gathering of the community and the community recitation named *sangiti* was organized during the so-called summer retreat (during summer monsoon the Buddhist community usually was caused to be at a standstill because of the weather conditions). Among European scholars this event is usually known as *First Buddhist Council.* It is said that this Council was held at Rājagṛha (today's Rajgir) during the 5th century BC under the noble support of king Ajāthaśatru. The objective of the First Council was to record all of Buddha's teachings into the doctrinal teachings (sūtra) and Abhidharma and to codify the monastic rules (Vinaya). Ānanda, one of the Buddha's main disciples and his cousin, was called upon to recite the discourses and Abhidharma of the Buddha, and Upali, another disciple, recited the rules of the Vinaya. These became the basis of the *Tripiṭaka*[1].

So, this *sangiti* was held at Rājagṛha with participation of five hundred monks-arhats headed by Mahākāśyapa. Because all the teachings of Buddha Gautama were recorded by his best disciples of him, all the sūtras in the Buddhist Canon usually start with the words "evam me sutam" – "I heard so". It seems that in this way all the three parts of *Tripiţaka* were recorded and codified: *Vinaya Pitaka* which describes the monastic code, *Sūtra Pitaka* which is focusing on ethical rules of the Buddhist Teaching, and *Abhidharma Pitaka* which represents metaphysical principles of Dharma.

As it is stated in canonical and non-canonical sources, written in Pali language, three Buddhist Councils took place in the past: after the first Council which was held at Rājagṛha, the second Council was organized at Vaishali following a dispute that had arisen in the sańgha over a relaxation by some monks of various points of strict monastic code of life. During the Buddhist Council at Vaishali the first ever in Buddhism split became a reality: Māhāsańghika School separated from the sańgha because the followers of this school did not accept Sūtra

[1] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Buddhism#1st_Buddhist_council_285th_c._BCE.29

and Vinaya as indisputable concepts. In fact, the Mahāyāna Buddhism sprang from this splitting during the Second Council.

During the rule of King Aśoka (273-232 BC) the Third Buddhist Council was held around 250 BC at Pataliputra (today's Patna). It was held by the monk Moggaliputtatissa. The objective of the Council was to purify the saṅgha, particularly from non-Buddhist ascetics who had been attracted by the royal patronage. Following the council, Buddhist missionaries were dispatched throughout the known world[2].

It is worth mentioning that King Aśoka converted to Buddhism after his bloody conquest of the territory of Kalinga in Eastern India during the so-called Kalinga War. Regretting the horrors and misery brought about by the conflict, king Aśoka decided to renounce violence, and to replace the misery caused by war with respect and dignity for all humanity. He propagated the faith by building *stūpas* and pillars urging, amongst other things, respect of all animal life and enjoining people to follow the *Dharma.* Some of these *stūpas* still can be seen in India, and in some neighboring countries.

The ruling of Aśoka marks the first spread of Buddhism beyond India to other countries. According to the plates and pillars left by Aśoka, hundreds of emissaries were sent to various countries in order to spread Buddhism, as far south as Sri Lanka and as far west as the Greek kingdoms[3].

Thousands of monks – excellent experts in the Buddhist Teaching – were gathered together in Pataliputra in order to compile the unified compendium of the real *Dharma*[4]. The tradition said that King Aśoka was collaborating with one thousand *bhikşu* for nine months and finally the Canon *Tripitaka* was compiled.

Let us now shift to the second approach to the problem of the creation of the Pali Buddhist Canon. It is well-known that three years after the Buddhist Council in Pataliputra King Aśoka sent his son named Mahindra (Mahinda) to Sri Lanka as his emissary in order to disseminate the Buddhist Teaching therein. It is said that the sermons of Mahindra were quite popular among the locals. Moreover after the meetings with Mahindra, the ruler of Sri Lanka King Devanampiyatissa converted to Buddhism.

In following years, Mahindra established *Mahavira* (Great Monastery) in Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. His Buddhist *saṅgha*

[2] Idem.

[3] Idem.

[4] *2500 years of Buddhism*. Edited by Prof. P.V. Bapat. New Delhi, 1956, 50.

became famous as *Theravāda.* Several years later, Mahindra's sister Saṅghamita also arrived to Sri Lanka and founded there a female *saṅgha.* She brought with her to Sri Lanka the sacred object – a shoot of the Boddhi Tree under which Buddha Gautama reached Enlightenment. *A propos,* nowadays there are several trees in Sri Lanka which were cultivated from that shoot of the Boddhi Tree. Later on several shoots from that cultivated tree were brought to other Asian countries from the so-called Buddhist World.

On the other hand, it is well-known that in the first century BC for a long period of time the population of Sri Lanka was suffering from huge starvation. The King's subjects expressed their wrath and were ready for uprising. The King of Sri Lanka Vatagamani under the fear of kingdom's collapse issued an order to codify the Buddha's Sayings. As it is mentioned in some Buddhist scriptures, five hundred monks and clerks wrote down these Sayings on palm leaves and put them into baskets. Codified parts were put into three different baskets – *pitakas.* Since then the Buddhist Canon became known as *Tripiţaka,* or Three Baskets.

Finally, in what way and how the Buddhist Canon was compiled? Was it done during the Fist Buddhist Council, when the brilliant disciples and followers of Buddha Gautama recorded all the Sayings of his Teacher word by word? Or, it was done later on, even not in India, but perhaps in Sri Lanka which the Indians usually call "The Sacred Island" (Sanskrit 'Sri Lanka').

On one hand, we should not undervalue the Buddhist Council tradition which was continued till the Modern Times. For example, in 1874 in Mandalai (Myanmar, in that time it was Burma) was held a special Buddhist Council. More than 2400 monks participated in this Council. For five months they were checking different versions and translations of the canonical scriptures and finally prepared the unified Pali version of the Buddhist Canon. Later on the unified Canon was engraved on the 729 marble plates. Each of them was put into a special mini-shrine.

On the other hand, legends run that from the very beginning, the *saṅgha* lived in harmony and peace without keeping any rules. Little by little, the number of monks and nuns was growing up, which made the internal life of *saṅgha* more complicated and difficult. Buddha Gautama had to show to the members of his *saṅgha* their mistakes and to prevent them from incorrect behavior. That is why he invented 253 rules for *bhikşu* (monks) and 311 rules for *bhikşuni* (nuns). The monastic rules

were and still are very strict. Buddha Gautama often called his Teaching *Dharma Vinaya,* as if he wanted to underline the serious meaning of the monastic rules.

So, what is the right answer to all these questions?

The Buddhist Council tradition, or, maybe that was the Sri Lanka's King Vagatamani who first understood that the canonization of the Buddhist scriptures could help him in reconciliation of his subjects?

Finally, what is real, and what is divine?

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On the History of Bektashism in Albania

ALBINA H. GIRFANOVA

One of the characteristics peculiar to the cultural life of Albania is peaceful coexistence of three forms of different religions on a limited territory with low population figures, namely Roman Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity and Islam, besides which in some isolated mountainous regions paganism is also to be found. According to the census of 1923, 69% of the population was Muslims, 11% - Roman Catholics, while the rest professed Orthodox Christianity.

The 1942 census gives practically the same pattern – 69% were Muslims (with 78.5% of Sunni Muslims and 21.5% of Bektashis), 10.3% of Roman Catholics and 20.7% of Orthodox Christians (the last data: 80% - Muslims).

Islam is known to have started infiltrating into Albania with the coming of the Ottoman conquerors that made their first encroachments into the country through Macedonia in 1381. Islamization of the country continued till the 19th century, though its intensity varied from region to region. The most compact zone of Islamization is Middle Albania (Shqiperia e Mesme), in the north and south of which Muslims live together, side by side with Catholics and Orthodox Christians respectively. It was this tolerant atmosphere that could give rise to favourable conditions for appearance and spread of Bektashism.

Historically, Bektashism – one of the Islamic orders – originated in Anatolia in the 13th century and was named after Hajj Bektashi Wali (Veli) who is considered its forefather and founder and in a way a mystical symbol for hundreds of wandering Turkic preachers (baba). Hajj Bektashi, the follower and disciple of Ahmad Yasawi who was the leader of Yasawi Sufis, was sent by him to teach their ideas of Islam in Anatolia.

The order of Bektashia took its origin in a mixed (patchwork) legacy of Islamic syncretism and beliefs of Anatolian Christians and Turks. Extremely vague at its beginnings, Bektashiam gradually grew into a clearly organized and centralized, if strictly local, order to cater rural religious needs, it had a network of "lodges" and connections with a military order of Futuwwa.

However, up until the 15th century the organization of Bektashi underwent practically no visible development and established contacts with the Janissary corps of Murad the 1st as late as the late 16th century.

Thanks to their being the favoured religious community with the Janissars, the Bektashis were seldom persecuted for their faith or innovations. Sometimes the Ottoman authorities took harsh measures against the leaders of Bektashism, but it was mainly due to their participation in endless Janissary revolts rather than because of their doctrines or rituals.

Unfortunately, in 1826, as soon as the Janissary corps was abolished, the same fate befell the Bektashis. The orthodox ulama (the clergy) began persecuting them as heretics. Part of them was massacred, with their property given out (passed over) to other orders. However, as the Bektashis were not a military sect and their ideas had already become rooted in the people (commoners), they managed to survive by reorganizing themselves into an underground movement and partly joining other congregations. This tactics made it possible for the order to develop and grow again when the conditions in the country changed for more favourable.

Substantial growth in the number of their adherents in Albania became noticeable as late as the 19th century when, after the collapse of the Janissaries, the whole communities rejected (refused to profess) Sunni Islam of the Turkish invaders and joined Bektashism. At that time its most prominent centers were in Tirana and Akcha Hithara (?).

The Bektashis fell into two main levels: rural communities (*kizil-bektashi*) and consecrated dervishes who were members of a specific unit. The rural communities had a kind of age qualification, so after reaching the age limit a candidate was initiated by the head of the village unit, while a dervish community could be entered at a free will.

When a dervish has mastered all necessary (professional) skills, he has to undergo the ceremony of taking vows (*vakfi wudjut*) to have the right to wear a tadj, a special headgear of the order. A dervish taking a vow of celibacy undergoes an additional ceremony *mudjeret aiini*.

Evlia Chelebi visited a famous *tekke* of the Bektashi in Usmandjik,

which had been built by Bayazed II after seeing a prophetic dream on the grave of Koyun-baba, the successor of Hajj Bektash. There, was healed from a contagious eye disease, he was admitted to the Bektashi.

Confusion in the origins as well as complicated relations of the groupings within the order give supporting evidence to the fact that various unions that were to be considered heretical and, therefore, persecuted in a Sunni state into which the Ottoman empire was gradually changing used a chance to hide under the umbrella of the welcoming and tolerant order of the Bektashi.

The doctrines of the order rely on the Q'uran and the Prophet Muhammad, but at the same time Great Ali is also venerated.

Instead of the tripersonality of Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, the Bektashis have the tripersonality of Allah, Muhammad and Ali.

Fundamental are two prophetic aphorisms – "Vdisni pa vdekur" (Die without dying, not dying) and "Dashuria per atdheun vjen nga besimi" (Love to the Fatherland comes from faith). Среди главных принципов – справедливость, равенство и людская мудрость.

The main principles are – justice, equality and popular wisdom.

Those who followed these principles and this path became a dervish. The highest aim of the Bektashis was in spreading light, peace and wisdom all over the world regardless of the peoples' racial or religious affiliation.

The Bektashi clergy wore white garments. The hierarchy of the order is the following – the Prophet Muhammad, imams, holy men and the learned. The fact that the learned are among the most prominent positions in the hierarchy demonstrates the advanced level of development of the sect compared to the other Islamic sects.

In 1924, when Ataturk's decree outlawed the sect in Turkey, the center of Bektashism moved to Albania.

The number of *tekkes* in the country ran into 260. The reasons that facilitated and contributed to the spread Bektashism in Albania are the following:

Islamic beliefs of the Albanian population were rather superficial (shallow). In many cases people turned to profess Islam to get some privileges, to have a tax exemption, and especially to be exempted from the exhausting military service.

Moreover, in some localities this belief was taken by the population just formally. In villages, mainly in Northwest Albania (the regions of Lura and Dibra), some members of one family could bear Muslim names and go to mosque, while the others were Christian churchgoers.

In the mountainous districts of Shpat, Central Albania, many adherents of Christianity were registered in administrative papers as Muslims.

Being in conflict with the official authorities, the members of the sect took advantage of the Albanians' discontent with the reforms of the Sublime Porte. The Bektashis supported the people's independence movement against the invaders. Many of them fell in clashes with the Ottomans fighting for the independence and union of the Albanian pashalliks. In the period of Rilindje, a great number of *tekkes* (located largely in Frashëri (Permet) headed by Baba Alush Frashëri and Baba Huseni became centers of national-liberation movement.

I think fit to remind that among their followers the Bektashis had greatest figures of Albanian culture. Such was Naim Frashëri, the most prominent Albanian poet of the 19th century, who, besides well-known paradigmatic works, published "The History of Skënderbeg", "The History of Albania" and "The Diary of the Bektashis" (Bucharest, 1896).

His brother, Sami Frashëri (1850-1904), known as a Turkish scholar under the name of Shemseddin Sami, was the author of the six-volume Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia of Turkey, published in 1888-1896. A remarkable contribution to the national liberation movement was his lampoon "Shqiperia: ç'ka qenë, ç'është e ç'do të bëhet".

Such Bektashis as Ali Dede from the *tekke* in Kruja and the teachers Ibrahim Kalesh and Hasan Kolashi spread the alphabet and text-books all over the country. There are many more examples of the Bektashi's propagation of culture. The discussion about the necessity to apply to the Latin alphabet as the basis in the Albanian writing system was suggested by the Frashëri brothers. Unluckily, it only resulted in issuing a secret regulation of the Porte under which Albanian was banned as a means of instruction at schools.

In 1944 the communist rule in Albania took harsh measures to reduce religious influence in the country to a minimum. In March 1946 a new constitution was adopted and made public according to which all citizens were granted the freedom of religion, though it was prohibited to use religion and church as a political tool, religious parties were banned. These articles empowered the government to interfere into the life of religious organizations and exert pressure on them accusing them of being engaged in political activity hostile to the existing regime. However, the government attitude to the Bektashis was milder, which

was probably thanks to their contribution to the anti-Turkish struggle.

The Bektashi community declared its new status at the Fourth Congress in 1945. The Congress determined and stated new spheres of jurisdiction (influence) and their centers – Crue, Elbasan, Korcha, Gjirokastra, Vlora. During the World War II 6.000 Bektashis gave their lives in the fight with Italian fascists. Regardless of this, during the first general elections in the country the Bektashis went through a schism, since half of them supported the communist rule, while the other half was against it.

Those who refused to collaborate with the new regime were declared traitors and executed. In 1951 the mufti of Shkodra Salih Muftija was hanged with his head down in front of the monument to Stalin. Some Bektashis fled to find refuge in Syria, many committed suicide.

In 1976 Albania was declared an atheist state. On the other hand, the Muslim Albanian diaspora in the USA (which since 1954 has had a tekke in Detroit) increased its propaganda. The USA diaspora publishes books and journals. In 1984 it published the English version of the book by Baba Rexhepi "Islamic Mysticism and Bektashism". The Albanian-American Islamic Center in Brooklyn, NY, conducts an energetic activity. Besides, Albanian Sunnis and Bektashis publish magazines and journals in the USA ("Zeri i Bektashizmit") 1959.

In Albania proper this sect, like some other religious sects and spiritual congregations, resumed its activity. The Bektashi sect headed by Reshat Bardhi (died 2011), exercises all the functions of Selia (headquartes) in Tirana and has its own periodical. Though it was published underground, the newspaper took a great part in the history of the country – I mean the Sunni's "Udha e vertetës", Shkodra, 1923, "Zani i Naltë", Shkodra, 1923-1938, "Kultura Islame", 1939-194.

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General View of the Divinity and the Divine Concepts in Albanian's Faiths and Belief Systems

SPARTAK KADIU

According to the encyclopedia, the divinity and the divine used within different faiths and belief systems and also by different individuals with a given faith refer to some transcendent or transcendental power, or its attributes in the world. The root of the words is literally "godlike" (from the Latin *dues*, cf. Dyaus, closely related to Greek Zeus, *div* in Persian and *deva* in Sanskrit), but the use is different semanticaly depending on which god is being discussed.

The purpose of this article is to give a general view of the divinity and the divine concepts in Albanian's faiths and belief systems during the history. This means to explain the divinity as an entity and the divine force of power in which Albanians believe. For that reason we will give a brief history of faiths and beliefs in Albania. We will give examples of Albanian legends and mythology that taught about the Muses and Fates. We will explain how religion itself suffered changes during centuries. The divine and divinity concepts are present even in Albanian literature.

Religious ethnology studies mythology and beliefs of different people, starting from the simplest and most ancient forms up to their complex presence into modern times. The myth is a story originated by people presenting a connection between a natural and supernatural thing in the nature and society. Often, forces of nature and supernatural are presented in the myths in symbolic forms. Most of them have an ancient prehistoric origin. Elements of mythology and people's beliefs originated from the time of paganism. They were born in certain

conditions of primitive community. Together with the rites and customs, they are related to the thousand year old history of the Albanian nation and have been evaluated together with the social development of their bearers.

Mythological beliefs represent a form of social conscience. They have to deal with the conviction of the existence of supernatural forces, often with mysteries and/or unexplainable things, influencing in worse or better people's destiny. In order to have their good influence, the humans offered them presents, made sacrifices, erected monuments. People developed objects of cults, ritual practices, sacrifices for the divinities, created legends about the life of the gods, cultural heroes and their fantastic origin. Religious belief of Paganism in supernatural is represented in its four fundamental structures: first of all, the belief in the existence of supernatural divinity consisted of a symbol of the perfect thing. In people's imagination was presented the personification of good and evil and the fight between them; as a result it was created the cult of love for the good and cult of hatred for the evil. The ritual is a ceremonial action based on faith; it connects natural and supernatural, and what is presented in a certain time as supernatural phenomena, have magical and religious character. The Pagan rites bring luck, health, wealth, as well as protects against destructive, evil, hostile forces. Albanians have preserved ancient rituals, such as the green environment for Summer Day and for Saint George at home, rites and sacrifices in holy places, on mountains peaks.

Albanians have numerous myths of etiological nature. They tell about the origin of different natural phenomenon, origin of people, cultural heroes, etc. In a myth mentioned by the Greeks, it was said that the leader of the Illyrians was the snake, and different tribes were his sons and daughters. Thus, etiology of the Illyrians has the origin from a mythological point of view, from a totem. The Albanian myths say that the deer was a man, who in unfortunate circumstances turned into a deer. In people's belief the deer is personified in man who cries and prays to the Sun in Tomorr as people used to do before.

There are four ancient forms of belief: fetishism, magic, totem and cult of burial and its rites. Fetishism gives supernatural qualities to real world phenomena. People believe that they have curative and luck powers. Magic deals with different rites and practices for luck, welfare, etc.[1] Totem is the belief of a gender, tribe or certain population in

[1] Tirta, Mark, 2006, 402.

myth. It can be a zoological being or a certain object. As mentioned before, Illyrians used to believe in the snake.[2]

Albanians believe in the cult of the nature. It is presented in myths and beliefs related to pastures, mountains, stones, caves and certain rocks, forests and special trees. They are myths on springs, rivers, seas, old lands, graves, wild animals, sun and moon, etc. In Albania, there were forests with hundred years old trees that were never cut, because this action was considered a sin. There were different legends on forests, related to Fates and Fairies and other mythic beings. There are special oaks considered as holy. People believed that dragons and other mythological animals used to live there. The pagan beliefs include the cult of the wild sheep, deer, eagle, bee, and wolf.

Albanians have preserved the cult of the Sun. They prayed to the Sun in the morning, climbing on the high peaks. The most usual peak for pilgrimage, where were held ceremonies dedicated to the Sun were in Shën Gjergj, Tomorrit and Sarisalltëk. Albanians used to swear on the Sun, Moon, Land, Stones or elements of nature, but not for Gods or Muslim or Christian saints. In the people's belief the image of the moon is that of a woman and the sun of a man. The new moon always brings luck and prosperity. The divinity of the moon is related to the ancient God with attributes of the agriculture and family life. But, the moon is also related to the Fairy with the virgin nature, the god of nature and women protector.

The figure of Fairy (*Zana*) is one of the two important divine figure of Albanian believes. It is the most important figure of our mythology and our popular believes. As a divinity, the Fairy symbolizes the divinity and the beauty of the nature. It is the protector of the virgin forests, mountains, sources etc. The Fairy protects the silence of the nature. Depending on the situation it can help or damage the people. A lot of researchers such as Hahn, Durham, Nopça, Jorkli, Lamberzi, tried to analyze this figure.[3]

The Fairy lives in the North of Albania, in the mountains. This divine figure came from the antic period. The place where they live is very mysterious and very quite. People say that the Fairy has the force to do miracles. Muji and Halili are the characters of our legendary epos. They are supernatural because they were helped by the Fairy. She gave to Muji and Halili her milk and they became very strong. The

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[2] Tirta, Mark, 2006, 403.

[3] Tirta, Mark, 2007, 32.

Fairy lives in places where the normal person cannot go through. Only a legendary hero, that have a supernatural power can rich them. He can see and can have the possibility to talk with them.

The Fairy could be visible and invisible to. They are around, but the humans do not have the possibility to see her. Sometimes we can here a strange noise, when we pass near a forest or a beautiful and quiet place in mountain. People say that this kind of rumor is the Fairy's voice. The Fairy advices the humans whether it is appropriate to take or not a certain direction. Fairies are always busy with their works and in the imagination of the people they are beautiful girls. According to this imagination in the ancient time Fairy was a divinity. In our faith we have a good Fairy that helps the person in difficulty and a bad Fairy that is dangerous for the humans.

The second important divine figure is the Muse. In Albania it is called *Ora***.** It is represented as a supernatural being, protector of man and family. It is a very important figure within the Albanian beliefs. The differences between the Muse and the Fairy are obvious. They are two different supernatural creatures, divine creatures. But in some ways they look like the same divine figure. The difference between them is that the Fairy's duty or power is to protect nature. That means all the nature together with mountains, rivers, forests and all the creatures living in those places. The Muse's duty or power is to protect the man, his family, his place of origin and persons around him, his property and all the things that the person could create. The main function of existence of the Muse is to protect the person and the human society. According to the beliefs every person when is alive lives with his Muse. The explanation is that the Muse is the kind of divine power protecting the person during all his live. The Muse appears when the person is born and disappears when the person dyes.

The person could be strong or not depending on the force of this Muse. He could be lucky or unlucky, rich or poor depending on his Muse. The Muses are having no form and they are invisible. But in Albanian legends or poems they are described like a snake or like a beautiful little girl. If one person has success in her life and everything goes for the best, this means that his Muse is very strong and very helpful and this person is considered to be lucky. But when in life occurs diseases, poverty and bad things that means that his Muse is not strong. The Muse stays in an invisible place of the house, in the garden, under the trees near the house, in the eaves of the house. Older people say that the Muse is present all the time. She follows the person during

all along his life and protects her from evil. If something bad happens the Muse is sending special signs such as particular noises.

The Muse is an invisible protector of the person, like an angel and for this reason it is divine. According to the beliefs when a child is born three Muses are staying at his head and decide from that moment his fate.

Researchers such as Gustav Mayer in his etymologic dictionary mentions about *zana* that it is the name of the Illyrian divinity named Thana. Jorkli analyzing the origin of the name Zana says that it is possible to originate from the name Za, Zani, Zeri which means in Albanian voice or one contamination of this word with a roman name. He has explained clearly the connection between the roman divinity named Diana and the Albanian divinity named Zana and the continuity in name and characteristics. Eqerem Çabej in his work supports the Jorkli's idea about the origin of Zana from Diana. But Zana as a divine figure reflects Albanian characteristics.[4] Except these two figures we can mention other figures such the snake. This cult is presented in two different ways: first, the divinity of snake has preserved ancient traces of totem, and second, the snake has the supernatural attributes of a being belonging to the land.[5] The snake's figure which is considered to be the protector of both man and family appears to be the owner not only of the house but also of the man himself in the totemic meaning. Albanians consider it as "holy", as the "guard of the house" that brings luck and prosperity.

Other significant symbols like the human hands symbol which carried various objects, in buildings or natural rocks of the pagan cult. Those things have a magic, mythic and religious symbolism of a very early image. The hand was engraved in some fireplace and chimneys of houses. They are interpreted as the hand of the family's head or of the heir who is to inherit. If there are two hands together or only one it is said that it represents the symbolism of the pledge. Engraving of a hand on the gate, on the fireplace or on various objects is a very ancient custom that came across archaeological artifacts of Arberi culture, Illyrian antiquity, as well as of the Neolithic age in the Western Balkan regions.[6]

Similar to the divine places are considered the footprints found generally in the mountains. We can find these footprints in the *tekkes* and

[4] Tirta, Mark, 2007, 68.
[5] Tirta, Mark, 2006, 417-418.
[6] Tirta, Mark, 2007, 124.

on the rocks. It is believed that these are the footprints of a Bekstashin saint named Sari Salltek. This is known like the *tekke* of the footprints.

Other divine figures, very important in the Albanian mythology, are the Dragon and Hydra. Hydra is a monster bringing storms, hail, droughts, destroys and ruins the crops, damages greatly the humans and their work. In the popular imagination it is represented in two ways: first as an enormous snake living in caves and in lakes, secondly as very big women with big breast.

The dragon is the opposite of the Hydra with which he fights. People believe that the man can born dragon. He can be born dressed with a shirt and having wings under the arms. Being born a child-dragon was a secret known only by the mother and the women helping her giving birth. If someone told about the birth of the dragon, it was killed immediately.

As a conclusion we can say that Albanian system of divine and divinity is developed during the time but in all the cases for cultural and historical reasons there are not only one form of belief. In myths, in catholic or orthodox belief, in the holy places is possible to distinguish three stratums. There is a pagan belief which is present in all Albanian cults and especially in the cult of the nature. There are the catholic saints and their spirits who live in places that we consider holy places. Muslim belief has developed the divinity and divine monotheist concepts. There is the *Bektashian* one which have his divine figures and places. The coexistence of these concepts of the divine and divinity makes clear the tolerance and the good sense of Albanian nation which is one of the most ancient nations in the Balkans. The existence of these divine and divinity concepts explain the spiritual heritage of the Albanians.

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The Holy Scriptus in the Mongolian Language: about A.M. Posdneev's Activity

IRINA KULGANEK

The history of translations of the Holy Scriptus into Mongolian has some centuries and leads its roots to the end of the 13th century when the Franciscan father J. de Monte Corvino (1247–1328) was sent by the pope of Nikolay IV as the representative to the court of the emperor Hubilay (1291). He lived in Beijing more than 12 years and translated the New Testament and psalms into Tatar.[1]

The new attempts of the Bible translation into the Mongolian language have been undertaken during the later four centuries. The Moravian brothers organized the colony in Sarepta (now – a district of Volgograd, Russia). Herrenguters J.F. Maltsch, Conrad Neitz translated into Kalmyk the whole New Testament, but however their translations are lost.[2]

There was a considerable quantity of translations of the Holy Bible in Mongolian, Buryat and Kalmyk languages in the 19th century. They were carried out by Orthodoxes, Catholics and by Protestants. An important role in translation belongs to the Russian Bible Society based in 1813 in St.-Petersburg, and its Irkutsk Branch opened in 1819.[3]

The founder of the Russian Bible Society was John Paterson, the

[1] Laufer, B., *Ocherk mongoliskoi literatury*. Perev. V.A. Kazakhevich. Red. B.Ya. Vladimirtsov (Sketch of the Mongolian literature. Trans.by V.A. Kazakhevich. Red. B.Ya. Bladimirtsov). Leningrad. 1927, 90. Abel-Remusat, "Jean de Montecorvino" in : *Nouveaux melanges asiatiques*. Paris. Vol. II. P. 1829, 193–198.

[2] Rosen St., "Ur den Mongoliska Bibels historia" in : *Svensk Missionstidskrift*. # 2, Stokholm, 1982.

[3] Kirill Mitropolit Smolenskiy i Kalininskiy, "Vstupitelinoe slovo". *Perevod Biblii. Lingvisticheskie istoriko-kul'turnye i bogoslovskie aspekty*.[Opening address. *A Bible translation. Linguistic historical and cultural aspects*], Moskva 1996, 3.

first President – graf. Alexandr Golitsin, the translation of the Bible into Mongolian was initiated by I.Ya. Shmidt.

Nomto Ungaev and Badma Morshunaev, widely educated Buryats, carried out the translation.

In 14 years, up to 1827, the complete Mongolian and Kalmyk translation of New Testament was finished and published in 1829. Special types were used for this purpose.

The Old Testament was translated and published for the first time by Scottish missionaries of London Missionary Society William Swan and Edward Stallybrass with the assistance of Cornelius Rahmn, John Aberkrombi and Robert Juille in 1836.[4]

Since the organization of the Orthodox Missionary Society in 1870, the transliteration of the Christian theological literature becomes one of its basic directions. Translators-experts, clerics, missionaries such as Alexander Bobrovnikov, Nikolay Nilov Dorzhiev, G.P.Shastin, A.Igumnov were involved in work.[5]

The mongolists-scholars were invited as editors and reviewers. For example K.F. Golstunsky worked, for some years on the Sacred Synod and was awarded by the Synod. He edited a considerable number of articles on theological topics and translated many of sacred service books.[6]

Now the libraries of Saint-Petersburg keep a representative collection of translations of the Holy Scripts and prayer books in Mongolian, Buryat and Kalmyk.

In the Russian Nation Library of M.E.Saktykov-Shzhedrin there are the following Bibles translated in Mongolian:

1. *Biblia. Novyi Zavet. Deyaniya apostolov* [The Bible. The New Testament. Acts of apostles], St. Peterburg 1820.

2. *The Bible. The New Testament.* Transl. by Edvard Stallybrass

[4] Bawden, C.R., *Shamans, Lamas and Evangelicals. The English Missionaries in Siberia.* London 1985, 295, 279-297.

[5] Ulymzhiev, D.B., *1994. Stranitsy otechestvennogo mongolovedenia. Kazanskaya shkola mongolovedov [Pages of domestic Mongolian Studies. The Kazan school of mongolists].* Ulan-Ude. 1994, 86–95; Chimitdorjiev, Sh. B., “A.V. Igumnov (1761-1834)”. *Rossiyskiye mongolovedie (XVIII- nach. XX vv.).* [A.V. Igumnov (1761-1834)”. Russian Mongolian Studies in the 18–20th century]. Ulan-Ude, 1997, 5–9.

[6] Ivanovskiy, A.O., “Pamiati K.F. Golstunskogo (1831-1899)”. *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arheologicheskogo Obzchestva* [“To K.F. Golstunsky's memory (1831-1899)”. Notes of East Department of an Imperial Archaeological Society]. St. Peterburg, T. XII. 1900, 0109-0111.

and William Swan. British and foreign Bible Society. London 1846.

3. *The Bible. The New Testament*. British and foreign Bible Society. St. Petersburg 1880.

4. *Biblia. Novyi Zavet. Evangelie ot Matfeya i Ioanna* [The Bible. The New Testament. The gospel from Mathey and John], St. Peterburg 1819.

5. *Biblia. Novyi Zavet. Evangelie ot Matfeya, Marka, Luki i Ioanna* [The Bible. The New Testament. The gospel from Mathei, Mark, Look and John], St. Peterburg 1821.

6. *Buru murgultu ulaghi ar'un hereg zuhee bayhalda urig shazhinda ghulgar* [The said aloud doctrine to pagans preparing for a sacred christening], Irkutsk 1898.

7. *Buryat ulutta unen uge* [The truthful words to Buryats], Irkutsk 1901.

8. *Skazaniye o zhitii prepodobnogo Aleksiya Cheloveka Bozhiya*. [Acts of Saint Alexey], St. Peterburg 1889.

9. *Mongolun kele-ber burhan-uyletkhu gegen uyletbotin isotu nom anu oroshibay* [The Church service, in Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription), St. Peterburg 1858.

10. *Mongolun khele-ber chechenekhe matsagun triodin khemehu nom anu oroshibay* [The Religious post. in Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription), St. Peterburg 1869.

11. *Mongolun khele-ber edzenu ilangoya sayn edurut uyletkhu iosutu nom chugut anu oroshibay* [The Services in days of dominical holidays, in Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription), St. Peterburg 1867.

12. *Mongolun khele-ber iosotu dzalbari-ludun nom anu oroshibay* [The book of prayers, in Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription). St. Peterburg 1864.

13. *Mongolun khele-ber irmolog khemehu burhan nom anu oroshibay* [The sacred book of Iremologion, in Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription), St. Peterburg 1871.

14. *Mongolun khele-ber tsestegtu triodion khemehu nom oroshibay* [Color Triodion. In Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription), St. Peterburg 1871.

15. *Okhtoih khemehu nayman ayal gutu nom anu oroshibay* [Oktoih. In Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription), St. Peterburg 1866.

16. *Hristosun shadzhintami nen terigune surtahu hosotu nom anu*

oroshibay. [Bases of the Christian doctrine. In Mongolian]. (In Church Slavonic transcription). St. Peterburg 1858.

In Buryat:

1. *Zhitie sviatitelia Nikolaya Mirlikiyskogo. Na narechii severo-baykaliskih buryat.* [Life of prelate Nikolay Mirlikijsky]. In the North Baikal Buryat, Ed. 2. Kazan 1907.

2. *Uchenie o sviatoy hristianskoy vere, islozhennoye v besedah s buryatami s perevodom na narechie severo-baykaliskih buryat*. [The doctrine of sacred Christian belief. Conversations with Buryats]. In the North Baikal Buryat, Ed. 2. Kazan 1907.

3. *Uchenie pered priniatiem cv. Khrezcheniya, s perevodom na buryatskiy razgovornyi yazyk*. [The doctrine before acceptance of a sacred christening]. In Buryat spoken language, Kazan 1875.

4. *Hushin at shina tokhtoli ar'un tuzhi*. [Sacred history of the Old and the New testament]. In the North Baikal Buryat, Ed. 2. Kazan 1908.

5. *Chin bozhestvennoy liturgii sv. Ioanna Zlatoustogo, s perevodom na narechie severo-baykaliskih buryat*. [Sacred John Zlatoust's divine liturgy in the North Baikal Buryat], Irkutsk 1896.

6. *Edur burin murgultu*. [Everyday prayers]. In the North Baikal Buryat, Kazan 1882.

7. *Markyn duulgahan hain Medeesel.* [The gospel from Mark], Stockholm–Moscow 1996.

In Kalmyk:

1. *Biblia. Novyi Zavet. Evangelie ot Matfeya*. [The Bible. The New Testament. The gospel from Mathey]. St. Peterburg 1819.

2. *Biblia Novyi Zavet. Evangelie. Perevod na kalm. yaz. odinnadtsati utrennih voskresnyh Evangeliy, sdelannyi svyazchennikom Parmenom Smirnovym.* [The Bible. The New Testament. Eleven Morning Sunday Gospels, read by the priest Parmen Smirnov], St. Peterburg 1869.

3. *Gospoda nashego Iisusa Hrista Novyi Zavet. Evangelie ot Matfeya i Ioanna. Deyaniya cvyatyh [apostolov]* [The New Testament of our Mister Jesus Christ. The gospel from Mathey and John. Acts of sacred apostles], St. Peterburg. The year is unknown.

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khrescheniyu yazychnikam, Veniamina, arhirpiskopa irkutskogo. Na rasgovornom kalm. yaz. [The lecture of Irkutsk's archbishop Benjamin, turned to the pagans preparing by a sacred christening], Kazan 1892.

5. *Gospoda nashego Iisusa Hrista Svyatoye Evangelie ot Luki.* [The sacred gospel of our Misters Jesus Chris from Look], St. Peterburg 1887.

6. *Gospoda Iisusa Hrista Svyatoye Evangelie ot Marka* [The sacred gospel of our Misters Jesus Chris from Mark], St. Peterburg 1887.

7. *Gospoda nashego Iisusa Hrista Svyatoye Evangelie ot Matfeya* [The sacred gospel of our Misters Jesus Chris from Mathey], St. Peterburg 1887.

8. *Evangelie ot Matfeya* [The gospel from Mathey], Shanhay 1896.

9. *V pamyat' devyatisotletiya khrescheniya Rusi. Zhitie svyatogo ravnoaposroliskogo knyazia Vladimira, izdannoye v perevode na kalm. yaz. pod red. prof. St. Peterburgskogo universiteta A.M.Pozdneeva* [To the memory of the 900 anniversary of Russia's christening. The Life of the sacred apostolicus prince Vladimir], Ed. by the prof. of St. Petersburg University, A.M.Pozdneev. Astrakhan 1888.

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11. *Biblia. Novyi Zavet* [The Bible. The New Testament], St. Peterburg 1887.

12. *Lukan sen zeng* [The gospel from Look], Stokgolm–Moskva 1996.

13. *Novyi Zavet gospoda i spasa nashego Iisusa Hrista. S grech. podlinnika na kalm. yaz. per. Aleksey Pozdneev.* [New Testament of our Mister Jesus Chris], Translated from the Greek by A.M. Pozdneev. Bd. 1–2. St. Peterburg 1887–1894.

14. *Perevod na kalm. yaz. pervonachalinyh hristianskih molitv, simvola very i desyati zapovedey* [Basic Christian Prayers. Creed. Ten precepts]. The edition place is not known 1869.

15. *Hushin tokhtalin ar'un tudzhi* [Sacred history of the Old Testament], Kazan 1918.

In the Library of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, there are the following books in Mongolian and Kalmyk:

1. *Vethiy Zavet.* [The Old Testament] [allowed by I.Ya. Shmidt], St. Peterburg 1840.

2. *Sluzhebnik na mongoliskom yazyke.* [Collection of prayers in Mongolian]. St. Peterburg 1870.

3. *Trebnik na mongol'skom yazyke* [Breviary in Mongolian], St. Peterburg 1870.

4. *Trebnik na mongol'skom yazyke.* [Breviary in Mongolian], St. Peterburg 1858.

5. *Okhtoih na mongol'skom yazyke.* [Oktoih in Mongolian], St. Peterburg 1866.

6. *Sluzhby vo dni gospodnih prazdnikov* [Services in the dominical holidays]. St. Peterburg 1867.

7. *Postnaya triod' na mongoliskom yazyke.* [Fast Triodion, in Mongolian]. St. Peterburg 1869.

8. *Mineya obschaya* [General Minei], St. Peterburg 1872.

9. *Tsvetnaya triod' na mongoliskom yazyke* [Color Triodion, in Mongolian], St.Peterburg 1871.

10. *Evangelie ot Matfeya i Ioanna na mongoliskom yazyke.* [The Gospel from Mathey and John, in Mongolian], St. Peterburg 1819.

11. *Evangelie it Luki na mongoliskom yazyke* [The Gospel from Look, in Mongolian], St. Peterburg 1821.

12. *Kniga prorokov Isaaya, Ieremii i Izekiilia* [The book of prophets Isai, Ieremiy and Izekiil]. St. Peterburg 1840.

13. *The Bible. The New Testament.* In Mongolian. St. Peterburg 1880.

14. *Novyi Zavet gospoda i spasa nashego Iisusa Hrista. S grech. podlinnika na kalm. yaz. per. Aleksey Pozdneev* [New Testament of our Mister Jesus Christ. Trans. from the Greek into the Kalmyk by A.M.Pozdneev], Bd. 1–2. St. Peterburg 1887–1894.

The outstanding Mongolist A.M.Pozdneev payed great attention to the translation of the Holy Scripts into Mongolian languages. During his life, he was always interested in religious researches work. His origin played not the last role: Pozdneev was the son of the Russian priest and before entering the Saint-Petersburg University he had graduated from a theological seminary. His fundamental work "Mongolia and Mongols" has not lost its scientific value until nowadays.

The second edition of the New Testament translated into Mongolian was done under the direction of A.M. Pozdneev in Saint-Petersburg in 1880. This edition was made according to the London edition executed by Stallibrass and Svan in 1846[7].

A.M. Pozdneev left numerous **translations** of theological religious texts in Buryat and Kalmyk languages, such as:

"Zhitie Aleksiya Cheloveka Bozhiya" [Divine Alexey's life] – in Buryat (1889); "Zhitie cv. ravnoapostoliskogo kniazia Vladimira" [Life of the Apostolic Sacred Prince Vladimir] – in Kalmyk (1888); "Skazanie o zhizni prepodobnogo Aleksiya Cheloveka Bozhiya" [Legends about divine Saint Alexey's life] – in Mongolian (1889).

He wrote many **articles** about Orthodoxy, such as:

"Posledniye izdaniya pravoslavnogo Missionerskogo obschestva na rasgovormom kalmytskom yasyke" [The last Editions of an Orthodox Missionary Society in Colloquial Kalmyk Language"), published in: *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvescheniya* [Magazine of the Ministry of national education], St. Peterburg. March 1895.

"Pravoslavnaya russkaya tserkov' v Kalgane" [Orthodox Russian church in Kalgan] published in: "Tserkovnye vedomosti" [Church sheets]. St. Peterburg # 38, 1895.

Reviews: "Ivanovskiy. Ob otnoshenii lamaisma k hristianstvu" [About the relation of a Lamaism to Christianity] published in: *Hristianskiye chteniya* [Christian readings]. St. Peterburg #7– 8. 1888.

"Trudy pravoslavnyh missiy Vostochnoy Sibiri. T. 1–14. Irkutsk. 1883–1886" [Works of orthodox missions of Eastern Siberia. Bd.1-14. Irkutsk. 1883-1886], published in: *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya imperatorskogo rossiyskogo arheologicheskogo* obschestva" [Notes of East Branch of the Imperial Russian archaeological society]. St. Peterburg. Bd. 1 1886-1887;

"Rasprostraneniye anglichanami Svyaschennogo Pisaniya v Siibiri i Sredney Azii" [The Extend of the Scriptus to Siberia and Central Asia by Englishmen] published in: *Vostocinoye obozreniye* [Oriental review]. St. Peterburg. # 10, 1884.

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[7] *The Bible. The New Testament.* British and foreign Bible Society. St. Peterburg 1880; *Novyi Zavet Gospoda i spasa nashego Iisusa Hrista*. S grech. podl. na kalm. yaz per. Aleksey Pozdneev [*The New Testament of the Lord Jesus Christ*. From the Greek original on Kalmyk translated by Alexey Pozdneev]. T. 1-2. St. Peterburg. 1887-1894.

He was the person with theological education and dedicated whole of his life to the study of the Mongols and of their religion. He was interested in problems of distribution of the Holy Scripts in Siberia and Central Asia, in relations of Lamaism and Christianity, in activity of the Russian Orthodox mission in Eastern Siberia.

He expressed his general principles on translation into Mongolian, his attitude to the translation of the religious literature in his work named "Zapiska na imia arkhimandrida Weniamina ot 14 yanwaria 1878 g." [Note addressed to the Archbishop Benjamin from January 14th, 1878[. This "Note" is kept in the Archive of Orientalists at the Institute of Oriental manuscripts in the fund of K.F. Golstunsky (F.29). A.M. Pozdneev's article has been prepared for being published by the researchers of the Institute in the journal "ALTAICA-4" (M., 2000)[8].

Pozdneev wrote the article in 1878, in two years after he graduated from the Faculty of Oriental Languages of Saint-Petersburg University. At that time he was in the three-year long expedition in Mongolia headed by G.N. Potanin.

The article was written in polemics with M.I. Ilminskiy's work "Uchenie o khristianskoy vere" [The teaching about Christian faith] (Kazan, 1875). The outstanding turkologist N.I. Ilminsky (1822–1879) was a director of the Kazan teacher's seminary, a head of the Translational Commission which made a large work on translation and edition of the Christian literature into many languages of peoples living in Russia. In "The Note" A.M. Pozdneev argues on various approaches to the translation. He insists that it is necessary to preserve the original meaning of words, images and spirit of the whole work which is translated into Mongolian. He speaks on the necessity to take into account the language grammatical system, as well as various meanings of the words. He considers that it is possible to translate any abstract concept into Mongolian. A.M.Pozdneev analysis semantically the various expressions of the Holy Scripts. He suggests to give special attention to the translation of such words and expressions, as: "dvoedushnyi" (double- sole, deceitful), "khrestiti" (to baptize), "edinym slovom istseliti " (to cure by only word), "tsarstviye nebesnoye" (kingdom of the heaven), "tsarstviye Bozhiye" (kingdom of God), "istinnyi Bog" (the True God), "ikona" (an icon), "satana" (devil, a Satan), "mirno" (tranquility), "nastavleniye" (a teaching, an admonition).

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[8] I thank Elena Boikova who is the compiler and the editor-in-chief of this journal.

A.M. Pozdneev wrote:

“The Mongolian and Buryat languages cannot be approached with such insufficiency that on it the Evangelical sermon was impossible to transfer”.

His remark concerning the translation of the Holy Scripts into the Mongolian language is also important. He noted: “The more I study the language of the Mongols, the more I see that a false belief in insufficiency of their language disappears.”

There are interesting remarks on the folk language, on the role of Cyrillics in the development of the Buryat literature, on the necessity to consider differences in cultural orientation of Transbaikalian and Irkutsk Buryats, on the attitude of the Buryats to the printed word, and on the process of formation of the Buryat literary language.

This article by A.M. Pozdneev is of interest for the history of translational thought. It can be useful to modern translators, historians of a science and to the mongolists-philologists who study the literature in Mongolian.

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Quelques notes sur les découvertes archéologiques d'époque Xiongnu sur le site de la nécropole de Gol Mod (Mongolie)

JACQUES LEGRAND

Les lieux et pratiques funéraires sont de longue date largement étudiés et mis à contribution par l'archéologie et constituent des champs de recherche particulièrement fructueux. Riches d'information en eux-mêmes, à la condition d'identifier les rapports spécifiques qu'ils entretiennent avec la réalité de la société et de la culture étudiée (ils ne sont que rarement une image directement transposable, comparable à une photographie de l'époque concernée), ils sont aussi des marqueurs et des indicateurs essentiels d'évolution. En ce qui concerne le monde de la steppe sur le territoire de la Mongolie, ils peuvent permettre de formuler des hypothèses renouvelées sur la réalité et la chronologie du passage des cultures de cette région au pastoralisme nomade.

Il apparaît en effet que cette question, dont l'intérêt est essentiel, reste largement l'objet d'un consensus que la présente communication entend mettre en question.

Le rapport pour 2008 de la Mission Archéologique Française en Mongolie reprend des éléments de définition effectivement encore largement partagés :

> Longtemps, les connaissances de la civilisation xiongnu (III^e s. av. notre ère. – II^e s. de notre ère) ont reposé sur les informations textuelles dues aux seuls chroniqueurs han (206 av. notre ère – 221 de notre ère), leurs contemporains. [...] Pour la plupart des savants, les Xiongnu formaient une confédération dont le territoire s'étendait à l'apogée de leur puissance de l'Altaï à la Mandchourie et du Baïkal à la boucle du fleuve Jaune. Nombreux sont ceux qui s'accordent

> à penser que leur subsistance se définissait par un mode de vie d'éleveurs nomades assez similaire à celui des populations actuelles qui vivent dans la steppe. Leur économie aurait été non seulement axée sur l'élevage mais aussi alimentée par les razzias régulières pratiquées sur leurs voisins sédentaires han et complétée par une agriculture à très petite échelle[1].

Cette image d'une continuité pratiquement complète des modes de vie au-delà des millénaires est certes tentante. Elle est effectivement partagée. Encore convient-il de souligner qu'elle n'est que la manifestation, ou l'application d'un postulat lui aussi très répandu, encore généralement admis sans débat, qui rendrait ici la réflexion superflue : le nomadisme – définissable par ses « manques » - serait un « stade de développement » plus « primitif » que la sédentarité, et qui aurait ainsi naturellement précédé par conséquent l'agriculture sédentaire, considérée par définition comme plus « progressiste ». Il n'est pas dans mon propos d'entrer ici dans un débat que des aspects idéologiques d'ailleurs multiples ont largement et durablement obscurci. Observons toutefois que le pastoralisme nomade ne peut-être par définition que postérieur à une domestication animale suffisamment massive pour couvrir l'essentiel, voire la totalité des besoins d'une population humaine. Contentons-nous de souligner le contraste frappant qui apparaît ainsi entre une culture fortement marquée par la présence de sites nombreux et importants de nécropoles Xiongnu (Nojon Uul, Gol Mod I et II, bien d'autres encore) et une culture nomade mongole, mais déjà aussi auparavant türk avant elle, dans laquelle, jusqu'à une époque récente (y compris des résurgences contemporaines), une caractéristique majeure est non l'abandon des rites funéraires mais la raréfaction radicale du recours à des sépultures. C'est ce que montre l'évolution chronologique mise en lumière par les inventaires archéologiques récents [2]. Il est curieux qu'une attention aussi faible ait été portée à ce contraste, pourtant clairement attesté, par exemple dans ce témoignage de l'extrême fin du XIXe siècle :

> Les Mongols ont le respect des vieillards, ce qui s'accorde avec les principes de leur religion ; mais chose bizarre, ils n'ont pas le

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[1] Jean-Paul Desroches, *Mission Archéologique Française en Mongolie. Rapport de la mission 2008*, Paris.

[2] Дашням Л., Очир А. *ed.*, *Монгол нутаг дахь түүх соёлын дурсгал,* [*Les monuments historiques et culturels sur le territoire de la Mongolie*], Улаанбаатар 1999.

> culte des morts […]. Faut-il voir là une influence du bouddhisme, qui, prêchant une vie future, et même une série de vies futures, peut amener à considérer le corps comme une défroque sans valeur ? Faut-il croire que, dans la plus grande partie de la Mongolie, le bois manquant absolument, le Mongols se sont trouvés dans l'impossibilité d'accomplir le rite de la crémation ?
> De nos jours, les Mongols portent leurs morts à une distance plus ou moins grande de leur campement et les exposent sur la terre nue, pour que les cadavres soient dévorés par les oiseaux de proie et les bêtes sauvages, voire même les chiens affamés[3].

Nous n'épiloguerons pas sur les « explications » proposées par de Batz. Il est ici suffisant qu'il atteste de la vitalité de ce phénomène.

Ainsi, des cultures également qualifiées de « nomades » et réputées être le prolongement les unes des autres, la société Xiongnu étant considérée comme « ancêtre » directe des sociétés nomades ultérieures, présenteraient entre elles un tel degré de disparité sans que cette constatation mette en question l'idée même de leur similitude fondamentale.

Il est également à noter que les structures et pratiques funéraires, outre leur intérêt culturel immédiat, apportent des matériaux précieux pour une meilleure identification des populations et de leurs évolutions, y compris au sens de l'anthropologie physique[4]. Longtemps privilégiées pour elles-mêmes, les structures funéraires, caractérisées par l'existence de nécropoles de grandes dimensions, contribuent désormais à une vision plus large et plus globale qui ne peut plus se reconnaître dans le seul qualificatif de « nomade ».

Sans doute convient-il donc de reconsidérer les schémas ayant couramment servi de cadre conceptuel à la présentation et à l'analyse du monde de la steppe et de son histoire. La thèse de doctorat de Holotova Szinek (2008), *L'organisation sociale et économique des Xiongnu de Mongolie*[5], soutenue en 2008, développe par exemple une remise en

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[3] Baron de Batz, Voyage en Mongolie (1899) II, *Le Tour du Monde*, Tome VII, Nouvelle série, 43e Liv., 1899, 506.

[4] Murail P., Crubézy E. et al. (2000), The man, the woman and the hyoid bone : from archaeology to the burial practices of the Xiongnu people (Egiin gol valley, Mongolia), in: *Antiquity*, 74, 531-536; Keyser-Tracqui Christine, Crubézy Eric and Ludes Bertrand (2003), Nuclear and mitochondrial DNA Analysis of a 2,000-Year-old Necropolis in the Egyin Gol Valley of Mongolia, *Am. J. Hum. Genet.* 73.

[5] Holotova Szinek, Juliana , *L'organisation sociale et économique des Xiongnu de Mongolie, Essai d'interprétation des sources archéologiques et textuelles (IIIe s.*

cause salutaire du schéma naguère encore obligé qui voyait les Xiongnu comme une société pastorale nomade. Son argumentation, qui associe les résultats des recherches archéologiques récentes et en cours à une relecture des sources écrites chinoises, dont elle propose une critique largement pertinente, n'a pas de difficulté à emporter mon adhésion, proche qu'elle est des recherches que je mène moi-même sur le pastoralisme nomade, et en particulier sur sa formation, largement plus récente qu'il n'est souvent prétendu. L'image s'impose d'une société de la steppe pratiquant certes le pastoralisme, dont le caractère proprement nomade reste toutefois à établir sur une analyse dégagée des clichés qui lui sont encore massivement associés, et avant tout de son assimilation et de sa réduction à la seule « mobilité ». Le pastoralisme nomade doit être reconsidéré au sein d'un complexe l'associant encore à l'agriculture (dont la *« très petite échelle »* mentionnée plus haut ne traduit, si on la ramène aux évaluations démographiques pertinentes pour cette époque, que le recours renouvelé à un même cliché) et à des spécialisations artisanales (métallurgie, céramique, textile, voire architecture). Le tout reste impliqué dans des modèles résidentiels encore sédentaires dont de nombreux exemples ont été identifiés au cours des toutes dernières années.

Un élément à prendre en considération en lui-même est fourni par la dimension et l'étendue des monuments et des structures funéraires. Il ne peut que suggérer, par le temps de travail investi, le volume de matériaux déplacés, etc., l'intervention d'effectifs humains importants pendant de longues périodes. Ce paramètre ne pose de problèmes d'interprétation et de diagnostic qu'à partir d'une analyse du pastoralisme nomade qui idéalise et absolutise classiquement la place et le rôle du seul critère de mobilité. Il n'en va plus de même dès lors que ce mode d'acquisition et de gestion des ressources – directement liés aux irrégularités climatiques (de loin plus significatives que les niveaux absolus extrêmes qui sont souvent mis en avant), mais aussi les modèles résidentiels et spatiaux ainsi que l'organisation sociale dans son ensemble, s'appuie sur la nécessité d'une dispersion sur l'espace pastoral (plus malléable sous ce rapport que l'espace agraire) tant en termes de démographie humaine qu'animale, de diversité des espèces domestiques. Par un renversement significatif, la mobilité – d'élément suffisant à définir le nomadisme – se trouve relativisée, ramenée à un rôle certes important mais secondaire de modalité et d'instrument de la dispersion et subordonnée à cette dernière. Il est notoire qu'au sein

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avant notre ère – IIIe s. de notre ère), Université Paris IV, Paris 2008.

d'une même société nomade qui revendique clairement une identité commune, cohabitent des échelles de mobilité très variables – qu'il s'agisse de l'amplitude en termes de distances, du total annuel des déplacements, du nombre d'étapes et de durée d'occupation des sites saisonniers, des modèles d'alternances d'altitudes, des vitesses de déplacements propres à chaque espèce domestique. Cette variabilité a même constitué une difficulté propre à l'étude du pastoralisme nomade, favorisant l'émergence ou l'adoption de catégories pré-scientifiques telles que le « semi-nomadisme » ou la tentation de disqualifier la notion de « nomadisme » au profit d'appellations retenant la « mobilité » comme facteur d'unification commun à des réalités par ailleurs perçues uniquement dans leur diversité.

Dans ces conditions, la concomitance entre des structures funéraires concentrées (nécropoles) et des sites permanents d'implantation de populations sédentaires – accompagnés de formes urbaines ou para-urbaines d'habitat - ou, si l'on préfère, la présence d'habitats de ce type à des distances limitées des nécropoles doit faire l'objet d'un intérêt particulier.

Sans prétendre à une invention particulière, je crois pouvoir souligner que l'idée d'établir un lien direct entre sites sédentaires et nécropoles situées à une proximité relative les uns des autres m'est depuis longtemps familière et que j'ai eu l'occasion de formuler cette hypothèse à plusieurs reprises, en particulier lors de la conférence archéologique tenue en 2005 à Ulaanbaatar à l'occasion du 40e anniversaire des relations diplomatiques entre la France et la Mongolie [6], puis lors d'une visite sur le site de Gol Mod à l'invitation du Directeur de la MAFM.

En sens inverse, tout aussi important est de constater la raréfaction des sépultures dans la culture et les rites funéraires des populations proprement nomades des siècles suivants et jusqu'à l'époque moderne et contemporaine (la reprise de la pratique du *Ил тавих, Il talbiqu*, ce dépôt du corps à l'air libre décrit ci-dessus par le Baron de Batz, interdite en Mongolie depuis 1955, peut être constatée [7]).

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[6] ШУА-ийн Археологийн хүрээлэн, Монгол-Францын төв, *Монгол дахь европийн археологийн судалгаа, Шинэ нээлтүүд ба судалгааны зарим асуудал,* [*Les recherches archéologiques européennes en Mongolie, Quelques questions relatives aux nouvelles découvertes et aux recherches*], 1-2 juillet 2005.

[7] Grégory Delaplace, 2009, *L'invention des morts. Sépultures, fantômes et photographie en Mongolie contemporaine*, Collection Nord-Asie, supplément aux Études Mongoles & Sibériennes, Centrasiatiques & Tibétaines, Paris. Publication de

Le rapprochement qui peut être effectué entre ces deux types de faits n'est sans doute pas fortuit et constitue un important objet de recherche. L'hypothèse qui se dégage, au-delà de l'évidente non simultanéité des deux phénomènes concernés, est que cet écart traduit entre les périodes où ils interviennent une disparité d'organisation et de structure sociales, l'appauvrissement progressif de la place des sépultures dans la culture funéraire peut être interprété et mis en relation avec une transition au pastoralisme nomade. En sens inverse, ce processus intervient à partir d'une culture sédentaire déjà établie, héritière pour sa part de la période post glaciaire au cours de laquelle domestication et sédentarité issues du néolithique fondent les peuplements modernes du moins dans leurs grandes lignes.

Il est remarquable que dès le Qanat türk au moins (VII-VIII^{e} ss.), ainsi que plus tardivement lors de la période de l'unification mongole et de l'empire (XII-XIII^{e} ss.), une dissociation s'opère sépulture et culture funéraire. Alors que celle-ci procède à un recours à un art monumental important (stèles), ces monuments ne sont que marginalement sinon accidentellement associés à des sépultures. Cette dissociation est frappante dans le cas des monuments türk, tels le monument de Tonyukuk (deuxième moitié du VII^{e} – premier quart du VIII^{e} ss.), les complexes commémoratifs de Köl Tegin (685-731) et de son frère Bilge qagan (683/684-734) et d'autres. Il en va de même avec les lieux de mémoire relatifs aux héros de l'histoire mongole : si le lieu supposé de la mort de Cinggis qan (Ezen qorij-a dans les Ordos) fait l'objet d'un culte funéraire qui ne s'est pas démenti au cours des siècles (jusqu'à sa destruction en 1870 et avant les manipulations modernes qu'il a subi dans les dernières décennies), il n'est pas pour autant le lieu d'une sépulture. Le corps ayant été ramené vers ses lieux d'origine – pratique qui semble occuper une place centrale, d'où le fait que maintes sépultures d'époque mongole semblent présenter un caractère provisoire qui les associerait à cette technique, accidentellement avortée, il est d'autant plus impressionnant qu'aucun lieu n'y soit identifiable comme le lieu de la sépulture (la déconfiture régulière des nombreuses et bruyantes quêtes du « Tombeau de Cinggis qan » est à notre sens la sanction d'une incompréhension profonde). L'apparition de tombeaux monumentaux est par ailleurs la traduction de changements essentiels, en particulier lors de l'adoption de rites propres à un nouveau système de croyances et de références. Il en va ainsi lors de l'islamisation des souverains mongols les plus occidentaux, en particulier en Iran. L'édification de mausolées

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sa Thèse de Doctorat, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris), 2007.

n'intervient que dans ce contexte de transformation profonde et ne manifeste aucune continuité avec les pratiques funéraires antérieures, moins encore avec la formation des rassemblements de sépultures que sont les grandes nécropoles Xiongnu, elles-mêmes témoins, à notre sens, de concentrations durables de populations principalement ou au moins largement sédentaires [8].

Plus proche du territoire du pastoralisme nomade, le même intérêt peut aussi s'attacher à certains croisements de faits auxquels l'hypothèse d'une dissociation entre pratique des nécropoles, antérieure à la généralisation du pastoralisme nomade, et modes observables au cours de et après cette transition peut apporter une visibilité et une pertinence particulières. La localisation de la plupart des nécropoles connues à ce jour sur des sites potentiellement propices à une partie des usages de l'espace par les éleveurs nomades, en particulier aux hivernages, pose problème et suggère une concurrence entre des pratiques propres à des périodes distinctes. Il semble en un mot difficilement compréhensible, sans même évoquer les estimations démographiques soutenables, mais surtout eu égard aux pratiques ultérieures et aux schémas mentaux et rituels attachés à la proximité de la mort, qu'une population pastorale nomade aurait aisément et durablement associé les hivernages, lieux sans doute les plus nécessaires à la pérennité de son mode de vie, avec un voisinage aussi massivement anxiogène (dont témoignent les multiples précautions qu'imposent le voisinage ou le contact avec les défunts ou les cadavres).

Enfin, les thèses exposées par B. Ja. Vladimirtsov dans son *Régime social des Mongols*[9], ouvrage au demeurant remarquable, longtemps acceptées largement sans examen critique approfondi, ont contribué à introduire dans cette problématique des risques non négligeables de confusion. J'ai en vue ici plus particulièrement l'affirmation, au demeurant non étayée, non de l'alternance entre modes regroupés *(kürij-e)* et dispersés (*ajil*) effectivement caractéristique du pastoralisme nomade mongol, mais du sens de cette alternance, qui serait pour

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[8] Observons enfin que les fouilles de Qara qorum, si elles ont mis en évidence plusieurs rassemblements funéraires, ne permettent de penser, dans aucun des cas considérés qu'il se soit agi de cimetières mongols, mais plutôt des inhumations des nombreux étrangers amenés ou déportés dans la capitale impériale pendant l'assez brève prédominance de cette dernière sous Ögedei et ses premiers successeurs.

[9] Владимирцов, Б. Я., *Общественный строй Монголов, Кочевой феодализм*, *Изд. АН СССР, М., 1934,* Vladimirtsov B. Ja. , *Le régime social des Mongols, Le féodalisme nomade,* trad. M. Carsow, Paris 1948.

Vladimirtsov une évolution du *kürij-e*, et donc d'un mode de vie initialement rassemblé, vers un éclatement dispersé en *ajil*.

Cette problématique, inséparable pour Vladimirtsov de la dynamique des formations politiques et en particulier « impériales » dans le monde de la steppe mériterait une analyse plus développée. Contentons-nous ici de noter que s'y confondent deux niveaux de réalité :

- d'une part une dimension historique, dans laquelle la dispersion en *ajil* intervient au terme d'une évolution dont le point de départ serait à rechercher dans les modes de groupement et d'habitat caractéristique des périodes néolithiques et post néolithiques. Dans ces conditions, les modes et phases nomades de rassemblement constitueraient une sorte d'étape intermédiaire :
- d'autre part, les formes et modes d'organisation propres au pastoralisme nomade développé lui-même en un système global. Or celui-ci présente, par rapport aux sociétés sédentaires, qu'elles soient agraires ou urbaines, dans ce domaine comme dans d'autres, des inversions majeures : Répondant aux impossibilités de poursuivre le mode de vie sédentaire dont elles sont pourtant issues, les sociétés pastorales nomades allègent la pression qu'exercent les besoins humain sur des complexes de ressources fragiles et irréguliers en recourrant à leur propre dispersion, tant hommes que bêtes, en groupes restreints. La forme dispersée en *ajil* apparaît ici comme le mode normal et fondamental d'organisation pastorale nomade, et non comme la dégradation qui frapperait un mode nomade rassemblé, le *kürij-e*.

Ce dernier, à son tour, n'est pas le prolongement ou l'aboutissement du mode de vie sédentaire antérieur, mais une réponse de la société déjà passée au pastoralisme nomade, parade principalement défensive et nécessairement momentanée, eu égard à sa viabilité limitée, aux effets d'irrégularité et d'instabilité induits par la faiblesse intrinsèque des groupes humains, les *ajil*, tant dans leurs effectifs que dans leur potentiel respectif. Cette anomalie, imposée périodiquement à une dispersion fondatrice et vitale, mais elle-même porteuse de ses propres contradictions et déséquilibres s'avère bien constuer un moteur de l'histoire nomade. L'importance historique et stratégique du rôle joué par ces phases provisoires de rassemblement, qu'il s'agisse des constats d'inégalités qu'ils imposent entre groupes alliés et surtout de leur place dans l'affirmation des suprématies lignagères ou politiques,

inséparable de la naissance et du développement des ambitions et entreprises « impériales », permet sans doute de comprendre qu'on ait pu les identifier comme le véritable « pôle » de la société pastorale nomade. Il ne s'en agit pas moins d'une erreur d'optique, inspirée par une perspective restant largement marquée par un ethnocentrisme sédentaire.

L'étude de la culture et de la société des Xiongnu, telle que contribue et continuera à l'enrichir la recherche archéologique déjà menée, mais aussi à venir, la relecture sous ce jour renouvelé des sources écrites, la confrontation entre le progrès de nos connaissance sur le tournant du premier millénaire avant notre ère et des premiers siècles de notre ère et la réflexion anthropologique qu'alimente l'étude des sociétés pastorales nomades développées, voilà autant de pistes de travail, d'ouverture à des recherches et à des coopérations scientifiques de grande étendue et d'un immense intérêt. Celui-ci, s'il porte naturellement sur une meilleure connaissance et une meilleure compréhension tant de la société des Xiongnu que des cultures pastorales nomades postérieures, peut étendre plus largement son ambition et alimenter études et réflexions sur le devenir, même le plus général, d'une société humaine plus globale en dépit de, si ce n'est grâce à ses propres différences. Moins que jamais, l'image d'un devenir de l'homme dans laquelle le recours au pastoralisme nomade aurait constitué une phase primitive, ne peut plus être retenue.

Rituals of Mongol Games and Worship of Spirit Masters of Heaven, Earth and Water

NANDINBILIG GANBAATAR

Mongol games are a special element of Mongolian intangible cultural heritage. Most of the games reflect Mongols' everyday life and economy, namely hunting, herding, and trading and exchanging productions. In this sense, one of the unique characteristics of Mongol intangible cultural heritage is the symbolism of the games and the roles of the master spirits of heaven (*tenger*), earth and water (*lus, savdag*) depicted in ritual games. However, many board games symbolize the defense and the conquest in order to increase the size of the empire while card games usually have a symbolic meaning to establish peace.

Along with the construction of models of everyday life and activities, Mongol games always consist on invisible spiritual world influences and attempt to gain spiritual blessings. Therefore I argue that many Mongol games originally had dominant characteristics of religious rituals and worship. The religious elements are not completely lost in nowadays and can be reconstructed with illustrations and analysis. Such elements can be reconstructed in three directions such as taboo and magic, especially the symbolism of forms and shapes.

Mongol games have strict rules and time to play and are not games, which creates taboos directly related to the worship of heaven and earth. It is taboo to play games when there is thunder because it "makes heaven angry and one can become a victim of thunderbolt". For example, the game called *Shagaltsakh* and the game called *Khorlo* which was originally called *Jil* (New Year) are forbidden to play when there is thunder.

Mongol games called *Alag melkhii* and *Jil* are ancient games. Moreover, it was even a taboo to open the pack of *Khorlo* before winter

when natural waters freeze and the spirit master of water sleeps. In early spring on the first days of the traditional New Year people play Khorlo within the kin group which is the last play of the game in the year before winter comes again. Since *Khorlo* has drawings of dragon, snake and Khan Garuda, a mythic bird, people conceive that those heavenly and earthly animals would be offended and get furious if people play in their presence (Nandinbilig 2008, 148)[1]. People believe that as a result of furiousness *tenger zadrana* "heaven blows up". In the case of games with *shagai* "ankle bones" holding elements of pasturalism, there is no taboo involving heaven, except one game called *Shagaltsakh* where people throw an arrow upwards and grab as many ankle bones and catch the arrow when it descends. The arrow is considered to be a remaining piece of ancient warriors` armors and throwing it upward is a bad sign and will produce thunderbolt.[2] So it is taboo to play it during summer. I argue that this taboo is related to mythology. Mythic conceptions and beliefs about the communication between human and abstract spiritual worlds survive in rites related to games. For example, the Mongol game called *Alag melkhii* "colored turtle" is related to *Munkh tenger* "Eternal Heaven" and to a myth on cosmology.

Special games of the first day of the *Tsagaan Sar* lit. "White Moon", Mongolian New Year, are always about setting a communication with deities spirit and masters of heaven, earth and water, and have a purpose of divination in order to explore ones luck and goodness in the new year. The best time to play games is the beginning of the first month of autumn when all the deities and guardian spirits descend from heaven to bless the New Year. On the first day of the New Year, Mongols play games with positive symbolic meanings which have a purpose to heal all the *javar* "badness and misfortunes" by invoking deities and good spirits. People believe that joyful games enjoy G*eriin tenger* "the heaven of the home", and Z*ayan tenger* "the heaven of the fortune" which sends away all the badness in the home[3]. Such games also have a parallel purpose to observe players luck and fortune in the coming year from how they are winning or losing the game. If one wins the

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[1] Nandinbilig, Ganbaatar, "Jil ba Khorlo togloomyn belgedel " [Symbol and ritual of a game 'Jil' or 'Khorlo']. *Mongol Studies, research paper. National University of Mongolia, School of Mongolian Language and Culture,* Vol. XXYIII (294), 2008, 148.

[2] Cited from the interview with Sosor Lhanaa, Shine Ider, Khuvsgul Province, July 18, 1998.

[3] *Ibid.*

game then it means that he/she is blessed by deities, and will have the best of luck and fortune in the New Year. But if no one wins and looses then it is a bad meaning that there will be an obstacle, and to break the obstacles players must play again. The re-play of the game in this case is the healing and treatment to cure the obstacle and misfortune. Moreover, in the case of games such as *Khorlo*, *Uuchuur* and cards the players use cards made of birch and birch bark which is considered to be a heavenly wood.[4] Therefore, birch is often used to make ritual objects and tools.

There is an interesting fact in the games which reveal an idea that polytheism of *tenger* "heavens", each with specific talents, originated from monotheism, with a single *tenger* called *Munkh Tenger*, "Eternal Heaven". The game is probably an evidence of the development of religion from monotheism to polytheism. For example, in the games depicting pastoral trade namely *Dorvon berkh* "the four difficulties"and *Dorvon khoshuu malyn zaya* the "Fortune of four kinds of livestock" there are figures of multiple *tenger* heavens, *Zayagch Tenger* "the Heaven of livestock" and *Elbeg Tsagaan Tenger* "the Heaven of Wealth". Other games such as *Uuchuur* depict the hunting culture and are closely related to the worship of *Manaakhan tenger*, the heaven of hunting and *Elbeg cagaan tenger*[5] etc. (Nandinbilig 2008, 190)[6]. Deer game is an ancient Mongolian board game coming from the tradition of hunting. To a certain extent this game can be seen as a practice of exchanging hunting experiences and as a symbolic training for hunting. Since this game is about how to hunt the deer, the aim of the game is that the preyed deer was put in the corner using dogs. Games about hunting culture such as *Buga* "Deer" have figures *Manaakhan Tenger* "the heaven of hunting and games", which is also related to the myth of Khokhdei Mergen (Nandinbilig 2008, 143)[7]. There is an information that the game starts with singing songs such as "Western

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[4] Interview with Vanchin, 68 years old, Shine Ider *sum*, Khuvsgul Province, May 13 2007.

[5] Interview with Sosor Lhana, 73 years old, Shine Ider *sum*, Khuvsgul Province, July 18 1998.

[6] Nandinbilig, Ganbaatar, "Mongol togloomyn zan uil, belgedel "[Symbol and ritual of Mongol games]. *Nomadic Heritage Studies Museum Nationale Mongolia.* Tomus YIII, Fasc 17, 2008, 190-202.

[7] Nandinbilig, Ganbaatar, "Buga togloomyn zan uil, belgedel" [Oral literature and ritual of Deer game]. *Forum of Mongolian studies, Works in research. Mongolian State University of Education, School of Mongolian Studies.* Vol. 7 (42), 2009, 143-150.

High Mountain" and "Deer of the High *Khangai*" or epos about stellar (named *Horin durvun salaa evertei Hoa dunun buga*). I argue that the reason of singing a song praising the deer is to plead the spirit masters and ask for permission to hunt.

Name of the game	**Time to play and corresponding rituals**	**Reflection of local culture**	**Spiritual being dedicated to**	**Content of symbolic meaning**	**Related genres of oral literature**
Alag Melkhii (Spotted turtle)	- Every day of New Year when stars appear in the sky	Hunting and Pasturalism	***Munkh Tenger*** Eternal Heaven	Symbolism of color, Symbolism of directions	Cosmological myths
Buga (Deer)	- Hunting - At time of healing - At the wish of a long living	Hunting	***Manaakhan Tenger*** the Heaven of hunting	Deer is a symbol of long living, One who heard deer singing lives long	- Astral myths \ myth about Khokhdei Mergen\. - Traditional songs about deer and deer described in epic songs
Uuchuur (5...)	When relatives meet during New Year celebration	Hunting and Trade	***Manaakhan Tenger Elbeg Tsagaan Tenger*** the Heaven of wealth and richness	Symbolism of animals, Symbolism of number eight	- Magical spells, - *Belge dembereliin ug* (Words of well being)
"4 hoshuu maliin zaya" (Fortune of four kinds of livestock)	- When relatives meet during New Year celebration	Pasturalism and Trade	***Zayagch Tenger*** the Heaven of ones fortune and livestock	Symbolism of animals \ horse, sheep etc\	Praise for five kinds of livestock

***"Jil"* (New Year)**	- when guests visit during the New Year Celebration - when relatives meet	Calendar Lunar \ Jaran- Жаран\	***Zayan tenger*** the heaven of ones fortune and ***Geriin tenger*** the heaven of the home.	-Symbolism of animals (for example, mouse is symbol of wealth)	Praise for twelve year animals
"Khorlo"		Introduced from the revival of Buddhism	*(Buddha etc.)*	Symbolism of figures	

Since ancient times as the imagination of god and deities developed fine art showing images of deities, worship of heaven, earth and water was transmitted to ritual games through figures of patterns and cattle marks *(tamga)*. For example, in the game called *Jil* based on the 12 animals of the lunar year, the highest card has a figure of *Ongi* (a circle) representing *Naran Tenger* "Heaven of the Sun", *Gurvan nuden ongi* "three circles" symbols of the existence in the three worlds (human, heaven and earth), *Khas* swastika symbolizing *Galaikhan* "Heaven of the Fire" (fireplace), and *Arslan* "Lion" is the king of animals. After the introduction of Buddhism, the circle image changed into a *Khorlo* figure (in Sanskrit, *chakra*) symbolizing the wheel of time, the three circles became the *Chandmani*, here used as a symbol of existence in the three times (past, present and future) and the lion changed into the mythic bird Garuda, the mount of the God Vishnu, etc. All these patterns and images penetrated into symbols used for the Mongol *ger* "felt tent" and altogether they build up a whole symbolic system that makes the *Geriin Tenger* or "the heaven of *ger*", happy. For example, the symbolic meaning of *Ongi* "one circle" is transferred to the Buddhist image *Khorlo* and this enabled *Khorlo* to become the symbol of the *toono*, the top frame of the *ger*.

Naran Tenger "the heaven of sun" is a *suld tenger* of western fifty five heavens which is the *tenger* who came to Alangua in her dream and fondled her belly as it is written in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. Scholars such S. Dulam argue that in the later texts the *Naran Tenger* became *Naran Etseg* "the father sun" (Dulam 1989: 89).[8] Moreover,

[8] Dulam, Sendenjav, *Mongol domog zuin dur* [Characters of Mongol myths]. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsyn hevlelyn gazar 1989, 89.

roles of deities, heavens and spiritual world beings are also present in toys and plays for the new born children. Besides the felt fox made by the father of an infant, there is a thin leather strap with various things such as *yeson nukh* "libation laddle", *teenge* (figure of sun or moon covered by silk containing metals inside), coins, *olzii* "tie", *zagasan nuruu* "fish backbone"*, er em yavuu* "male and female sea shells", *khushga* "walnut", boar teeth and animal figures of wolf, deer, fox, horse etc. is a gift from invited children to the new born when the baby is introduced to the heaven called *Milaan Tenger*, "the Heaven of lineage".

Name of the games	**Symbolic meaning**	**Spiritual being dedicated to**	**Function of the magic**
Animal figure of fox, \Felt fox\		Bad spirits	Magic to full bad spirits
Bel -garhi (girdle)	State man	*Toriin suld* State standards	Magic to introduce the baby to State of Mongolia
yeson nukh (libation laddle with nine holes)	Number nine	*Monkh Tenger* Eternal Heaven	Magic for cognition
Buumal or Heaven's arrow			
Round (*Ongi)* or quadrangular *teenge* for male infant (figure of the sun covered by silk containing metals inside)	To become a master of a land	*Naran Tenger Heaven of the Sun*	Prevention from being physically hurt
Half moon or triangular *teenge* for female infant (figure of the moon covered by silk containing metals inside)		*Saran Tenger* Heaven of Moon	
Coins	Wealth	*Ediin tenger* Heaven of Wealth	Text to invoke the fortune of wealth

Olzii tie	Tight solidarity in the family	*Uuden Tenger* Heaven of family	To have luck and tie life
zagasan nuruu (fish backbone)	Symbolism of back	Spirit master of water	Protection from dangers of water
Male and female mussel	Symbolism of purity	Haniin tenger Heaven of matrimonial	Magic to marriage..
Walnut	Masculinity	*Etsgiin Tenger* Heaven of fatherhood	Magic for continuation of lineage
Boar fang	Ask for a blessing of land	*Gazar ekh* Mother earth, spirit master of land and water	Protection from curse of spirit masters of land and water
Small lock	Lock life and long living	*Zayagch Tenger* Zayagch Heaven	Protect a child who often gets sick
Small bow and arrow	Marks man	*Angiin Tenger* Heaven of Hunting	Threaten and repress badness
Animal figure of the wolf	Good luck	Wolf Totem	To have a luck
Animal figure of the Deer	Long living	Deer Totem	Give a long living
Animal figure of the horse	Mount and ride	*Unaany Tenger* Heaven of mount and ride	To have a ride
Leader rope	To possess horses and livestock	*Aduu malyn tenger* Heave of horses and livestock	Increase number of livestock

All the items in the bead have individual symbolic meanings, and all are related to worship of heavens such as *Milaan*, *Zayagch*, *Naran* “Sun”, *Saran* “Moon” and spirits masters of earth and water etc. Among them the first bit is the felt fox made by the father or his/her brothers of the infant and all the rest would be presented by children who are invited at the *ugaalga* purifying ritual of the infant. In the ritual the infant is washed with soup of whirl bone and *borvi* “tendon”.

As the archaeological findings, Mongol traditional games are elements of tangible cultural heritage, they inform about worship and

belief in heaven and earth through taboos and symbols of images used in the games. Therefore, games are valuable objects of research on Mongolian culture.

The following conclusions have made which as follow:

1. Mongol games represent a valuable research object preserving traditional knowledge of taboo and magic, and the symbolism of images and figures represent the worship of heaven, the deities, and the master spirits of land and water;
2. Cult of *tenger* "heaven" transmitted to the games through patterns, images and cattle marking;
3. It is evident from the customs of the Mongol games that Mongols described the invisible deities not with anthropomorphic drawings but symbolized them with patterns and shapes.

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Drama on Chinggis Khan by B. Lhagvasurung

MARIA P. PETROVA

In 2006 Mongolia celebrated the 800th anniversary of Mongolian Empire foundation. Entertainments, devoted to this data were organized on a large scale. In the centre of Ulan-Bator, before a façade of the main Government building a new architectural ensemble with a huge figure of Chinggis Khan, his relatives and assistances appeared. A forty meters high iron statue of Mongolian Empire's founder riding his horse was erected in open grassland in the Central aimag not far from the capital city. Many congresses, scientific conferences and meetings, devoted to the anniversary were organized at that time. One of them was the 9th International Congress of the Mongolists.

Mongolian writers and poets also showed a great attention to this event. It is well known, that historic literature always played a leading role in the literary process in Mongolia. It's enough to mention the "Secret History of the Mongols" (1240) and various historical chronicles of the following centuries. Around the 800th anniversary of Mongolian Empire foundation appeared many new novels, stories, poems and plays. For example, a historical novel by S. Jargalsaihan and L Udval "The Secret History of Chinggis Khan"[1], the drama "The Wise Khan Esugei" by L. Dašniam[2], "A Story by an Old Soldier, who has reached Western Coasts" by H. Hučit[3], "A Silhouette of Khan Mountains" by Č. Jančivdorg[4], two volumes of a poetic novel "Chinggis Khan's Fleet-footed Horse" by D. Banzragč[5] and many others.

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[1] Jargalsaihan, S., and Udval , L., *Cingis hany nuuc tüüh*, Ulaanbaatar, 2006.

[2] Dašnyam, L., *Mergen haan Yesühej*, Ulaanbaatar, 2003.

[3] Hüčit, Hö., *Örnö dalajd hürsen övögön cergijn huuč*, Ulaanbaatar, 2006.

[4] Jančivdorj, Č., *Han uulsyn baraa*, Ulaanbaatar, 2004.

[5] Banzragč, D., *Cingis haany gal bulag*, Ulaanbaatar, 2001.

The famous modern poet and dramatic works writer B. Lhagvasurung also devoted his "Clot of Blood"[6] drama to the historic events of the 13th century. The author himself gives the following definition to his work – an ardent detective drama of 21 scenes. The subject is based on the "Secret History of the Mongols" plot. There are sixteen main and twelve secondary characters. Among them, to mention the most important, is *Chinggis Han*, his mother *Hö'elün Eke*, his wife *Börte*, his brother *Hasar*, his close friend *Jamuqa* and others. B. Lhagvasurung mentions only the names without any titles or relationship to the main hero, because they are very well known to the readers as well as the text of the chronicle "The Secret History of the Mongols" itself. Half of the text is written in prose and half in poetic form as it is in the text of "The Secret History". The name of the drama is connected to a legend about *Temügin*'s birth. *Hö'elün eke* gave birth to a baby, who was squeezing a clot of blood in his small fist. This episode is mentioned in the "Secret History of the Mongols"[7].

The drama by B. Lhagvasurung covers the period of time starting from *Temüjin*'s childhood to *Chingis Han*'s death in 1227. The author presents twenty-one episodes, describing the scene of battle with the *Merkits* in 1179, which represented the first serious battle of the young *Temüjin*. As a result of this very battle his wife *Börte* was released from captivity with the help of *Van Khan* and *Jamuqa*. Although she got pregnant, *Temüjin* took *Börte* back home and later accepted a child as his own. This episode is not mentioned in the "Secret History of the Mongols." Thus the author presents his main hero in the real life situations. B. Lhagvasurung also cites statements of different people about *Temüjin*. For example, the first wife of *Yesugei ba'atar Sochigel* says her son *Belgüdei* the following: "*Temüjin* is going to become very strong... He will be with one of those, who are eating their brothers and biting their edges. You will be always alone among them. But you, *Yesugey ba'atar*'s son, is of his blood, he will use your body and..."[8] We can mention that *Sochigel* was among the first people, who considered *Temüjin* a great and bloody leader of the nation.

The well known conflict between *Temüjin* and *Jamuqa* is shown differently compared with the text of "The Secret History of the Mongols". In the fifth episode of the play there is a very sad, but sincere dialogue between two men. When *Jamuqa* takes the decision to leave

[6] Lhagvasüren, B., *Atga nöj*, Ulaanbaatar, 2006.

[7] Kozin S.A., Sokrovennoje Skazanije mongolov, § 59, 2002, 15.

[8] Lhagvasüren 2006: 11.

Temüjin's tribe he says: "you are going to become khan of the Mongols. I am also going to… He, who is the cleverer and stronger, will win. If we follow each other, nobody will become. In the world only one han can exist..."[9] Consequently, the next day, in the early morning *Jamuqa* with his people went away from *Temüjin*'s tribe. *Old Huagcin* and *Hö'elün Eke* were discussing the reasons of this separation.

One of the main episodes of the play is Temujin's enthronement in the year of a yellow monkey, i.e. in 1189, is a very emotional scene. According to the advice of his shaman *Kököcü*, *Temüjin* gets the name of *Chinggis Han* and becomes the leader of Whole Mongolia (*Hamag Mongol ulus*). But during his enthronement *Chinggis Han* asked his advises and relatives, saying: "I know how to be a man, but I don't know how to be a han. Please teach me."[10] IT is said that he was listening afterwards to all the given advises. There is no such a scene in the "Secret History". This modern author presented *Chinggis Han* not only as an emperor who conquered the world, but a human being even in such important moments of his life.

Throughout the whole play Lhagvasurung shows his main hero solving not only the strategic problems of his state but his family problems in connection with his wife, mother, brothers and sons and other relatives. *Börte*, for example, is preoccupied with her husbands being not at home for a very long time. "There is a strong smell of wind and sun from your clothes. Why didn't you come to my palace? "[11] – she asks. And when she hears about a very beautiful Tatar princess, recently captured by her husband, she is almost jealous, trying not to show the tears in her eyes. "But you still love me most of all, don't you?" – asks *Börte*. *Chinggis* hugs his wife and answers:"I loved you from my early childhood and love you now, my dear."[12] Chinggis is also always very close to his mother *Hö'elün Eke*, who can sometimes even order to her son: "Han, keep silence![13]

We have to mention, that almost all the episodes of the drama are accompanied by Mongolian national music, as it is noted by the author. Lhagvasurung gives an accurate description of all the situations and scenes.

At the end of his play Lhagvasurung describes the death of not only

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[9] Lhagvasüren 2006, 14.
[10] *Op. cit.*,18.
[11] *Op. cit.*, 28.
[12] *Ibid*.
[13] *Op. cit.*, 31.

a great Han, but that of a father, who transfers the imperial duties first to his son *Ögödei* and later to his grandson *Qubilai* then. His last will is to be brought to his native land – The *Burhan Qaldun* Mountains.

Thus we can note that the modern author Lhagvasurung presents Chinggis Khan as a person, in his historical drama "Clot of Blood" as a human being moving in the world of his own feelings and emotions. Each episode is presented not only as a well known scene inspired from a famous chronicle but represents a psychological analysis of a situation or a historical event, in order to show the main hero's development of personality and transfiguration from a small boy to the great leader of the nation.

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Mongolian Religious Practices and Shamanism reconfigured by the Mongolian Buddhist Church

RODICA POP

The entire life of the Mongols is impregnated by Religion. Indeed there are few aspects in their everyday life, which are not subject to the concern towards beliefs or religious practices, be they originated in the old Shamanism or the later Buddhism.

The Mongols generally worshiped ancestors and local spirit masters and resorted to the shamans in order to exorcize the harmful spirits responsible for various disorders, and to interpret the signs and forecast future. The shaman was the intermediary between the world of spirits and the human world; he represented and personified the forces of the nature. The shaman was identified to the chief of the clan and of the families belonging to that clan. He was considered particularly gifted with clairvoyance being able to make contact with the spirits of the ancestors. According to Vladimirtsov (1949:61), the shamans belonged to the steppe aristocracy; they wore white clothes and rode a white horse. They were practising divination and were using divination texts. Every step of their life was guided by astrology; they worshiped the sky, the earth[1], the water, and the mountains[2]. According to the

[1] Marco Polo reported that the Mongols were worshiping a divinity of earth named *Natigai,* protector of their women and sons, of their cattle and cereals. Every family showed great respect for this divinity and reserved for it a place of honor in their house. They figured this divinity in different ways and made it out of felt or other material (cf. Moule and Pelliot, Marco Polo, 1938, 170; Mostaert, 1957, 95-101)

[2] The respect and the fear of the Mongols toward the mountains considered as sacred protective divinities was so strong that they never addressed them directly by their names, but using various euphemisms such as "The Beauty" (*Qairqan*), "The Saint" (*Boγda*), "The High" (*Öndür*). On The *Burqan Qaldun* Mountains, see the *Secret History of the Mongols*, (2003) 2007, § 18, 103.

animist way of thinking of the Mongols, the whole earth was animated by good and bad forces, personifications of their deceased ancestors. Documents originated from the 12th and the 13th centuries, from the period of the political consolidation of the Mongols and the beginning of their empire, reveal a religious system whose main divinity is the "blue sky" (*köke tngri*) or "eternal sky" (*möngke tngri*). There are few data on the forms of religious life of the Mongols in the 15th century. However, the predominance of Shamanism is attested by number of documents in the 16th century. There are Chinese sources, such as the notes of a high Chinese employee of the Ming Dynasty, Hsiao Ta-heng who describes the idol-worshiping customs of the northern barbarians, and Mongolian sources as well. It is possible to reconstruct the essence of Shamanism out of the incantations and prayers transmitted by word of mouth through centuries. During the last decades, these oral texts were registered by researchers during their field work. On this occasion, sacred names and concepts belonging to the Buddhist field were sorted out. The result is the pure Shamanism, who keeps the old original beliefs of the Mongols before the conversion to Buddhism, and the more recent forms of so called "mixed" Shamanism and Buddhist Shamanism, which developed from the cult of ancestor's veneration.[3] The protection of the humans and of their belongings against dangers, illnesses, natural catastrophes created by the evil forces, was the first function of Shamanism. The shaman was offering unique assistance against diseases and epidemics activated by the evil forces against humans. The position and the function of the shaman can be thus explained by the need of a primitive economy of having guaranteed the stability and the protection of the elements on which it relies, such as health, fire, food, cattle, prosperity of children ensuring family endurance and enough human workforce[4].

But the Mongols never had a salvation doctrine, nothing to promise them everlasting felicity in the great Beyond.

The first contact of the Mongols with Buddhism was a political one and was realized on the occasion of the penetration of Mongolian military units across the border into Tibetan territory. In 1247, when the Mongol prince *Godan* met the chief of the Tibetan Church *Sa skya Pandita*, he was taught about the Buddhist doctrine. When *Qubilai* wanted to have near him a representative of the *Sa skya* who were dominating Tibet

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[3] The ancestor's spirits were continuously worshiped because they were guarantors of protection against everyday dangers of the forces of the nature.

[4] On the legend about the origin of the shamanism, see Tucci and Heissig 1973, 355.

at that time, as a guarantee of Tibet's friendly attitude, *'P'ags pa*, the nephew of *Sa skya Pandita*, was sent to the Mongolian court, who was ruling at that time in China. '*P'ags pa*'s skill to awaken the interest of the ruling layer for his religion ended up with the initiation of *Qubilai* and his wife *Čamui* and the partial conversion of the aristocracy. After being appointed as imperial master and royal master, *'P'ags pa* and *Sa skya* monks became the spiritual advisers of the Mongolian emperor in China. It is known that *'P'ags pa*'s influence was particularly exerted on emperor Qubilai's conception regarding the State, the relationship between Church and State and the position of the emperor. From the spiritual point of view, this first attempt of conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism did not develop deeply, and did not spread among ordinary people. However, besides the necessity of instruction and political advice, this first attempt at Buddhism was based particularly on the influence of the Tibetan medicine practised by the Tibetan monks who had a stronger convincing effect on the Mongols than the results of the shamans based on prayers for the health. In this way, the shamans of the court and the Tibetan monks were in a situation of continuous rivalry until early 14th century.[5] The second expansion of Buddhism toward the Mongols started indirectly from the Ming Dynasty China and not from Tibet. Under the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty, the number of Tibetan monks and Buddhist monasteries in China increased very much and their position was a privileged one. The collapse of the Mongolian domination and the exodus of the Mongols from China in 1368 decreased their influence, however they remained in China. Paradoxically, Buddhism, which started to develop in China during the Mongolian Dynasty's rule there, was still flourishing after the dynasty's collapse, while the Mongols who left China forgot Buddhism altogether. Later, the movements against Buddhism under the emperors *Ying-tsung* and *Shih-tsung*, defenders of Taoism, gradually lead to the disappearance of Buddhism in China, in the first half of the 16th century. The monks began to run away to the Mongolian border territory starting with 1547. The contacts between the Mongolian princes and the Buddhist representatives became more frequent and *Altan Han*, a descendant of *Chinggis Han* at the 25th generation, ordered Buddhist books written in Tibetan, from Pekin. He also invited the chief of the *Yellow church*, the reformed sect of *Tson k'a pa*, to whom he will give later the name of Dalai Lama, to come visit him in Mongolia. Dalai Lama's visit took place in 1576. Further to his visit, the Mongols issued a number of

[5] Yule, H. and Cordier, H., 1903, I, 30.

new laws ensuring the diffusion of the Buddhism among Mongols and against the practice of Shamanism. The possession of the *ongon*[6] *was forbidden and instead representations of seven-handed guardian of the Buddhism Mahākāla* had to be worshiped in every yurt.[7] During Altan Han's rule, Mongols started to build the first Buddhist monasteries in his capital *Kökeqota*. Within a few years, *Kökeqota* became a Buddhist citadel. Numerous Buddhist works were translated from Tibetan into Mongolian. The new doctrine rapidly conquered the Ordos Mongolian princes and spread in a short time to Northern Mongolia. In order to increase his political prestige, *Abadai*, Han of the Halha Mongols, met Dalai Lama during his visit to Mongolia. According to the Mongolian tradition, on this occasion, with the help of the mandala of *Mahākāla*, Dalai Lama burned all the Han's idols and started building Buddhist temples.[8] The new category of monks became an erudite class which started producing new texts, out of which a small part was written in Mongolian. In a more important part of these writings, Mongol monks used Tibetan, the liturgical language of Buddhism.

At the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, the Mongolians were completely open toward Buddhism. When the Buddhist missionaries arrived in the middle of the 16th century, the time was ripe for a conversion and so were the Mongols. Processes of gradual interdiction of Shamanism started, and the instigations came from the third Dalai Lama himself. The new doctrine was preaching a world of gods, inhabited by both merciful representation of Buddha and frightening divinities with grotesque faces and crowns made of human skulls, holding whips and riding human bodies covered with blood. However the larger part of the Mongols only perceived in this imported religion its aspect of superstition mixed with their old beliefs which Buddhism could never eliminate completely. Through the contact between Buddhism and the old religious practices of the Mongols, a process of religious reconfiguration took place: old customs and rituals were admitted, modified or systematized by the inclusion into a new religious corpus aiming at the lay people. The introduction of Buddhism did not lead to the disappearance of all the former spirits and deities. In fact, some of them were preserved as low categories in the Buddhist pantheon; others were converted and received the task of protecting

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6 *Ongon*, shamanist spirit, represented by various figurines made of wood, felt wool etc.

7 Tucci and Heissig 1973, 376.

8 Bawden, 1961, 35.

the temples. Concerning this development of the Buddhist pantheon by local deities, as was underlined by Tucci, the Buddhist category of *savdag* (*gazrin ezen*, spirits of the earth) and of *luu*, (dragons or water spirits) is always open to new comers. This category got bigger every time Buddhism was in contact with new populations and tried to adapt them to its own models.

The general method used in order to weaken the shamanist spirits was to reconfigure them from spirits having an identity, personalized, and belonging to a community and a place, into an anonymous category of lower rank, such as the *savdag* and the *luu*.

I would like to mention in particular the lay rituals that have been transformed into Buddhist ones in the course of centuries, and especially rituals which are associated to the wedding. In fact in former times, many of these family rituals involved elders or respected people in the community, but when Buddhism became influent, lamas took charge of them. A particularly remarkable difference from Shamanism is that the monks were assuring not only the functions of cure, exorcism, purification, which belonged traditionally to the shamans, but they were present in the profane ceremonies and rituals which were not subject of shaman's action, such as the regular rituals, for example, birth, name giving, funerals, choice of a propitious day to erect the yurt through astrology etc.

The "lamaisation"

One famous example of such "lamaisation" of local deity is the case of *Dayan Deerh*, probably the spirit of a former shaman. The spirit was represented by a high stone, vaguely human shaped, to which offerings were made by the local people. Following the spread of Buddhism, the lamas transformed this shamanist cult in the following way: one night they came and dressed the stone with various items used by the first level of the Buddhist rank divinity, the *genen*, and the following day, they declared to the local people that their deity had converted to Buddhism, encouraging them to do likewise. A small temple was erected near the stone where lamas organized a yearly ritual for *Dayan Deerh*. The shamans could no longer use the stone for their old cult and transferred it to a nearby cave. In this case the Shamanist cult coexisted with the new "popular" Buddhist cult, meant to replace and weaken the local worship place.

The Buddhist Missionary Approach

The biography of the missionary *Neyči toyin* Lama (1557–1653) is the only Mongolian source on the suppression of Mongolian Shamanism.[9] This unique text made possible the reconstruction of the "reconfiguration" process which led to the weakening of Shamanism under a Buddhist "disguise" (Heissig 1992, 64). With no reference to the political background of this period, the biography is focused on the personality of *Neyči toyin* and on the great share he had in the extension of the *Yellow Faith*. Parallel to the report from the perspective of the Buddhist Church, the text offers information on the Eastern Mongolian popular beliefs and customs in the 17th century. The following practices are reported as customary at that time:

- the ceremony of name-giving (*miliyaγud-un qurim*);
- the belief that the demon (*čitkür*) or master of place (*γazar-un ezen*) can be personified;
- rainmaking with the legendary rain stone (*boruγan zidala-*)
- use of go-between (*ziγuči*), in the wedding ritual (*beri baγulγaqu-yin qurim*)
- addresses in alliterative verses (*silüglen zarliγ; olan silüγ üd-iyer maγtan zalbari*)

Among the Mongolian customs the missionary mentions:

- riding up and dismounting close to the tent of somebody when visiting is regarded as an insult;
- the last-born son (*odqan köbegun*) received the greater part of the inheritance (*ömči*) and his father's yurt with all the belongings;

Four monasteries were built for *Neyiči toyin* in this territory. After his death an attitude of veneration was present in the same territory, viz. a Stupa and a monastery were built at the place of his cremation. His name in the form of *Nišši Toin* is still alive among Eastern Mongols. In the early decades of the 17th century, when *Neyiči toyin* arrived in Eastern Mongolia[10] and went to the northeast as far as the Nonni River, Shamanism was still the religion of the Mongols living east of the Great Khinggan Range. The text contains information on the prevalence of Shamanism among the *Ten Horčin Banners*, the groups *Dörbet*, *Zalait* and *Gorlos*.

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[9] See the detailed article "A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th century" published by Heissig in *Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer in der östlichen Mongolei*, 1992, 61-135.

[10] This region is recently known as Western Manchuria.

In this sense, *Neyiči toyin* notes:

- "they all believed in absolutely nothing other than in the magical capacity of the Shamans and Shamanesses;

- "being in favour of the Shamans and Shamanesses commonly worshiped the Onggot" (Heissig 1992, 92);

On the other hand the author remarks that Buddhism was practically unknown:

- "in this country the Buddhist faith had not been spread";

- „the so-called Lamaist Faith was absolutely unknown";

- "at that time the Buddhist Faith was not so widespread in the region: none but an occasional nobleman or a savant knew to distinguish letters" (Heissig 1992, 92).

In such circumstances, the missionary activity of *Neyiči toyin Lama*, developed in two main directions:

1. the persecution of Shamanism and
2. the substitutions of Buddhist divinities to the Shamanist forbidden ones.

The anti-Shamanist methods of *Neyiči toyin* were the display of greater magic power, greater medical efficiency, iconoclastic purges of Shamanist idols, direct persecution of the shamans and the activity of convincing the rulers to interfere against the old religion by economic encouragement of converts.

The substitution way consisted in the substitution by *Neyiči toyin* of the Buddhist divinities for the outlawed shamanistic deities. In this way new divinities were reconfigured.

These two main directions of *Neyiči toyin*'s missionary activity were addressed particularly to the ordinary people. The nobility was attracted in a different way, by gifts and "sacrificial pyramids", cast from pure gold and silver. Many of them could recite by heart the spells *Yamantāka* and *Guhyasāmaja* after *Neyiči toyin* offered presents such as gold, silver, silk, sable furs and other various things donated by the almoners, nobles, lords, and regents, as well as goods and cattle to the poor, according to their needs. By this superficial propagation, however, *Neyiči toyin* fulfilled the spiritual requirements of the broader and lower strata of the East Mongolian groups who up to then had been adherents of Shamanism. And some decades later the Buddhist Church acknowledged its methods and its results.

The impact of Buddhism on the universe of the steppe was impregnated according to the sources with violent, coercive methods,

used in order to convert the Mongols. These practices showed the will of both religious authorities and Mongolian aristocracy to have Buddhism as official and unique religion, but also the resistance of the population towards these efforts of conversion. Using force, the Buddhist church skilfully adapted local rituals in its own interest, then created new ones which were answering their needs and the local population's customs, took over autochthonous places of worship, integrated and reconfigured the shamanist beliefs to a "popular" Buddhism. It is not always easy to distinguish clearly the Buddhist elements which were introduced because in order to occupy the place solidly, there developed new ritual forms based on the old beliefs and practices

The meeting of the Buddhism with the old forms of the beliefs the Mongols and their later development and under the oppression exerted by the Buddhism towards the popular beliefs represents the very particular aspect of the religious history of the Mongols through the development of new forms of religion.

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Christian Concepts in Mongolian Translation

KLAUS SAGASTER

During the last decades, the political changes in Mongolia, China and Russia offered a new chance for Christian mission among the Mongols living in Outer and Inner Mongolia, Buryatia near Lake Baikal and Kalmuckia near the Lower Volga. Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox compete with each other in order to save the souls of the poor heathen Mongol-speaking people. As a consequence, new translations of the Bible were made, mostly of the New Testament. The translators tried to render the holy texts in modern language, but in doing so they were faced with an old problem: the problem of terminology. The Bible is full of concepts which are very much foreign to people having a different cultural background. How can one translate the corresponding terms without making the text rather incomprehensible? Of course, commentaries are always necessary, but a first key to understanding should be offered by the translation itself.

The problem of terminology was already very present to the first translators of the Bible into Mongolian. Johann Jaehrig, who, in the end of the eighteenth century, for the first time known to us translated the Blessing of Aaron from the Old Testament and the Prayer of the Lord from the New Testament, carefully thought about the rendering of Christian terminology (Mo Jae).[1] The same is true for later translators, like Isaak Jacob Schmidt in 1815 and 1819, Edward Stallybrass and William Swan in 1846, Aleksey Pozdneev in 1880 and the translators of the New Testament of 1952. The new translations made since 1990 did not simply adopt the old terms, but also tried to find new renderings of difficult concepts.

[1] Edited and translated by Klaus Sagaster, „Johann Jährigs mongolische Übersetzung von Kirchensegen und Vaterunser“, in: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 38 (2009), pp. 283-311.

In order to illustrate the terminological problem of translation, I have selected the following terms which seem to me particularly representative: “God”, “Devil”, “holy”, “Holy Spirit” and “Kingdom of Heaven”. My examples are taken from the Gospel of St. Matthew. For this I have used nine Mongol, one Buryat and three Kalmuck translations. Five Mongol translations and one Kalmuck translation have been published after 1989.

Let us begin, as it is proper, with “God”.

1. God (Mt 3:9)

It goes without saying that the word God creates particular problems. Which Mongolian term could be appropriate to render the concept of the Christian God? There are two traditional words meaning “god”: *tngri* and *burqan*. Which of them is the better one? The translators made a clear decision. They took the word *burqan*. The reason is obvious. The word *tngri* does not only mean “god”, but also “heaven”. “Heaven”, *tngri*, is considered to be the highest deity, the highest god in Mongolian folk religion. This god, often called “Eternal Heaven” (*möngke tngri*) or “Blue Heaven” (*köke tngri*) is not the only god of the Mongols. There are numerous other gods in Mongolian folk religion who are also named *tngri*. Of course, the English word “god” also means “god” in general, like in the case of the Roman and Germanic gods. The concept of the Christian God, however, is a very special one, and in order to convey the meaning of this foreign concept the word *tngri* is not very suitable. The Mongolian concept of heaven as a divinity, a supreme force, was obviously not precise enough for the translators. The Christian God *is* not heaven, but he *resides* in heaven. The Christian God *created* the heaven, as it is said in the first sentence of the Bible: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth” (Genesis 1:1). Therefore, Heaven cannot be God, since he cannot have created himself. The Mongolian Heaven or God, *tngri*, did not create the world. As a divine force, it only influences the world. Moreover, the word *tngri* is used as a synonym of the other word for heaven, *oγtarγui.* This makes it particularly unsuitable for rendering the Christian concept of God, since *oγtarγui* exclusively means “heaven” in a physical sense, it means “sky”, “firmament”. There is nothing divine implied by this term. *Oγtarγui* simply cannot be “God”.

It seems that there was still one more reason for not choosing the word *tngri*. This is obviously connected with the Buddhist idea of

“god”: Buddhism does not know one only god, a god who is eternal and who created the world. In Buddhism, “god”, in Mongolian *tngri*, means a category of living but mortal beings which are superior to men. One day also the gods will die like men and all the other kinds of living beings who are subject to the cycle of transmigration. The name for these gods, *tngri*, is not at all suitable for naming the Christian God.

Let us turn to the second Mongolian word for “god”, *burqan.* This word is much more appropriate for rendering the Christian concept of “God”. Unlike *tngri*, *burqan* does not have the connotation “heaven”. This was obviously the reason why the translators of Buddhist texts into Mongolian chose this word as the Mongol term for “Buddha”. Of course, unlike the Christian God, Buddha did not create the world, but, like the Christian God, he represents the concept of the highest transcendental being, the Supreme Being. When the Christian translators, on their part, were looking for a proper word for their highest transcendental being, “God”, they could not find a better term than *burqan*, “Buddha”.

The word *burqan* was not used by all translators. Isaak Jacob Schmidt, for example, translated “God” by “The Highest” (*degedü*) in his translations of 1815 and 1819. The modern translation of 1990 renders “God” by “Lord of the World” (*ertöncijn ėzėn*). This is a very good metaphor: The “Lord of the World” is not only the lord of “Earth”, but the term “World” (*ertönc*) means the whole cosmos, which, for the Buddhist, consists of innumerable separate world systems. God is the lord of the whole cosmos.

2. Devil (Mt 4:1,5)

There is some confusion about the term “devil”. In the Bible we find the two expressions “devil”, *διάβολος* / *diabolus*, and “demon”, *δαιμόνιον* / *daemonium*. Unfortunately, the English translations - and not only the English translations - are not consistent. For example, when the Bible reports about people who are possessed by a demon, they sometimes render the Greek and Latin words *δαιμόνιον* / *daemonium* not by “demon”, but by “devil”.[2] This translation is not correct, or at least it is misleading. A demon which takes possession of a human body is, at the most, a minor devil, but it is not *δαιμόνιον* / *daemonium* in the sense of “the Devil”. The Christian Devil, the adversary of God, the tempter of Christ, is the *διάβολος* / *diabolus*, also called Satan and

[2] See for example Mt 12:22 , English translations Mo 1993/1 and King James Bible.

Beelzebub (Βεεζεβοὺλ / Beelzebub [Mt 12:24, 27]). The confusion of the two words "demon" and "devil" is terminologically incorrect.

The Mongolian translations are more consistent. They always render the Greek and Latin words for "demon" by the word *čidkür* or a corresponding term. *Čidkür* means "demon", "bad spirit", "ghost" and, in this sense, "(little) devil". When a demon takes possession of a human being, it is always a *čidkür* and never the *diabolus*.

The two terms which correspond to *čidkür* are "ill-omened soul" and "black protector", The Mongolian term "ill-omened soul", *muu joryn süns* (Mo 1990 [Mt 12:22]) obviously means that the devils are souls which have a bad fate. The Kalmuck term "black protector", *har säküsn* (Ka 2002 [Mt 12:22]), interprets the devil as a protecting spirit which can be used for bad purposes.

Depending on the context, however, the words *čidkür* also render the word *διάβολος* / *diabolus*. Two translations, the Buryat and one Mongolian (Mo 2004), simply use the Russian loan-word *diávol*, *diavol*. Other translations clearly state that the diabolus is the Satan (*sātan, sa-ta-na* etc.)[3]. They also reveal that the Satan is a demon, but, and this is most important, a very special one: He is the "Worst Demon" (*adgijn muu joryn sünės* [Mo 1990]), the "Leading Demon" (*achlagč čötgör* [Mo 1993/2]). This is corroborated by the epithet of Beelzebub, the Satan. According to Matthew 12:24, Beelzebub is the "Head of the demons, *ἄρχῶν τῶν δαιμονίων, princepts daemoniorum*. In the Mongolian translations, this epithet is "King of the Demons" (*čidküröüdiyin xān* [Ka 1815], *čidkür nuγud-un qan* [Mo 1819]), *čidkür-ün qaγan* [Mo 1952], *muu joryn sünsnij chaan* [Mo 1990]; Head of the Demons (*čidküd-ün terigülegči* [Mo 1846], *čötgörüüdijn tėrgüülegč* (Mo1993/2), *čötgörüüdijn tėrgüün* [Mo 1993/1], *šitchúri türūlėgši* [Bu 1909]); "Commander of the Demons" (*čötgörüüdijn zachiragč* [Mo 2004]).

Three renderings of the word *διάβολος* / *diabolus* and of the Beelzebub are particularly interesting: Erlig, "Devil-demon" and Mangus.

The name Erlig" (*ėrlg*) is used in the modern Kalmuck translation of 2002. It is a very good metaphor for the Christian Devil, since every Mongol will know this word. Erlig is the Buddhist lord of the hell, the king of the underworld, the Indian Yama, the Prince of Darkness, like the Christian Devil

[3] Ka 1815, Mo 1819, Mo 1846, Mo 1880, Ka 1887).

The expression "devil-demon", *čidkür simnus*, is used in the Mongolian translation of 2003. Here a term appears which one would have expected to be the best equivalent for the Christian devils: *simnus*. The *simnus* or *simnu* are, like the *čidkür*, a species of malignant spirits. The word is specifically used for rendering the Sanskrit term for devil, *māra*. The Māra is the main opponent of the Buddha. Buddha has been tempted by Māra, like Christ has been tempted by the Devil, and Buddha has fought his last battle against Māra and his hosts, the many little Māras, in the night before his enlightenment. It remains the secret of the translators why they did not use this Buddhist term for rendering "devil", since they have chosen the word Buddha, *burqan*, for rendering "God".

In the same Mongolian translation of 2003 Beelzebub is called Mangus (*mangγus be̱lce̱bül* [Mt 12.24]). Mangus means "monster". In the Mongolian epic the Mangus represents the negative force which opposes the positive force represented by the hero. God, the Christian hero, is the representative of the Good. Mangus, the Monster, is the representative of the Bad.

3. Holy (Mt 3:11)

The word "holy" is generally translated by the word "pure", *ariγun/ ariun / arjūn / ärün*.[4] A second rendering, which is used less often, is "bright, brilliant", *gegen, gegegen, gegēn*.[5] As a noun it means "luminescence, splendour, brightness". A secondary meaning of the word *gegen, gegegen* is "pure", "purity". Both "pure" and "bright" are ideal renderings of the concept "holy", which, as a quality of God, means the opposite of human impurity and darkness. By the way, "pure" is also one of the meanings of the Greek word *ἅγιος*.

A third translation of the word "holy" is "transformed", "transformation" (*qubilγan* [Mo 2003]). This typically Buddhist expression offers a very interesting interpretation of the concept "holy". The term means that a supernatural power has been transformed into a form or quality which is accessible to human beings. For example, Buddha's quality or Buddha's power of compassion becomes available and intelligible to humankind through the Dalai Lama, who is a transformation of Compassion. The term "transformed", "transformation" sounds peculiar, but it is very familiar to the Mongols.

4 Mo 1880, Mo 1952, Mo 1993/1, Mo 1993/2, Mo 2004, Bu 1909, Ka 2002.
5 Mo 1819, Ka 1815, Ka 1887.

4. Holy Spirit and Spirit of God (Mt 3:11,16)

The concept of "Holy Spirit" (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, *Spiritus sanctus*) is especially difficult to convey to non-Christians. The same is true for the alternative expression "Spirit of God" (*πνεῦμα θεοῦ*, *Spiritus Dei*).

There are several translations of the name of the third divine person. The word "holy" is again mostly translated by "pure", *ariγun/ariun/arjūn/ärün.*[6] In three cases it is rendered by "bright, brightness", *gegegen, gegēn*,[7] and in one case by the peculiar expression "transformed, transformation", *qubilγan* (Mo 2003).

A difficult problem is the rendering of the word "Spirit". The translators try to solve this question in different ways. Isaak Jacob Schmidt dares no literal rendering, but offers interpretations, translating "Holy Spirit" and "Spirit of God" in the same way: In his Kalmuck translation of 1815 he writes "the enlightening power of the Holy God[8] (*dēdü gegēni bolbosuruuluqči küčün*). In his Mongolian translation of 1819 Schmidt says "the Holy Mighty Clarification" (*gegegen aoγ-a tododqal*). Both interpretations obviously mean that the Holy Spirit is the power through which God makes clear his will to mankind: The Holy Spirit "enlightens", literally "causes to ripen" (*bolbosuruul-*), or his nature is "clarification", "explanation", "elucidation" (*tododqal*). The translation of 1846 also uses the term "clarification", but it is shorter and says only "Pure Clarification", i.e. "Holy Spirit" (*ariγun tododqal*). In the later translations four new terms appear: "breath" (*amisxul* [Ka 1887], *amischúl* [Bu 1909]), "vital force" (*süns*)[9], "quality" (*činar* [Mo 1952]) and "protector" (*säküs* [Ka 2002]). The Kalmuck translation of 1887 and the Buryat translation of 1909 use "Holy Breath" (*gegēn amisxul, aryūn amischūl*). They interpret the Spirit to be the breath of God. The Mongol translation of 1952 writes "Holy Quality" (*ariγun činar*). This means that the spirit represents the quality, the essence of God: God speaks to humankind through his spirit, his essence. Most of the modern translations since 1990 use the term "vital force", "animating principle", "soul" (*sünesün, süns*). This word is very familiar to the Mongols, since it is a very important term in the vocabulary of their

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6 Mo 1846, Mo 1880, Mo 1990, Mo 1993/2, Mo 2004, Ka 2002.

7 Mo 1819, Ka 1815, Ka 1887.

8 In the expression *dēdüyin gegēn* the word *gegēn* obviously means "holiness": "His Holiness God, "the holy God" Cf. the expression *blam-a-yin gegen* "His Holiness the Lama", "the holy Lama".

9 Mo 1990, Mo 1993/1, Mo 1993/2, Mo 2003, Mo 2004.

traditional religious beliefs.[10] In a Christian context *sünesün* obviously means that the Spirit represents the vital force of God. The translation of 1990 explicitly writes "the Holy Ghost of God", literally "the Pure Vital Force of the Lord of the World" (*ertöncijn ėzėnij ariun süns*).

Another interpretation of the concept of "Holy Spirit" is the expression "Holy (Pure) Protector" (*ärün säküsn*) in the Kalmuck translation of 2002. We already know the term *säküs(n)*: A "Black Protector", *har säküsn* (Ka 2002 [Mt 12:22,24,27]), is a demon, a little devil, a protective spirit which can be used for bad, for "unclean" purposes. The "Holy Spirit", the "Pure Protector", however, is the pure protecting force of God granted to mankind.

The translations until 1990 render the expression "Spirit of God" in the same way as "Holy Spirit". The translations since 1993 substitute the attribute "holy" by "of God" and write "Spirit of God" (*burqan-u sünesü*, *burch[a]ny süns* [Mo 1992/2], *burchna säküsn* [Ka 2002]). The only exception is the translation of 2003. It renders the expression "Spirit of God" exactly like the expression "Holy Spirit" by "Holy Spirit of God", literally "Pure Vital Force of the Lord of the World".

5. Kingdom of Heaven (Mt 3,2)

Some of the translations render the expression "kingdom of heaven" (King James) or "kingdom of the heavens" (Mo 1993/1) literally. They do not formally mark, however, the plural of "heaven" used by the Greek and Latin texts (*τῶν οὐρανῶν*, *caelorum*). By the way, also the English King James translation does not use the plural form and writes "kingdom of heaven", whereas the English translation in the Mongol Bible of 1993 (Mo 1993/1) has ""kingdom of the heavens". The Mongol translations use the two Mongolian words for "heaven" alternatively: *tngri*, which also means "god", and *oγtarγui*, which specifically means the physical sky, the firmament. For "kingdom" they also use the word "dominion" (*eǰelegüri*), "realm" (*xaančlal*), "place (or country) (*oron*), "monarchy" (*xaant ulus*) and "kingly country" (*xaan oron*). So we have, in literal translation, the following expressions: "Dominion of Heaven" (*oγtarγui-yin eǰelegüri* [Mo 1880], *tngri-yin eǰelegüri* [Mo 1852] and *tėngėrijn ėzlüür* [Mo. 1993/1]); "Realm of Heaven" (*tėngėrijn xaančlal* [Mo 2004]); "Place of Heaven" (*oqtorgoyin oron* [Ka 1887]); "Kingly Country of Heaven" (*oktorgojn xān oron* [Bu 1909]). Two translations substitute "heaven" by "the Highest", that is "God": They write "Place

[10] Cf., e.g., the rite „Calling the Soul" (*sünesü daγudaqu*).

of the Highest" (*dēdü-yin oron* [Ka 1815], *degedü-yin oron* [Mo 1819]). Three other translations explain the meaning which the Kingdom of the Heavens has when it comes to mankind, as it is said in the Prayer of the Lord by its plea "Your kingdom come!": The Kingdom of Heaven is the Extraordinary Monarchy" (*er busyn chaant uls* [Mo 1990]) of God, it is the "Time when God will rule" (*burchny zachirach cag* [Mo 1993/2]), it is the "Order of Heaven" (*tngrin josn* [Ka 2002]) which is approaching.

We may suppose that all these expressions are not easily comprehensible for a Mongol convert. Every Mongol, however, will understand the meaning of the word which the translation of 2003 chose for "Kingdom of Heaven". It is the "Place of Divaǰin" (*divaǰin-u oron*. Divaǰin is a Tibetan word and means „Full of Bliss" (*bde-ba-can*). Divaǰin is the beloved western paradise of Amitābha, the Buddha of Long Life, where the faithful Buddhist wants to be reborn. It is the place of magnificent beauty where all wishes become fulfilled. There can be no doubt that exactly this kind of "Kingdom of Heaven" is able to attract the mind of a Mongol.

These are my five examples of Christian terminology in Mongolian. I hope these few terms were enough to demonstrate the problems which the translators had to face, and the solutions which they found when trying to convey Christian concepts to people belonging to a quite different culture.[11]

Editions of the Bible and of Parts of the Bible

Greek/Latin

Nestle/Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine.* 26th edition, 7th printing, Stuttgart, 1984

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[11] Other studies of Christian terminology in Mongolian are: Klaus Sagaster; "Mongolische und tibetische Übersetzungen des Vaterunsers", in: Rocznik Orientalistyczny LXIII/1: Bareja, Agata et. Al.: Altaica et Tibetica. Anniversary Volume dedicated to Stanisław Godziński on His Seventieth Birthday. Edited by Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, Filip Majkowski, Jan Rogola, Jerzy Tulisow. Warszawa. Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa 2010; S. 198-214; idem, "Brot und Wein. Matthäus 26, 26-30 in mongolischer Übersetzung", in: Denise Aigle et al.: Miscellanea Asiatica. Mélanges en l´honneur de Françoise Aubin / Festschrift in Honour of Françoise Aubin, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica 2010 (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LXI), pp. 499-51. – See also note 1.

English

King James Version

The Holy Bible Contianing the Old and New Testament. Authorised King James Version, Oxford: Oxford University Press, without year

Mongolian

Mo Jae

Kirchen-Segen und *Vater-Unser*. Ms. Cod. Asch 115 Lower Saxonian State and University Library, Göttingen

Mo 1819

Bidan-u eǰen IIzus Keristo̲s-un sine tis ta miin t-un : Matpii-yin degedü ariluγsan iiwangili kemeküi angqan debter: olan-a tusa bolun : baraγdasi ügei amuγulang-dur kürküi tödö mör-iyen olan-dur üǰegülkü-yin tulada : Isaγ Yakob Šmiid bi ber egün-i orčiγulbai (1819)

Mo 1846

Bidan-u eǰen ba tonilγaγči iisus keristos-un sine tistamint kemegči nom anu orosibai: Wiliyam Swan [William Swan]. Idward Stalibras [Edward Stallybrass] qoyar anu egün-i griyeg eke-eče mongγol kelen-dür orčiγulbai:: Anggliy-a oron-u London qotan-a. 1846 on-a daruγdabai

Mo 1880

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated out of the original Greek into the Mongolian Language, by Edward Stallybrass und William Swan. St. Petersburg: British and Foreign Bible Society 1880

Mo 1952

The New Covenant commonly called The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in Mongolian. Revised Version. Hongkong: Hongkong Bible House 1952

Mo 1990

Šinė gėrėė. Gongkong (Hongkong): Olon ulsyn Biblijn nėgsėn nijgėmlėg 1990

Mo 1993/1

Šinė gėrėės. The New Testament. Recovery Version. Mongol-angli bibli. Ulaanbaatar: Mongol Bajaryn Mėdėė 1993

Mo 1993/2
Šinė gėrėė I-r bot´ / New Testament Vol.1 (Matthew Mark Luke). (Tokyo:) Fukuin Shuppan-sha, Japan 1993

Mo 2003
Ibegeltü nom. (Kökeqota 2003)

Mo 2004
Ariun Bibli. Chuučin Gėrėė. Šinė Gėrėė. (Ulaanbaatar:) Ariun Bičėės Biblijn Nijgėmlėg 2004 (Vorherige Ausgaben: 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000). – Online edition: Vertical Script Mongolian Bible. Online version of the Inner Mongolian New Testament. http://www.mongolbible.com/html/IMNT/tutorial.html

Buryat

Bu 1909
Mathejn Arjūn Evángelie gėži nėrėtėj nom / Ot Mattheja Svjatoe blagovestvovanie. Irkutsk 1909

Kalmuck

Ka 1815
Schmidt, Isaac Jacob, *Evangelium St. Mathaei in Linguam Calmucco-Mongolicam*. Translatum ab Isaaco Jacobo Schmidt Cura et Studio Societatis Biblicae Ruthenicae Typis Impressum. St. Petersburg: Friedrich Drechsler 1815

Ka 1887
Novyj zavet gospoda i spasa nešego Iususa Christa. Tom pervyj. S grečeskago podlinnika na kalmyckij jazyk perevel Alelesej Pozdneev. Izdano iždiveniem Velikobritanskago i inostrannago biblejskago obščestva. Sanktpeterburg: Depo Velikobritanskago i inostrannago biblejskago obščestva. 1887

Ka 2002
Šin boocan. Moskva 2002

The Chinese-Manchu "Contrast" in Historiography and Literature

GIOVANNI STARY

Early Manchu historiography is characterized by very precise and accurate registrations of historical events. These registrations, especially the first 1636 Manchu compilation of the "Veritable Records" (*Shilu*, in Manchu *Yargiyan kooli*), are true records of facts as they really happened, and were successively changed and adapted to official Confucian historiography which saw the emperor (as "son of heaven") on the top of Chinese world order.

Some episodes and their re-elaborations were already studied by the "founder" of European Modern Manchu studies, late professor Walter Fuchs, who already in the 30ies of last century analyzed two famous episodes of censored early Manchu history.

The first episode concerns a ceremony which took place during the transfer (in 1624) of the coffins of some relatives, ancestors and two wives of the Manchu khan Nurhaci from native Manchuria to the newly conquered territory near Liaoyang. In order to celebrate the khan's recent victory over China, near the newly build tombs "a grass-made doll representing a dead Chinese" (*nikan-i bucehe niyalma-i beye orhai ūren arafi...*) was cut into pieces (Fuchs 1934: 100-101). If this – for Chinese ears very offensive passage – was justified during the war against China, it was no longer acceptable hundred years later, when the Manchu emperor had become the emperor of the Chinese people too: in fact, in the "Veritable Records" corrected in Kangxi times, the word "Chinese" has been cancelled and the record speaks only about a "grass-made doll". (Imanishi 1973: 316). Again, a century later, the same episode has been completely cancelled in the Qianlong revised version of the same record (*ibid.*), as well as in the "official history"

of the Manchu conquest of China, the *Huang Qing kaiguo fanglue / Daicing gurun-i fukjin doro neihe bodogon-i bithe* of 1789 (see Hauer's 1926 translation: 125-126).

Other case of censorship is the famous episode of "sacrificial suicide" committed by Nurhaci's young wife Abahai after the khan's death: in the "Veritable Records" till Kangxi-times it is openly told that at the very beginning she refused to follow (*bi daharakū*) her husband's last will and to suicide herself in order to be buried together with the khan. This was, of course, a big scandal. How not to follow the last will of the emperor? And, in fact, in the revised version of the Qianlong period (made between the years 1734-1740) this refusal of the empress was cancelled, and we only find an obedient wife who follows her husband by suicide without any discussion, according to old Confucian tradition. (See Fuchs 1935-1936; Imanishi 1973: 370-371).

Recently, I found another deep interference of imperial censorship referred to an admonishment of the Manchu khan against excessive wine-drinking. It is found in the "Old Manchu Archives" (Chen 1969, *Jiu Manzhou dang,* IV, ff. 1922-1935), in a date corresponding to September 18, 1625. The most important passages sound (abbreviated) as follow:

> After having drank, people fight against each other,
> people are stabbed and dismembered,
> they kill each other in revenge,
> they fall from their horses and break their arms and legs.
> they break their necks and die,
> they attract bad spirits and die.
> They get epilepsy (*fancame nimeku*) and dysphagia (*cilime nimeku*).
> They cause harm to father and mother, to elder and younger brothers.
> [Instead of drinking,] make [small cakes called] "toholion", and eat them mixed with soup!
> Make [a pastry called] "sesi" and eat it!
> Fry [dumplings called] "giose" and eat them!
> For the distillation of wine,
> For the preparation of cakes
> For everything millet is used.
> But wine will ruin, cakes will satisfy.
> Why not eat millet and be satisfied, instead of drinking [millet-made spirits] only to be ruined?

Here we should stop the quotation from the khan's speech and check how it is inserted in successive historical works.

To our great surprise, we find that the reference to sicknesses and the food suggestions are everywhere cancelled (for the texts, see Stary 1998: 181-182). What could be the reason of this censorship? Were the sicknesses wrong, or was the khan's figure of a pastry-cook unworthy of an emperor, according to later historiographers? We do not know.

Different problems referred to the Manchus' cultural and linguistic situation are found on poetical level. So-called "parallel Manchu-Chinese compositions" show the Manchu version in some cases to be a simple periphrasis of an elaborated Chinese expression – and this is due to language (or cultural) inadequacy in comparison with Chinese.

Here some examples (quoted from Stary 2007: 88):

1) In Qianlong's Chinese poem found on the famous scrolls of tribute bearers (*Huang Qing zhigong tu*) reference to the West is made by quoting the mythological one-winged *Jian*-bird, and to the East by quoting the fabulous one-eyed *Die*-fish. These references were evidently "too complicated" for being translated into Manchu, and its parallel text simply refers to "eastern and western regions" (*dergi wargi ba*), without any reference to mythological animals.

2) In the same poem a similar situation is found with reference to the southern and northern peoples of China: in the Chinese text, we meet the "southern *Man*-barbarians" and the "northern *Di*-barbarians" – but in the parallel Manchu text we find only "northern and southern tribes" (*julergi amargi aiman*).

But if Manchu was in some cases inadequate to render sophisticated expressions taken from Chinese culture, one should not forget – on the contrary – the Manchu language's superiority in cases devoted the their own "Altaic" words (i.e. for example, hunting and fishing terms), which did not exist in Chinese. Already the 18th century missionary Du Halde underlined the rich Manchu terminology – for example for dogs – which are missing in Chinese.

For instance, a dog whose nose ridge is white has the specific name *balta*, and a four-year-old horse is called *saifatu*: for both and many others, no specific names exist in Chinese and their Chinese entries in the pentaglot dictionary are simple descriptions (see. no. 16271 and 16180 in the Romanized edition of the *Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wên-chien*).

This leads us to the conclusion that both languages show some limits when "entering" each others cultural world: independently from obvious cultural amalgam, some fields of Manchu culture remained untouched or scarcely touched during the whole period of the Qing dynasty and survived till today.

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Reconstructing the Divine and Divinity in *Hazret-i Meryem Kitabı*

MÜNEVER TEGCAN

Introduction

The *Hazret-i Meryem Kitabı* (The Mary Book) can be traced back to 4th century manuscripts concerning the supposed events and circumstances surrounding the death of Mary mother of Jesus. The manuscript uses a narrative of the pilgrimage of Mary and Jesus up mount Rebūd. During their pilgrimage the angel Azrael takes away Mary's soul leaving Jesus to grieve over Mary's death and to intercede with Azrael. The manuscript explores theological aspects surrounding the nature of the Devine and the Divinity in the roles of Mary and of Jesus.

History

The Mary Book was written by Hakīm Suleymān Ata. (?–1186). He was the third successor of Central Asian Sūfī Ahmad Yasavī (?–1166/67) in the 13th century, in Central Asia, in the region of Khwarazm. His poetry was popular with the Turkic people in the northern area that is now Kazan.

The first version of this story in Islamic literature was part of *Qısasu'l-enbiy*ā written in the 14th century, Khwarazm Turkish period by Rabgūzī in the Khwarazm region. An early translation in Russian was written by S.T. Mateev, "Muxammedanskiy razskaz o Sv. Deve Marii", published by Tekst i perevod, Kazan, 1895. Other versions include E. Galter Legende, "Muslumane sur la mort de la Vierge", Paris, 1907 and my own *Hakīm Ata'nın Hz. Meryem Kitabı* published in Istanbul, 2008. Similar narratives have been written in Latin, Arabic, Greek

and other languages. An English version titled “The Departure of my Lady Mary from this World” was translated from a 6th century Syriac manuscript by Dr. William Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April 1865.

Method

This reading uses a relativist approach of analysis concentrating on its Christian aspects but also having roots in Islam. The analysis reveals the complexities, contradictions and ironies that are in the texts and explores the dynamics of the characters in the narrative. The main body of this paper lists English translations of *Hazret-i Meryem Kitabı* and where it is relevant the translated text is analysed in terms of the semantics of the language used. The transcription in the analysis is from Hazret-*i Meryem Kitabı* written in Chagatai Turkish. The narrative of the text is then analysed in terms of the different roles played by each character and the interaction between the characters. Finally, a nonlinear or asynchronous time-frame is used to suggest more than one event happening at the same time.

Analysis

I

Listening to the force of the All Mighty, I recalled one word of mine
And difficult to conceal, My Lord gave it as a gift.

II

That Jesus, son of Mary was a special servant for My Lord.
My Lord raising Him presented Him with the Gospel.

III

Considering Him the descendent of all the Saints and commander of the Gospels,
The Lord showed Him His kindness and gave Him a place in Heaven.

IV

Jesus was a messenger that wouldn’t yield into this world,
Wouldn’t give with His heart to its riches and lived among its people.

V

He renounced this world and made Himself ready to confront the other,
Was obedient to my Lord and spent sleepless nights [praying].

VI

His mother was Mary, and He had no father.
He, The Lord of the Gospels, was born of spirit.

VII

Whichever country entered, He saved blind born,
He prayed and the blind started seeing.

VIII

Jesus was a messenger that ensured walking for an invalid,
Cured the sick of all diseases and returned the dead their souls.

IX

Jesus said "Mother I shall give you a piece of advice,
Listen to this advice." I have recalled one word!

X

Ana oġul qopalı
Yazu yābān kézeli
Bu dünyānı qoyalı
Ṭā'at vaqtı boldı-ya

Mother and son let us get up and walk across the landscape,
Leave this world it's time to pray [to God].

From the beginning of the poem, there is sense of disquiet. Mary and Jesus are addressed as "mother and son"[x]. It is a shift from the personal to the general. The call "let us get up"[x] is a call directed to the reader, suggesting more than Mary and Jesus. The verse implies a move from the confines of their room to the wider landscape. It could be waking up from sleep or a move from one world to another. The text continues, "walk across the landscape"[x] it marks a transition from the Divine to a more real world of landscape.

XI

Meryem aydı ey oġlum
Közüm nūrı oŋ qolum
Kélgüsidür bu ölüm
Yakhšı aydıŋ dédi-ya

[Jesus's] Mother reassures "Oh my son, clear eye of mine, my child (my colt/stallion)!
This death will come, as you said!"

> Jesus had tried to give his mother advice in verse IX. "Mother I shall give you a piece of advice. Listen to this advice"[ix]. His advice never goes beyond His lips. Words from the Divinity do not enter into this world. His mother is of this world and has more luck and "reassures, Oh my son, clear eye of mine, my child"[xi]. Jesus is both, son and child, "colt and stallion"[xi]. The poem sets up an opposition to Mary's reassurances. She continues "this death will come: as you said"[xi]. Form the reader's position in the future "this death"[xi] is poignant. There is significance for both Mary and Jesus.

XII

Ana oġul qopdılar
Kilīm tonlar kéydiler
Ākhiretke yéttiler
Ümmīdleri boldı-ya

Mother and son got up, got dressed into simple clothes
And reached the hereafter and all their hopes came true.

> The next verse uses almost the same words as verse X. "Mother and son got up, got dressed into simple clothes, and leave this world"[xii]. In the repetition there is a sense of time passing. The second call marks an end of a journey. They "reached the hereafter and all their hopes came true"[xii] indicating that repetition and time will not be played out again.

XIII

Bardı Rebūd taġıġa
Čıqtı taġlar bašıġa

Meryem aydı oğlıġa
Tašlar yıqqın dédi-ya

Come to the hill/mountain Rebūd and ascend its peak.
Mary said to [her] son "break down stones" to build a place to pray.

> Mary addresses her son, "Come to the hill/mountain Rebūd and ascend its peak."[xiii] One reading could add symbolism to climbing the mountain. It could be a prelude the assent to the Divinity and to heaven. At the top of the mountain Jesus is to "break down stones"[xiii] to build a chapel which complements the symbolism further. He breaks down stone and his tie to the earth he will also break the tie to his mother who gave the original order, the security of prayer lies in the future.

XIV

Jesus carried stones and made a circle out of them
[and] Built one cell and Mary entered it

XV

They spent days fasting, nights keeping awake,
Praying the payer of obedience. They lived some days like that.

XVI

Snakes been in the cells, field beasts, birds and insects
They came out to greet them

XVII

'Īsā bardı qarlıqqa
Ot yıldızın térmaqqa
Yamġur suyın almaqġa
Kéčraq anda qaldı-ya

Jesus went to snow covered ground:
To dig roots of grass, collect rain water and was a little late.

> Mary and Jesus had been building a chapel, "Jesus carried stones and made a circle out of them."[xiv]. "They spent days fasting, nights keeping awake [and] praying the payer of obedience."[xv].

Each day "Jesus came for food: to dig roots of grass,"[xvii]. This would be his last act of daily life. "On one unforeseen occasion … [Jesus was] a little late"[xvii]. The time of his absence is space for the first appearance of Azrael.

XVIII

Yarlıġ kéldi İźim'din
'Azrā'īl'ge Mevlā'mdın
Meryem cānın tenidin
Barıp alġıl dédi-yā

An order came from My Almighty to Azrael,
Fulfilling an order to take the sole of Mary

There is a significant change in the poem. In this part there is no role for Jesus. The space is occupied by the Divine Almighty and its antithesis, Azrael. Morality is inverted, Jesus had "returned the dead their souls"[viii]. But in the absence of Jesus "My Almighty ordered Azrael, fulfilling an order to take the sole of Mary"[xviii]. The reasons for this order and mention of its source are unknown.

XIX

Kökdin 'Azrā'īl indi
Meryem qašıġa kéldi
Yüzge kélip olturdı
Qaršu selām qıldı-ya

Azrael came down from the sky and approached / neared Mary
And to Her very face made a greeting.

Like an unwelcome guest "Azrael came"[xix] and acted out his Divine role. Azrael "approached Mary"[xix] but they did not get close. There is a dance between Azrael and Mary, as one steps forward the other steps back. Azrael "and to Her very face made a greeting"[xix]. Awkward moves are accompanied by awkward language. The greeting is only made and not given. The uneasy syntax surrounding Azrael supports that Azrael and Mary are reluctant partners and poor dancers.

XX

Meryem 'aleykin aldı
Anı körmeyin bildi
Öz cānıdın tükendi
*Qaydın kéldüŋ dé*di-ya

Mary answered the greeting and knew Azrael without seeing him:
Her being became weak and she said: "Where have you come from?"

> In response to the greeting made by Azrael "Mary knew Azrael without seeing him"[xx] but asks "Where have you come from?" She gets no answer.

XXI

Aytur tenim titrešür
'Azīz cānım tolġašur
Yüreklerim talpınur
Atıŋ nedür dédi-ya

She says: "My body shook, my heart beat, my high soul got frightened"
And asked "What is your name?"

> The verse continues with Mary's reaction to Azrael she says : "My body shook, my heart beat"[xxi]. Her body is a home and chapel to her soul from which she is separating. Mary stops talking about her physical body and says "my high soul got frightened"[xxi]. Her "high soul"[xxi] could signify her Divinity over and above the normal. The sense of unease is clear as Mary repeats her question "What is your name?"[xxi]

XXII

Mén-mén sarāy bozġuči
Khātūnlar tul qılguči
Oġlan yetīm qılġuči
'Azrā'īl-mén dédi-ya

He said: I am Azrael that destroys houses, causes widowhood
And can make sons orphans.

> Azrael speaks for the first time, "I am Azrael"[xxii], Azrael is treated as an opposition to the Divinity but is also Divine. Azrael

"destroys houses"[xxii]. Azrael "causes widowhood"[xxii] which is another way of saying the families that lived in the houses and homes. Out of the destruction of families, Azrael "can make sons orphans"[xxii]. There is an element of self-referral and self-destruction and a hint of a lost generation without roots back to their origin.

XXIII

M*énim atım 'Azrā'īl*
Eyā Meryem sén bilgil
Tīzgīn išiŋni qılġıl
*Cān alur-mén d*édi-ya

My name is Azrael, Oh Mary! Remember this!
Hurry to fulfil your deed: I shall take (your) soul.

Azrael makes an announcement "My name is Azrael"[xxiii]. One name calls out to another. Azrael calls "Oh Mary"[xxiii] and then to "remember this"[xxiii]. More ambiguously Azrael warns Mary "hurry to fulfil your deed"[xxiii]. What her deed is unclear. Azrael repeats his threat to Mary "I shall take your soul"[xxiii].

XXIV

K*éldim cānıŋ alġalı*
'İlliyyīnġa éltkeli
'Īsā'nı yetím qılġalı
Fermān andaġ boldı-ya

I came to take your soul to heaven
And to make Jesus an orphan, I was ordered to do this.

The poem uses questions and answers in way that disrupts order. The narrator speaks for Azrael and addresses Mary. "I will take your soul to heaven"[xxiv], The verse reiterates "and to make Jesus an orphan"[xxiv] but ends on a different tone "I was ordered to do this"[xiv]. This refers back to verse XIV where the All mighty commands Azrael "Fulfilling an order to take the sole of Mary"[xviii]. All parties have their parts to play and the future is already written.

XXV

Cān almaqġa öymegil
Émdi šitāb qılmaġıl
Bir zamānī köz tutġıl
'Īsā kélsün dédi-ya

Mary says "Wait, do not do such things, do not rush now
Wait a while, let my son come back!

Azrael rejects Mary's plea to "wait a while"[xxv]. She seems more concerned about the hour which was holding Jesus. Time and sequence had been an important theme earlier in the poem. On top of the mountain "They spent days fasting, nights keeping awake"[xv]. When Jesus arrives he will show a similar concern over lost time.

XXVI

'Īsā kélsün köreyin
Bašın közin sılayın
Bakhīllikin tileyin
Anda alġıl dédi-ya

Let Jesus come, let me see him, let me caress him on his head,
Rub Him on His head and eyes and part (with Him) and then take my soul!"

Mary continues pleading "Let Jesus come"[xxvi]. It is repeated. She says "let me see him"[xxvi]. These normal actions must have been repeated many times every day. Now this simple act has greater importance, she wants to "rub Him on His head and eyes"[xxvi], it is the physical contact that has gone because Jesus is absent. She pleads for more time.

XXVII

Maŋa andaġ fermān yoq
Oġluŋ kélür zamān yoq
Eyā Meryem bilgil oq
Cān alur-mén dédi-ya

Azrael says "There is no such order or time for your son to return,
So, know I shall take your soul!" he answered.

> Azrael rejects Mary's plea and says "There is no such order or time for your son to return"[xxvii]. It is a reference back to order and a well-paced chronology. Azrael not only breaks this order but pleads to it to carry out the order "to take the soul of Mary"[xvii]. He answers Mary with an awkward phrase "know I shall take your soul!"[xxvii]

XXVIII

(And added) "I don't take farming from the rich
And won't cause hardships to the poor.

XXIX

Meryem cānın üzdürdi
'İlliyyūnge tégürdi
Kök perdesi ačıldı
Levĥ ü qalem kördi-ya

Mary let her soul be taken and raised high.
The curtain of sky was opened and the Divine was seen.

> Mary consents to Azrael. "Mary let her soul be taken and raised high"[xxix]. This suggests that Azrael had to wait for Mary, it was her who released her soul and "raised it high"[xxix]. Mary dies but is triumphant, her soul is raised high like a flag. The poem follows her soul with the opening of "the curtain of sky … and the Divine was seen."[xxix] Like the razing of a flag this is a public statement Mary is seen to join the Divine and break with Azrael.

XXX

Namāz-ı digerni qıldı
Namāz-ı šām vaqtı boldı
'Īsā savčı tiledi
Anasıge kéldi-ya

Evening prayer passed and night prayer came.
The Prophet Jesus wished for a return to His mother.

Time is signified by Islamic prayer, "Evening prayer passed and night prayer came"[xxx]. Even though it was Jesus who "was a little late"[xvii] he kept to the cycle of prayer. His delay enabled Azrael and Mary to enact their dance. There is a common religious element on both sides of the equation. Jesus, who the poem, calls "The Prophet"[xxx] could be seen as returning to the world where Mary's soul now rests. If so, he had pre-empted Azrael who is now left powerless.

XXXI

Asked and begged saying "My mother get up!
How long have you be sleeping? Time for Morning Prayer has come.

XXXII

My mother! What has come over you? Probably tried of praying,
And fell asleep!" While waiting for [more than] an hour.

XXXIII

He wouldn't eat the food that was brought him, "Let my soul be sacrificed"
And waiting for his mother, left the food.

XXXIV

Meryem ol kün qopmadı
'Īsā rūze ačmadı
Źerre ṭa'ām tatmadı
Yaruq taŋı attı-ya

That day Mary didn't get up, Jesus didn't break his fasting,
He tasted nothing, on the morning of the following day a bright sun rose.

Waiting and time dominate this part of the poem. Waiting "that day Mary didn't get up"[xxxiv]. Jesus did not eat "Jesus didn't break his fasting"[xxxiv] He did not eat what he set out to collect. Order has been disrupted. Waiting, time passed through each call to prayer and on into the next day. Jesus "waited for his mother till the morning of the following day"[xxxiv]. Son like

mother, each have waited "till the morning of the following day"[xxxiv].

XXXV

Bir ün kéldi hevādın
Meryem bardı dünyādın
Yetīm qalduŋ anadın
Andaġ nīdā kéldi-ya

There was a voice from the sky, Mary, separated [from her soul] and left from this world,
"You have become an orphan, by your mother!" said the voice.

"There was a voice from the sky"[xxxv]. This could be treated as symbolic. Yet the sky is real but the voice is only heard in the mind of the listener. "'You have become an orphan by your mother!' said the voice"[xxxv]. This is a direct reference to Azrael and a direct address to Jesus. It is also an event simultaneous to "Mary separated [from her soul] and left from this world"[xxxv]. As a single event it is an epicentre that Jesus will feel the first. "The vault / dome of the heavens shook"[xxxvii]. God ordered "Jesus go to your people"[xlv].

XXXVI

Jesus hearing this [He] broke into tears / cried bitterly
And having fallen down to the earth was lying unconscious.

XXXVII

The vault / dome of the heavens shook,the pen writing the fates of the world began
Crying; angels cried too saying "Let God be merciful"

XXXVIII

Anam sizni körmedim
Qašıŋızda turmadım
Yerge basa érmedim
Néčük qılay dédi-ya

Jesus said "Oh my mother! I haven't see you and haven't seen you enough.
I couldn't set my feet [at home], what can I do? he said.

> Jesus calls for His mother "I haven't seen you enough"[xxxviii]. Jesus took His mother for granted. He did not make time for what He wants now. Jesus feels He has nowhere to live "I couldn't set my feet [at home]."[xxxviii] Another plea at the end is a general call for help "what can I do?" Jesus is shown week and helpless.

XXXIX

> *Aydı qayda barġay-mén*
> *Kime ana tégey-mén*
> *Kimniŋ birle turġay-mén*
> *Zārī qılıp qopdı-ya*

Where shall I go now? Whom I shall call mother?
Who shall I live with? So much was He sad and in grief.

> Jesus asks "Where shall I go now? Whom shall I call mother? Who shall I live with?"[xxxix] These are very basic questions, as if coming from a child. The text provides no answers but concludes "So much was He sad and in grief"[xxxix]. The verse connects Jesus's simple questions with the depth of his grief. His grief seems to permeate his whole being.

XL

Do me a favour Oh merciful you are a judge providing means for living!
You took the soul of my mother, what shall I do?

XLI

There was an order from my God - Tabian, the mountains shook
The answer was this: "Jesus go to your people."

XLII

Jesus went to His people, entered the heart of his country
And came to the people of the sons of Israel, facing them, [He] made a greeting.

XLIII

The people got up immediately and answered the greeting and said
“Where have you come from?” and also asked “What is your name?”

XLIV

I am Jesus a happy envoy, my mother died (this is why) I am sad.
I want a piece of cloth for cerements. This is how he expressed his need.

XLV

But the people still said “He tells lies!” these people do not give Him (what he wants)
And say “let (your mother) stay unburied for a hundred years.

XLVI

He went to all the people (but nobody) gave him a piece of cloth for cerements
And said “Go and let nobody except you, go to the grave!”

XLVII

Jesus heard these words and hopeless returned,
Again he came home not finding a piece of cloth for cerements.

XLVIII

From paradise Houris came down and put up hopped roofs,
They washed Mary and wrapped (Her) into the cerements.

XLIX

Mother Mary was washed, dressed into funeral cerements
And put into the grave, (from the heavens) angels came down.

L

70 000 angels come down and prayed a pray for Mary.
Heading the pray was loyal Gabriel.

LI

Ol khāletde iŋredi
Yaratqanġa yalbardı
Anam tirgüzgil dédi
Rāzım aytay dédi-ya

Jesus crying, howled and begged to the All Mighty,
Resurrect my mother, let me say my wish, he said.

Jesus cries uncontrollable over Mary's death. Jesus "begged to the Almighty to Resurrect my mother"[li]. He appears to want to disrupt the sequence of events that accompanies Mary's ascent to heaven. He cries to the Almighty "let me say my wish"[li] but the verse does not say what this wish is.

LII

Meryem gūrı yarıldı
Bir derece ačıldı
Qudret birle tirildi
Meryem tilge kéldi-ya

God ordered the grave of Mary be opened,
She was magically resurrected and began to speak

Previously the Divine "Almighty ordered Azrael, fulfilling an order to take the soul of Mary"[xviii]. The origin of the original order to be fulfilled was unexplained. At the end of the poem, Jesus pleads to the The Divine Almighty to open Mary's grave and "God ordered the grave of Mary be opened"[lii].

LIII

The light of Gabriel opened Mary's grave ...

"The light of Gabriel opened Mary's grave"[liii]. On top of the mountain the reasons for Jesus's delay was never explained. The origin of the order to take Mary's soul was never clear and her deep sleep implied more than rest. Now as Jesus approaches Mary, Her face can be seen in divine light. This scene has been acted before, "Azrael came and approached Mary; and to Her very face made a greeting"[xix].

There is an implication that Jesus's plea "Oh Mary! I didn't know and haven't seen you enough"[xxxviii] is an admission of failure in his role as a son. Yet it is his (and Mary's) Divinity that stand as an opposition to Jesus fulfilling his human role as son. Azrael appears when Jesus is absent. Jesus has gone in search for food for our human bodies. Azrael is the antithesis of Mary and Jesus. Azrael is an agent for human mortality. He/She has come to take Mary's soul, yet it is Jesus's human plea to see his mother one more time that interrupts Mary's divine assent to heaven.

LIV

Oġlum nége yıġlar-sén
Ĥaq buyrıġın tutmas-sén
Nége ṣabır qılmas-sén
Yıġlamagil dédi-ya

(Mary said) "Why are you crying my son?
Why you aren't keeping God's commands?
Why couldn't you be patient? Don't cry!

Mary asked of Jesus "Why you aren't keeping God's commands?"[liv]. This is ambiguous as Mary's apparent resurrection came from God initiated from a cry from Jesus. There was no answer and she asks again. "Why couldn't you be patient?"[liv] Both Mary and Jesus while on the hill had asked for more time, now time is irrelevant.

LV

Oġlum émdi tınmagil
Kéče kündüz yatmaġıl
Ĥaq qulluġın qoymaġıl
Nevbet saŋa kéldi-ya

"Don't get attached to this world. Don't get stuck with all your heart to richness,
And don't give up the service of the God, because the time to watch has come to you.

As Mary is recalled from the grave she is able to say to Jesus

"don't give up the service of God', because the time to watch has come to you."[lv] This finalises a sequence of orders.

1. From Jesus to God to open Mary's grave.
2. From God to Azrael to take Mary's soul.
3. From Azrael to Mary to go to heaven.
4. From Mary to Jesus to obey the word of God given in the first verse.

Conclusion

In this analysis of the text and the narrative of *Hazret-i Meryem Kitabı* it is clear that its theological associations are complex. Any meaning over and above its literal meaning is dependent on interpretation as much as semantics. This exercise has demonstrated that this does not necessarily lessen the religious values embodied in the main characters of the narrative. Relativist analysis can free text and narrative from the antiquity of its roots and make it more accessible to present day reader. This paper only makes transparent that a 21st century reader is different to a 12th century reader without really knowing what makes a 12th century reader.

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Interpretation of Celestial Phenomena. On a Manchu Manuscript

HARTMUT WALRAVENS

The Manchus – a Tungus people that gave their name to Manchuria – became known by their conquest of China which they ruled for about 250 years. They quickly adopted Chinese culture but also created a sizeable literature in their own language. A large part consists of translations from the Chinese but there are a number of original works; also, the Manchus developed a system of dual administration which stipulated keeping official documents in both Manchu and Chinese.

The religion of the Manchus was shamanistic; but Confucian, and Buddhist, also Christian beliefs were readily adopted as is also proven by the existing literature. There is a unique manuscript which deals with the interpretation of celestial phenomena: in many cultures uncommon signs in the skies – like eclipses and haloes – are considered meaningful for the life of the people. In China this was not only a matter of personal belief or superstition – but part of the official view: The emperor was considered a son of heaven, and therefore any celestial signs would express heaven's pleasure or disagreement with the government and the situation in the country – aptly called in Chinese "under the heaven" *tianxia* 天下. From this point of view the manuscript in question may be considered particularly relevant. However, only preliminary information can be given on its contents as the subject does not seem to have been studied much so far, and more basic research is required. This may be partly due to the fact that the omina are astronomical, or sometimes, meteorological phenomena, and sinologists rarely had experience in those fields.

It may be pointed out that the views expressed in the manuscript –

superstition from the scientific point of view – were not alien to Europe. For example Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), an outstanding astronomer and a staunch Christian believer, was also known as a capable astrologer. He followed the line of Melanchthon who argued that the actions of the Lord were to be seen in nature, and most clearly – i.e. less obscured – in the skies; as the humans were an integral part of nature it seemed clear that the actions of the Lord as seen in heaven would be applicable to man. Luther, by the way, was opposed to Melanchthon's view...

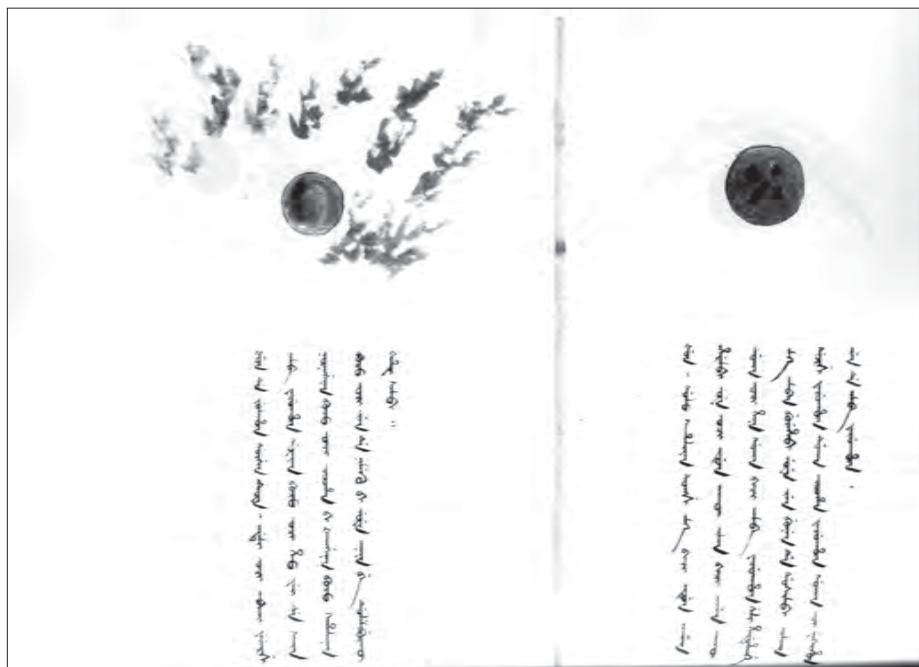
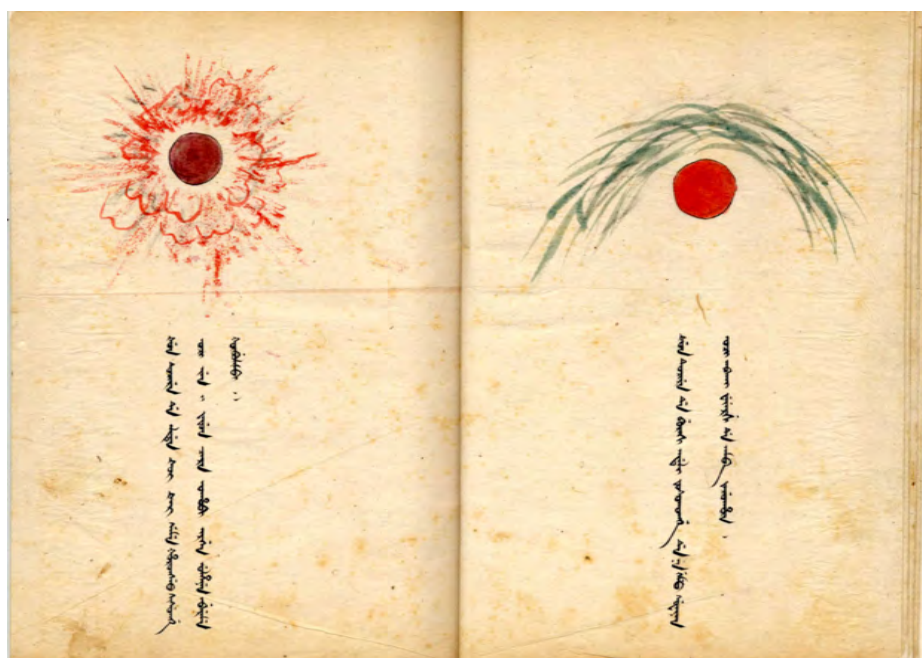
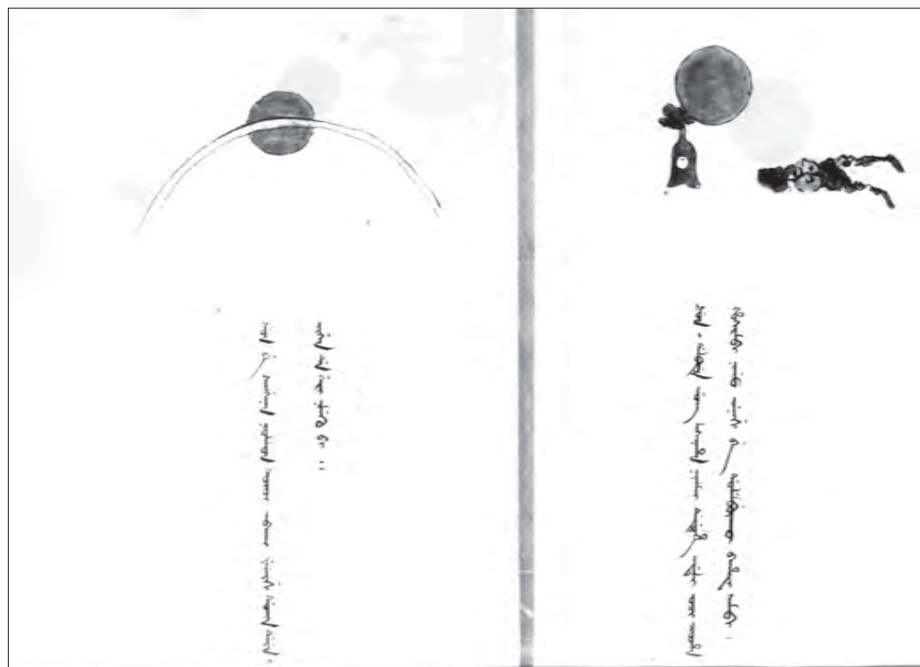
The manuscript in question is completely in Manchu and consists of 142 paragraphs, accompanied by colored drawings. One, sometimes two paragraphs describe a celestial phenomenon which is illustrated and then give the interpretation which usually refers to military actions, the government of the empire and the ruler himself. In a number of cases a timeline is provided within which the prognosticated events would happen.

There is no title; the title assigned by the librarians is [*Manwen riyue xingchen zhan* 滿文日月星震占]. The text is written in a neat hand; unfortunately, only a reduced black and white reproduction is currently available which leaves several words unintelligible.

The manuscript does not seem to have been described before – it is not mentioned in the Princeton catalogues of rare and old Chinese books[1] and is not listed in the union list of Manchu books in the United States[2]. It is also not listed in the union catalogue of books maintained by OCLC, World Cat, which includes a large number of items in Chinese and Manchu.

There is no information whatsoever pointing to the author, or a Chinese work from which this text might have been translated. The book is not dated. Reference in the text is made, however, to events of the „45th year" which must refer to the Qianlong reign as the year 1724 is mentioned earlier. That means that the ms. was written after 1780.

[1] Not in the rare Books catalogue QU Wanli 屈萬里撰: *Pulinsidun daxue Geside dongfang tushuguan Zhongwen shanben shumu* 普林斯敦大學葛思德東方圖書館中文善本書目. Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan 藝文印書館, Minguo 64 [1975]. XII, 584 p., nor the catalogue of other old Chinese books: CHANG Bide 昌彼得: *Pulinsidun daxue Geside dongfang tushuguan Zhongwen jiuji shumu* 普林斯頓大學葛斯德東方圖書館中文舊籍書目. Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館, Minguo 79 [1990]. 4, 5, 914.

[2] Cf. Walravens, H.: „Vorläufige Titelliste der Mandjurica in Bibliotheken der USA" in: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 10.1976, 551–613.

Page 6-7 of the Manchu text.

Page 8-9 of the Manchu text.

Page 24-25 of the Manchu text.

Let us look at the contents of the manuscript:[3]

1

Śun be tugi sukdun hontoholome dalici amba cooha bi tanggô inenggi be dulerakô bahafi sembi.

"When clouds and vapours cover half of the sun that means a large army. Before one hundred days are over, this will happen."

2

Śun be dobori tucifi amba jiyanggiyôn cooha aśśambi.

"When the sun rises during the night, a great general will move his army."

[3] I am indebted to Martin Hejdra for kindly furnishing a scan of 2 pages of the ms.

3

Śun-i uju be hiyahame jeci gurun booi jiyanggiyôn facuhôrambi.

“When the sun is eclipsed crosswise, the empire’s generals will be in confusion.”

4

Śun mukdefi tuhefi. geli dahime mukdefi tuheci sain cooha yabuci taifin gurun boode oci facuhôn akô.

“When the sun after sunset sets again, the military campaigns will be fortuitous and the empire will enjoy peace without break.”

5

Śun wargi de tucifi dergi de tuhere julergi ci tucifi amargi de tuhede oci abka-i fejergi cooha dekdembi.

“When the sun rose in the West, sets in the East or rises in the South and sets in the North, troops will be raised in the empire.”

6

Śun de fulahôn śurgin tuwa-i adali oci abkai fejergi amba facuhôn suwayan boco oci ho fei de sain niowanggiyan boco oci cooha bi śanggiyan boco sahaliyan boco oci ejen de nimeku bi juwe aniya be dulemburakô bahafi sembi

“When there is a light red humid haze like fire with the sun, then great confusion will arise in the empire; when the color is yellow it will be good in Hofei; when the color is green, there will be an army; when the color is white, the ruler will fall ill.”

7

Śun-i dolo sahaliyan tongki emke bici edun aga eherembi juwe oci edun akô ilan bici aga akô duin oci hiya sunja bici amba facuhôn geli henduhengge emke amban bucehebi juwe ejen buyen de dosimbi ilan dorgi facuhôn duin cooha facuhôn sunja ci wesihun ejen de amba facuhôn

"When there is a black dot in the sun, then wind and rain will be bad; when there are two dots, there will be no wind; three dots, no rain; four, then drought; five, then great unrest; it may also mean: one – an official will die; two, the ruler will indulge in vices; three, interior unrest; four, military uproar; five, great confusion with the supreme ruler."

8

Śun tucire de elden śor śar seme horonggo kisungge oci ejen-i fafun cara ohobi ergen ulhiyen ebereme kôbulimbi

"When with sunrise the rays roar with horrendous noise, then the laws of the ruler will be pitched and the life energy gradually decreases and changes."

9

Śun tucire buraki adali fosokongge gemu suwayan oci abkai fejergi de amba facuhôn

"When with sunrise everything is yellow like scattered dust than there will be great unrest in the empire."

10

Śun buruhun niyalmai helme be saburakô oci erun koro-i baita bi jai geli amba muke bi emu aniya be tucirakô acanambi

"When the sun is blurred and one does not see the shadow of a man there will be punishments and fines. Also there will be a great flood. This will happen within a year."

11

Śun teni tucire de foson tuwai adali śor seme goro fośoci ejen de juwe aniya amba hiya

"When the sun has just risen and the rays gleam brilliantly into the far distance like fire, then there will be a great drought with the ruler – for two years."

16

Śun-i boco fundehun oci neneme gidabumbi amala afaci ombi

“When the colour of the sun is frosty, there will be first suppression but then attack.”

17

Śun-i uju de giltarśame oci dergi jiyanggiyôn dahame jimbi sain sabi

“When the sun shines intensely above then it is a good omen. A high general will come obediently.”

18

Śun-i dulimbade niowanggiyan sukdun hiyahame ulaci abkai fejergi ambula facuhôn

“When green vapours pass on crosswise in the middle of the sun then there will the great confusion in the empire.”

19

Śun-i dulimbade śaraci ejen de sain sabi baita bi emu aniya be dulemburakô bahafi sambi

“When the middle of the sun turns white it is a good omen for the ruler. It will happen within a year.”

20

Śun-i boco biya biyahôn emu hontoho niowanggiyan emu hontoho suwayan oci hôlha-i cooha isinjimbi

“When the colour of the sun will turn pale like the moon and one half green and one half yellow an enemy army will intrude.”

21

Śun de duin sika-i adali salu bici cooha ambula etembi

“When the sun has four goatees like tassels of a cap, the armies will be greatly victorious.”

24

Śun be śanggiyan niolmon[4] *gocici abkai fejergi duin dere-i irgen de geri nimeku bi*

"When the sun spans a white rainbow, the people of all four directions of the empire will suffer from epidemics and sickness."

25

Śun-i dalbade jung lakiyaha niyalmai deduhe adali oci cooha kokirambi ninju inenggi be dulemburakô bahafi sambi

"When there is a bell at one side of the sun and something like a sleeping ma*n* troops will have a damaging influence. This will happen within 60 days."

28

Śun-i dulimbade niowanggiyan sukdun latunaci abkai dulimba ulimbi emu aniya dorgi de urunakô bahafi sambi

"When there is green vapour in the middle of the sun, heaven accepts offerings. This shall happen within a year."

29

Śun de bisire gasha de bici ambula hiya-i jobolon bi gasha[n] bi

"When there is a bird in the sun there will be a great drought and major trouble."

30

Śun-i dulimbade niowanggiyan sukdun bici dehi inenggi be dulenderakô hôlha holo ambula facuhôrambi

"When there is green vapor in the sun enemies will create much mischief within 40 days."

31

Śun-i fejergi de suwayan sukdun bifi wesihun uhuci gurun de amba urgun bi saisa urse tucimbi

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4 Niolmon – a kind of moss, stands here for *nioron* – rainbow.

"When there is yellow vapour below the sun and it is covered above, there will be great joy in the empire and capable men will arise."

32

Śun biyai dolo dosici uyunju inenggi dulemburakô amba cooha dekdembi tuwai jobolon inu bi amba jiyanggiyôn de ehe

"When the sun rises in the moon a large army will arise within 90 days. There will be a great fire and the great general will be in trouble."

33

Śun-i duin dalbade niowanggiyan sahaliyan śanggiyan sukdun bici ejen-i cooha de nimeku bi

"When there is green, black und white haze on the four sides of the sun, the army of the ruler will suffer damage."

38

Śun-i dalbade sunja boco sukdun bici ejen-i genggiyen kesi niyalma de isinambi

"When there is multi-coloured haze on the side of the sun, the brilliant graciousness of the ruler will reach the people."

39

Śun-i dele niowanggiyan tugi sukdun ambula bici hôlha holo dekdembi ejen de sain akô

"When there is plenty of green cloud mist above the sun enemies will arise and the ruler will not fare well."

Celestial phenomena are discussed in Chinese literature in a number of places:

– in the astronomical chapters of the annals which have been published according to dynasties for the last 2000 years.[5] Prof. Ho's

[5] Ho Peng Yoke [He Bingyu]: *The astronomical chapters of the Chin Shu*. With amendments, full translation and annotations. Publ. with the collaboration of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Paris: Mouton, 1966. (Le monde d'outre-mer

translations show that celestial phenomena are carefully described and interpreted. In addition there are historical tables recording such signs (often correlating them with historical events). Here is an example from the ample material: "A Yün 暈 ... is a vapor which forms a complete circle around the sun, red inside and blue-green outside. When the sun has such a Yün halo, it symbolizes the tents of an army. This appearance encircles the sun with a ring of even thickness and indicates that the strengths of the two armies are evenly matched. In time of peace it means that the emperor is losing his grip and that there will be many revolts among the people. The presence of all of the five colors in the Yün foretells happiness, but the absence of one or more of them means that there will be anxiety." (p. 143)

– in encyclopedias and similar works.[6]

– in the Buddhist canon, the tripiṭaka.[7]

– in astronomical and astrological treatises. Joseph Needham, in his *Science and civilisation*. vol. 3, refers to a ms. in Cambridge University Library, *Tian-yuan yuli xiangyi fu* 天元玉曆祥異賦 of 1425, by Zhu Gaozhi 朱高熾, the Ming emperor.[8] A Korean text of similar nature was treated by Hermann Bohner.[9] The latter has some resemblance to the Manchu text, e.g. p. 36: „Fuß der Sonne rot; jenes Teiles Heer läuft davon. Fuß der Sonne gelb, große Freude." – p. 37: „Dunst wie Pfeile, geschossen von der Sonne hinab: das Heer zieht für drei Herbste aus." – p. 38: „Roter Regenbogen von unten stracks nach oben: dies Reich

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passé et présent. Série 2, 9.)

6 *Tushu jicheng,* shuzhengdian 庶徵典, j. 102, only gives instances of lights phenomena, no interpretation or prognostications. Edouard Biot: „Examen de diverses séries de faits relatifs au climat de la Chine, contenues dans les kiuen 303, 304, 305, 306 du Wen-hian-thong-khao, et dans les kiuen 221, 222, 223, 224, de la continuation de la même recueil. " in : *Journal Asiatique* IV, 13.1849, 212–246, focuses only on chaleur et froids de longue durée. According to Giles' Index to the Tushu jicheng, shuzhengdian 庶徵典 j. 18–24 (日異部) deal with solar phenomena and also give interpretations of them.

7 In the sutra *Yuezang jing* 月蔵経 translated into Chinese in 556 7 apocalyptic events like epidemics, conquest by enemy troops, civil wars, uncommon stars (asteroids, comets), sun and moon eclipses, unseasonal tempests, floods and droughts are described. Also the sun emitting white or green light, respectively, is mentioned.

8 Joseph Needham, *Science and civilisation in China.* Vol. 3. Cambridge: Univ. Press 1959, pl. LXX.

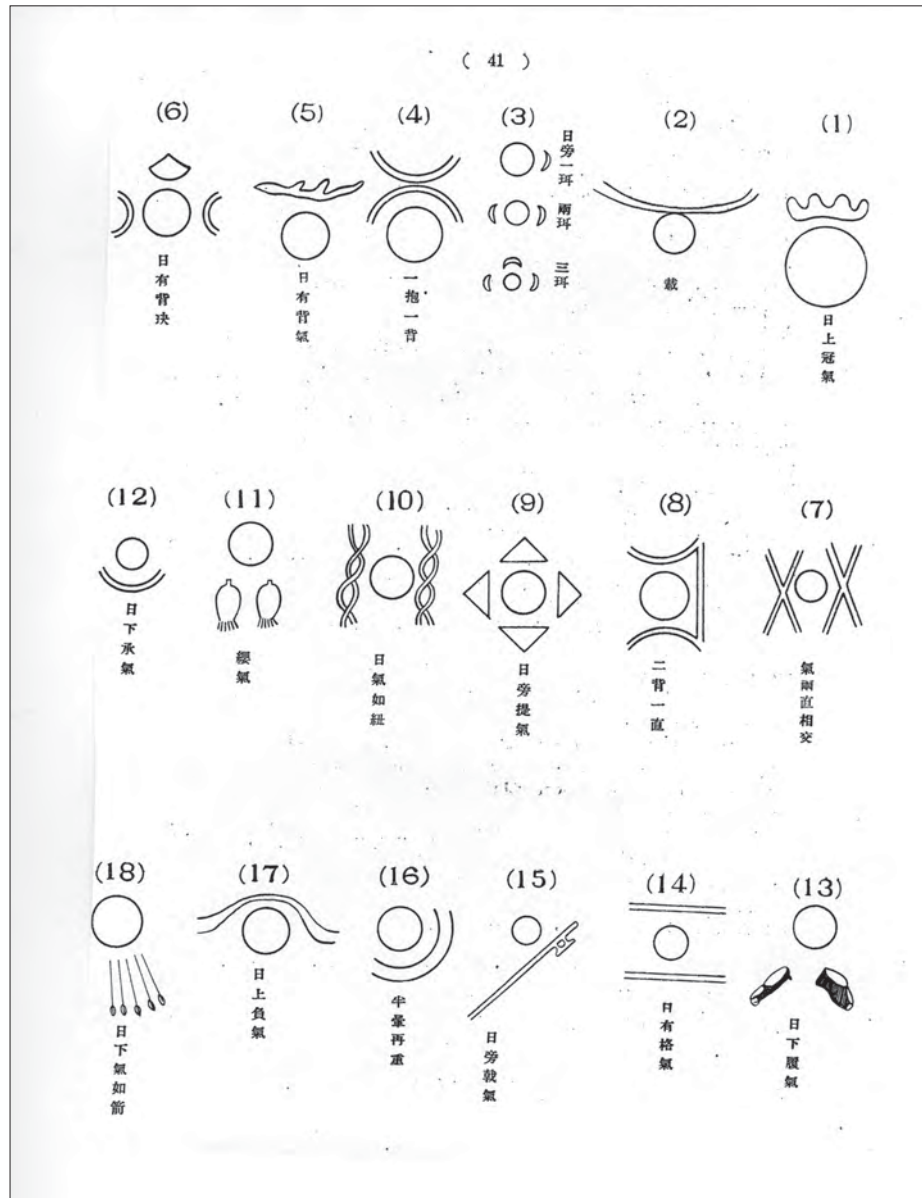
9 *NOAG* 41.1936, 33-42. On the *Guangui jiyao* 管規輯要, preface by Fan Wencheng 范文程 1653 (Korean ed.)

kommt in Trauer und Chaos, das Land verdirbt; weißer Regenbogen und Nebel, ketzerische Vasallen komplottieren; der Vasallen Wunsch wird erreicht.“

– reports on important events are also often referring to simultaneous celestial phenomena, e.g. regarding Nurhaci:

“On a date corresponding to November 24, 1612, on the eve of Nurhaci’s campaign against the Ula tribe, ‘two heavenly white and blue vapours appeared’ (*abkai śanggiyan lamun siren lasha gociha bihe*). Interestingly enough, this brief annotation in the *Jiu Manzhou dang* has been note worthily ‘embellished’ in successive works – for example in the well-known *Kaiguo fanglue* where we read that ‘in the sun-rising side white and blue vapours arose, pointing to the northern side of Ula City’ (*Śun dekdere ergide śanyan lamun siren sumafi, Ulai hoton-i amargi teisu hadaha be sabufi*). The reference to Ula city is a later ‹interpretation› of this phenomenon, which is already found in the ‘Manchu Veritable Records’.” (quoted from Giovanni Stary’s unpublished paper given at the 2010 PIAC in St. Petersburg)

This seems to be the only currently known surviving illustrated text on the subject in Manchu; but it is highly probable that it was translated from Chinese sources.

As mentioned there is still further research to be done – this is just a report on work in progress.

List of phenomena from the Korean text.

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